## HISTORY OF

JOSEPH SMITH and
THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

## HISTORY OF

# JOSEPH SMITH and THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

A Source- and Text-Critical Edition

Volume 6: 1843-1844 Eight Volumes

Edited by

DAN VOGEL

#### To all students of Mormon history

© 2015 The Smith-Pettit Foundation, Salt Lake City, Utah. All Rights Reserved. Published in the United States of America.

Distributed by Signature Books Publishing LLC. www.signaturebooks.com

∞ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1992.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA History of Joseph Smith and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: a source- and text-critical edition / edited by Dan Vogel.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references. ISBN 978-1-56085-245-2 (alk. paper)

- 1. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints--History--Sources.
- 2. Smith, Joseph, Jr., 1805-1844. 3. Mormon Church--History--Sources.
- I. Vogel, Dan, 1955-editor. BX8611.H58 2015 289.309--dc23

### CONTENTS

	Introduction to Volume 6	vii
	HISTORY OF JOSEPH SMITH AND THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS	
1.	Anti-Mormon Meeting at Carthage (September 1843)	3
2.	Special Conference at Nauvoo (September-October 1843)	39
3.	Joseph Smith on U.S. Constitution (October-November 1843)	63
4.	Joseph Smith's Appeal to "Green Mountain Boys" (November 1843)	89
5.	Appeals to General Government for Protection (December 1843)	113
6.	Nauvoo City Council Memorial to Congress (December 1843)	139
7.	Correspondence with John C. Calhoun (January 1844)	173
8.	Joseph Smith's Nomination for U.S. Presidency (January-February 1844)	205
9.	Western Movement of Church Contemplated (February-March 1844)	231
10.	Joseph Smith's Discourse on Elias (March 1844)	257
11.	Joseph Smith's Memorial to Congress (March 1844)	291
12.	General Conference (April 1844)	313
13.	Hyrum Smith's Address (April 1844)	331
14.	Joseph Smith on God (April 1844)	339
15.	Joseph Smith on Zion (April 1844)	361
16.	F. M. Higbee Sues Joseph Smith (April-May 1844)	389
17.	Joseph Smith on the Resurrection (May 1844)	437
18.	Presidential Convention at Nauvoo (May 1844)	463
19.	Joseph Smith on Dissenters (May 1844)	475
20.	The Nauvoo Expositor (May-June 1844)	497
21.	Destruction of the Nauvoo Expositor (10–11 June 1844)	513

22. Joseph Smith Arrested (12-15 June 1844) 541
23. Joseph Smith on Godhead (16 June 1844)
24. Joseph Smith's Address to Nauvoo Legion (17-18 June 1844) 581
25. Threatened Invasion of Nauvoo (19-20 June 1844) 593
26. Conspiracies on Joseph Smith's Life (20-22 June 1844) 607
27. Preparations to Defend Nauvoo (22 June 1844)
28. Joseph Smith's Last Journal Entries (22 June 1844) 631
29. Joseph Smith Flees Nauvoo (22-24 June 1844)
30. Joseph Smith Arrested and Jailed (25 June 1844)
31. Governor Ford Speaks with Joseph Smith (26 June 1844) 659
32. Joseph Smith's Last Night in Jail (26 June 1844)
33. Danger Looms over Joseph Smith (27 June 1844)
34. Joseph Smith Murdered (27 June 1844)
35. The Burial (27-29 June 1844)

#### INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 6

Volume 6 covers the period from 1 September 1843 to 29 June 1844. It begins with an account of an anti-Mormon meeting in nearby Carthage, Illinois, expressing outrage at Joseph Smith's use of Nauvoo's unique interpretation of habeas corpus to allude arrest, and covers other important events such as Joseph Smith's nomination as a candidate for the United States presidency, his delivery of sermons on God, the Godhead, Zion, and the resurrection, including his well-known discourse on the nature of God delivered at King Follett's funeral, his order as mayor to destroy the opposition press *Nauvoo Expositor* as a public nuisance, his arrest on a charge of treason, his incarceration in Carthage jail, and his subsequent murder by an angry mob of militia men and burial in Nauvoo.

## Rough Draft, Manuscript #9 (First Draft) (ca. August-September 1854)

George A. Smith realized early that there was a scarcity of source material for Joseph Smith's murder. To remedy the situation, he solicited information from various witnesses, sending letters of inquiry to Dan Jones, Cyrus Wheelock, and J. M. Bernhisel on 28 August 1854, and John L. Fullmer on 29 August 1854. At this time, Bullock began working on what became Rough Draft Manuscript #9, covering the events of 22-27 June 1844. CHO journal for 28 August 1854 reads: "TB writing History of 26 June 44"; and on the following day: "TB writing history of Carthage jail[.] GAS hearing it & reading." The entry for 30 August reads: "TB on history of massacre."

Bullock immediately began to revise this manuscript, so much so that it later became necessary for Hawkins and Grimshaw to copy it. CHO journal for 31 August 1854 reads: "TB writing history of June 44 from Wood & Reid's statements & incorporating them in red ink." Prior to the reception of John Taylor's 69-page account of the martyrdom in August 1856, Bullock received useful information from Taylor orally. Following a meeting of the first presidency and quorum of twelve apostles on 27 August 1854, Bullock made an interesting entry in the CHO journal: "conversation on the … Massacre of Joseph & Hyrum obtained particulars from John Taylor (Phelps would scarce permit him [to] speak as he knew it all before) for history." On 4 September, Bullock recorded: "TB on history of Joseph's massacre in morn[ing]. Elder Taylor called for a few moments in morning." Bullock also received informa-

<sup>1.</sup> See GASLB, 31-64.

<sup>2.</sup> Although there is presently a chronological gap in the RDft MSS, 22-23 June 1844 (DHC 6:525-53; chaps. 26-29), TB's lost draft evidently included entries for these days. CHOj for 7 Sept. 1854 reads: "TB ... revising account of June 23[,] 24[,] 25" (CHOj 17:154), and for 2 July 1856: "T.B. on history 22d to 25th June 1844 &c all day" (CHOj 19:35).

<sup>3.</sup> CHOj 17:144-45.

<sup>4.</sup> CHOj 17:146.

<sup>5.</sup> CHOj 17:147. J. W. Wood's and H. T. Reid's statements are found in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 560-64.

<sup>6.</sup> CHOj 17:143.

<sup>7.</sup> CHOj 17:151.

tion from Henry G. Sherwood, formerly marshal of Nauvoo, as the entry for 7 September reads: "TB writing items of history from HG Sherwood's dictation & revising account of June 23[,] 24[,] 25." This was continued on the following day: "TB writing on history of Joseph & taking items known by HG Sherwood & not previously written."

As he prepared for his trip to Washington, D.C., George A. Smith wrote assistant church historian Wilford Woodruff on 21 April 1856, explaining: "The History has been compiled to the day of his [Joseph Smith's] death ... A few vacancies remain to be filled up from the statements of persons who are now absent. ... His [Thomas Bullock's] pen wrote the principal part of the rough manuscript from my dictation ...." Bullock's now missing draft would become the most heavily edited and revised of the Rough Draft Manuscripts, passing through two subsequent revisions.

# Rough Draft, Manuscript 7:66-93 (ca. February-June 1855)

The last section of Rough Draft Manuscript #7, pages 66-93, which covers 1 September-31 December 1843 (cf. DHC 6:1-154; chaps. 1-6), was written by Thomas Bullock and Jonathan Grimshaw under George A. Smith's dictation and direction. Manuscript #7 had been begun on 7 June 1854, and it seems likely that Grimshaw reached the part dealing with 1 September 1843 shortly after 20 February 1855, when the men stopped their work to prepare Joseph Smith's 30 June 1843 sermon for publication in the 1 March 1855 issue of the *Deseret News*. The CHO journal for 20 February 1855 reads: "G.A.S. T.B. & JG on History, at the Dixon arrest, & the discourse delivered by Joseph when he returned to Nauvoo[,] which bro Brigham wishes to be put into next weeks paper, along side his sermon of last Sunday." A rough draft of Joseph Smith's 30 June 1843 sermon in Bullock's hand appears on pages 51–51a, but it was decided to emend and expand this version. Consequently, an entry for the following day reads: "J.G. Writing Josephs sermon after his return from Dixon," and on 22 February: "G.A.S.T.B. J.G. J.L.S. & L.H. on History all day. G.A.S. & T.B. called on Governor [B. Young] & read Josephs sermon de=livered after return from Dixon as revised with which the Governor was well pleased." Therefore, by 20 February 1855, Rough Draft MS #7 had probably exceeded page 51, and soon after reached the events of September 1843 beginning on page 66.

Manuscript #7 was probably completed by 20 June 1855, when the CHO journal records: "J.G. [on] Summary & copying Joseph's discourse to Policemen of Nauvoo &c all day." This refers to a fourpage document (successively numbered 86a, 87b, 88c, 89d) containing Nauvoo city council minutes and a draft of Joseph Smith's 29 December 1843 mayoral address in Grimshaw's handwriting with emendations by Bullock, which was keyed to page 89 with a penciled note in the margin: "(see 86a)". Dating this addendum means page 89 predates 20 June 1855, and that MS #7 was completed by that time, although addenda were being added.

Prior to being copied by Campbell into Book E-1, sometime between 2 May and 20 August 1855,

<sup>8.</sup> CHOj 17:154.

<sup>9.</sup> CHOj 17:155.

<sup>10.</sup> GAS to WW and the Twelve Apostles, 21 Apr. 1856, NMCDB, 218.

<sup>11.</sup> CHOj 17:324.

<sup>12.</sup> CHOj 17:325.

<sup>13.</sup> CHOj 17:326. The completed sermon (JSAd, Bx 4, fd 5, 41-52), along with BY's, appeared in *DN*, 1 Mar. 1855 (cf. DHC 5:465-73; chap. 24). RDft 7:51 includes TB's note to "copy [JS's sermon] from Deseret News when amended."

<sup>14.</sup> CHOj 18:44.

various addenda were added to Rough Draft MS #7, most of which pertain to the previous volume of the History. One addendum is a fragment of a statement given by Orrin P. Rockwell about his imprisonment in Missouri in Bullock's handwriting (cf. DHC 6:135-42; chap. 6), which was probably taken on 16 October 1855.<sup>15</sup>

Another addendum became the last three pages of MS #7 (pages 90-93), but unlike the preceding eighty-nine pages, these pages are written on a folded sheet of four pages containing a "Catalogue of Books, Pamphlets, Letters &c, Published for, and against, the Latter-day Saints in 1843." This list was compiled by James Ure beginning on 9 July 1855. <sup>16</sup>

## Rough Draft, Manuscript 8:1-72 (ca. June-November 1855)

Written mostly by Bullock and Grimshaw, the seventy-two pages of Rough Draft Manuscript #8 cover events from 1 January to 21 June 1844 (cf. DHC 6:155–525; chaps. 7–26). It was probably begun shortly before 23 June 1855. The first page includes an insertion by Grimshaw under 3 January 1844: "The following is a copy of the minutes (see MSS in Leo's writing)." This refers to the Nauvoo city council minutes prepared by Hawkins on 23 June 1855, as the CHO journal records: "L.H. ... copying council minutes Jany 1844 Nauvoo all day." It is therefore likely that this page of MS #8 was begun before Hawkins began preparing the document for insertion in the Rough Draft.

Page 2 of MS #8 includes another insertion by Grimshaw under 10 January 1844 that also makes reference to the Nauvoo city council minutes and instructs scribe to "(see 2a) JG's handwriting)." This two-page addendum containing the minutes for 10 January 1844 in Grimshaw's handwriting and marked "(2a)" at the top was evidently created by him on 25 June 1855, as the CHO journal records: "J.G. copying Nauvoo Council Minutes &c." This too points to an earlier date for Bullock's original draft for MS #8.

A penciled note at bottom of page 9, following entry for 9 February 1844 (cf. DHC 6:211; chap. 9), reads: "Revised to here G.A.S.TB JG Augt. 9th 1855." The first section of Manuscript #8 therefore was written between 23 June and 9 August 1855. After copying the city council minutes, Grimshaw worked "on History" with George A Smith, and occasionally Bullock, on 27 June, 2 July, and 3–8 August 1855. Then, on 9 August, CHO journal records Smith, Bullock, and Grimshaw working "on History, revising &c." 20

Pages 12-17 are in Leo Hawkins's handwriting. The first mention of his participation is dated 17 August 1855. The entry for this date reads: "G.A.S. & L.H. on history &c all day." Three days later CHO journal reads: "G.A.S., T.B., & J.U. on history all day." This is the only entry mentioning James Ure in this capacity, and likely dates the appearance of his handwriting on pages 18-20, which cover 1-5 March 1844. Ure's handwriting is followed by Hawkins's on pages 20-21, which probably date to

<sup>15.</sup> On 16 Oct. 1855, CHOj mentions GAS and TB "engaged with Orren P. Rockwell drawing up his statement of imprisonment in Missouri all day" (18:168). The same source indicates that on 22 Oct. TB inserted Rockwell's statement in MSHiJS (18:175), meaning in a blank space and margin of Book E-1, 1829, and interlinearly on p. 1827. The first six and ninth to nineteenth paragraphs had already been copied by RLC between 13 June-20 Aug. 1855 (CHOj 18:109), evidently from pp. 1-4 of a now-lost original. The portion inserted in E-1 by TB is on pp. 5-7 in RDft #7.

<sup>16.</sup> CHOj 18:63.

<sup>17.</sup> CHOj 18:47.

<sup>18.</sup> CHOj 18:49.

<sup>19.</sup> CHOj 18:51, 56, 92-97.

<sup>20.</sup> CHOj 18:98.

<sup>21.</sup> CHOj 18:106.

<sup>22.</sup> CHOj 18:109.

22 August 1855, when CHO journal reads: "G.A.S., T.B., & L.H. on history morning." An entry for 15 September 1855 indicates George A. Smith began "dictating History" to Bullock, and subsequent entries to this activity continued regularly until 17 November. This period likely corresponds to pages 21–38, which are written primarily in Bullock's hand. On 19 November, Grimshaw joined them. From this date until 27 November, entries indicate Smith "dictated History," and Bullock and Grimshaw assisted. Bullock may have been consulting Smith on the sources, which he had organized in his desk, while Grimshaw did most of the writing, since the remainder of the manuscript, pages 38–72, is mostly in his handwriting. A notable exception is Robert L. Campbell's three-page contribution, on pages 66–69, which is difficult to date.

It seems likely that Manuscript #8 was completed before George A. Smith left Salt Lake City on 30 November for Fillmore and then to Provo. Clerks Bullock, Grimshaw, and Hawkins soon followed, essentially shutting down the CHO. Grimshaw and Bullock returned to the office on 26 January 1856, and began minor tasks like organizing papers and proofing. George A. Smith returned on 23 February, and began "revising History" on 25 February, and "revising & dictating History" on 29 February.

# Apostolic Review of Rough Draft, Manuscripts #7 and #8 (August 1855-February 1856)

On 21 April 1856, George A. Smith told Wilford Woodruff: "The History has been compiled to the day of his death, and the principal part of it has been revised by the council of the First Presidency almost without any alteration." Other than specific items such as sermons, plotting the apostolic review of the Rough Draft is difficult. Brigham Young reviewed drafts of Joseph Smith's 29 December 1843 sermon on 8 August 1855 (cf. DHC 6:150-52; chap. 6), his 7 and 10 March 1844 sermons on 18 September 1855 (cf. DHC 6:236-44, 249-54; chap. 10), his 7 April 1844 King Follett funeral discourse on 18 November 1855 (cf. DHC 6:302-317; chap. 14), and his 26 May and 16 June 1844 sermons on 27 February 1856 (cf. DHC 6:408-12, 473-79; chap. 19, 23).

<sup>23.</sup> CHOj 18:111.

<sup>24.</sup> CHOj 18:137-203.

<sup>25.</sup> CHOj 18:205-13.

<sup>26.</sup> CHOj 18:218.

<sup>27.</sup> CHOj 18:274.

<sup>28.</sup> CHOj 18:302, 305, 309.

<sup>29.</sup> GAS to WW and Council of Twelve Apostles, 21 Apr. 1856, NMCDB, 218.

<sup>30.</sup> CHOj for 8 Aug. 1855 reads: "Prest. B. Young spent some time in the office this forenoon, and heard read the remarks of Prest Joseph before the Female Relief Socy, before the City Council and to the 40 policemen &c Thos Bullock read them to him and he was much pleased with them" (CHOj 18:97). This sermon in JG's hand is in RDft 7:86a-86d, which has in pencil at the bottom of first page: "read to BY & approved."

<sup>31.</sup> CHOj for 18 Sept. 1855 reads: "Prest B.Young called & staid a couple of hours this afternoon, and heard minutes and sermons of March 7th. 1844 read by T.B. and also Joseph's sermon of the 10th March 1844, and sanctioned them" (CHOj 18:140). Both sermons were copied in Book E-1, 1907-13, and 1918-23, by RLC, between 21 Aug. 1855 and 9 Apr. 1856 (CHOj 18:109, 349).

<sup>32.</sup> Book E-1, 1967-79, contains JS's famous King Follett discourse, which concludes with a bracketed note in the margin that reads: "Compiled from the four reports by Jonathan Grimshaw; carefully revised and compared by George A. Smith and Thomas Bullock; read in Council Sunday 18th Nov. 1855, and carefully revised by President Brigham Young" (IG).

<sup>33.</sup> MS sermon has following note: "read to Pres [Young] Feb 27/[18]56 and approved" (JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, 91). MS sermon has following note: "read to Prest & approved Feb 27/[18]56 several additions made. April 11 [18]56 GAS" (JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, 129).

#### Manuscript History, Book E-1, 1712-2028 (June 1855-April 1856)

In copying Rough Draft Manuscript #7, Robert L. Campbell reached the events of September 1843 on page 1712 of Book E-1 (cf. DHC 6:1; chap. 1) probably in mid-June 1855. The next fixed date is 20 August 1855, when the CHO journal records: "R.L.C. [copying in] E.1 Began 1844," which corresponds with Book E-1, 1845. Thereafter, tracking Campbell's progress is difficult, because entries simply record his copying in Book E-1, and there is a gap of inactivity between 30 November 1855 and 26 March 1856. The last reference to his copying in Book E-1 is an entry for 9 April 1856, although he evidently returned to copy Jonathan Pugmire's statement in a blank on pages 1849–50 on 15 May 1856. Nevertheless, Campbell's concluded the bulk of Book E-1, which brought the MS History up to the events of 30 April 1844, shortly before George A. Smith's departure to Washington, D.C., on 22 April 1856, and Wilford Woodruff took the lead.

## Proofing Book E-1 (May 1855-August 1856)

Prior to apostolic review, which will begin 10 March 1856,<sup>38</sup> the clerks began proofing Book E-1. On 23-24 May 1855, Bullock and Grimshaw began proofing, or "comparing" Book E-1 with Rough Draft MS #7.<sup>39</sup> Then, on 18 June, Grimshaw and Hawkins spent the day "examining Book E.1 with MS."<sup>40</sup> This activity will continue sporadically for more than a year.

On 19 September 1855, Robert L. Campbell was "cleaning up books D & E."<sup>41</sup> On 14 November, Grimshaw and Bullock were "examining Manuscript of Hist[or]y with Book E1," as well as on the following day.<sup>42</sup> An entry for 28 January 1856 records: "T.B. examining M.S. History with E 1 all day[.] J.G. [same]."<sup>43</sup> The same for 29–30 January and 1–7 February.<sup>44</sup> The record for the 7th reads: "T.B. examining M.S. History ... J.G. [same] & copying Addenda in E.1 [all day]."<sup>45</sup> There is only one addendum in E–1 by Grimshaw, the first. Occupying three pages, this addendum pertains to 6 April 1844, and is keyed to page 1955.

Entries for 9 and 11 February 1856 mention Grimshaw and Hawkins "cleaning E 1." <sup>46</sup> An entry for 14 May 1856 reads: "R.L.C. finished addenda & cleand up book E. [all day]." <sup>47</sup> This apparently refers to Campbell's adding two addenda to pages 3–7 in the addenda section of Book E–1, which pertain to 19 August 1843 and 6 September 1843 and keyed to pages 1695 and 1714.

<sup>34.</sup> There are two fixed dates: RLC started Book E-1, 1637, on 2 May 1855 (CHOj 17:395), and started p. 1845 on 20 Aug. 1855 (CHOj 18:109), which is 110 days and 208 pages, for an average of 1.89 pages per day. This would suggest that RLC reached p. 1712 in about 39½ days, or about 11 June.

<sup>35.</sup> CHOj 18:109.

<sup>36.</sup> CHOj 18:349.

<sup>37.</sup> CHOj 18:386.

<sup>38.</sup> See below.

<sup>39.</sup> CHOj 18:15-16.

<sup>40.</sup> CHOj 18:42.

<sup>41.</sup> CHOj 18:141.

<sup>42.</sup> CHOj 18:200-201.

<sup>43.</sup> CHOj 18:276-77.

<sup>44.</sup> CHOj 18:277-78, 283-86.

<sup>45.</sup> CHOj 18:286.

<sup>46.</sup> CHOj 18:288, 290.

<sup>47.</sup> CHOj 18:385.

Entries for 15–16 July 1856, record Bullock cleaning E-1,<sup>48</sup> then Hawkins on 11–12 August,<sup>49</sup> and Campbell on 20 August.<sup>50</sup> Proofing E-1 will not resume until July-September 1857.<sup>51</sup>

#### Rough Draft, Manuscript #9 (Second Draft) (ca. April 1856)

After a nearly three month break, George A. Smith began "revising History" on 25 February 1856, and "revising & dictating History" to Bullock on 29 February. <sup>52</sup> It is not known what portions of the history he was revising, but his attention eventually turned to Bullock's early draft of MS #9, covering events from 22-28 June 1844. Written mostly in Hawkins's handwriting, with twenty-one of the fifty-seven pages in Grimshaw's hand (pp. 31-52), the likely time for revising and redrafting MS #9 is April 1856, in the days before Smith's departure to Washington, D.C. CHO journal for 12 April records Hawkins "[copying] M.S. History [all day]," and on 14 April Hawkins and Grimshaw "copying M.S. [History]." Joined by Wilford Woodruff, Smith and Bullock spent the following two days reading history to "the Presidency". On 16 April, Woodruff recorded: "I met again to day with President Young & G.A. Smith & T. Bullock. Read <manuscript of the> Church History to him up to Joseph & Hirams Death in Jail. It brought fresh to mind the scenes of those sorrowful days." This second draft incorporated Bullock's addenda, which were based on Cyrus Wheelock's 29 December 1854 letter to Smith. However, even as this draft was being prepared further revisions were contemplated, as indicated by a penciled note on page 70 of MS #9. This note, which corresponds to 20 June 1844, instructs the scribe to "leave blank page at the end of each day to the end of June[.] GAS—TB."

When MS #9 was later revised and expanded in June-August 1856, Grimshaw replaced some of the pages with two or three of his, which caused him to renumber the pages that remained. This, together with the discarded pages, which are still among the Rough Draft manuscripts, makes a reconstruction of the second draft possible.<sup>57</sup>

#### Rough Draft, Manuscript #9 (Third Draft) (ca. June-August 1856)

In the summer of 1856, Manuscript #9 went through a third phase of editing, this time under Wilford Woodruff's direction. CHO journal for 2 June 1856 records Woodruff and Bullock "Revising History" and Grimshaw "Writing History with T.B." Thereafter the three men are regularly listed as working "on history" until 1 August. On 24 June, Woodruff wrote: "I spent the day in the office. ... We find a great Difficulty in writing the History of Joseph especially During the last few days of his life as no one

<sup>48.</sup> CHOj 19:48-49.

<sup>49.</sup> CHOj 19:52, 75-76.

<sup>50.</sup> CHOj 19:84.

<sup>51.</sup> See below.

<sup>52.</sup> CHOj 18:302, 305, 309.

<sup>53.</sup> CHOj 18:352, 354.

<sup>54.</sup> CHOj 18:355-56.

<sup>55.</sup> WWj, vol. 7, 16 Apr. 1856 (WWj 4:411).

<sup>56.</sup> See CW.

<sup>57.</sup> The pages retained for the third draft of Manuscript #9 by their original numbering are: 7-10, 13-14, 19-52, and 57. Second draft pages that were discarded are: 1-4, 6, 11-12, 15-16, 16a, 17-18, and 53-56.

<sup>58.</sup> CHOj 19:5.

<sup>59.</sup> CHOj 19:6-65.

kept a Journal of the same except Dr Richards [who] wrote some but Died before the History was written out." On 30 June, Woodruff wrote to John Taylor: "We are very busy writing the history of the latter days of Joseph." CHOj for 2 July reads: "T.B. on history 22d to 25th June 1844 &c all day." Entries for 28–29 July record Grimshaw's "Copying M.S. history." The third draft was completed by 4 August 1856, Grimshaw's last day working in the CHO before leaving Salt Lake City with his family on the 10th.

# Apostolic Review of Manuscript #9 (Third Draft) (ca. August 1856)

On page 70 of the third draft of Manuscript #9, which follows the events of 27 June 1844, is an undated penciled note in Bullock's handwriting that reads: "read to B.Y. HCK, JMG, DHW." While this note indicates that the third draft was reviewed, pinning down dates is difficult, since apparently the apostolic reviewers were alternating between MS #9 and Book F-1. Nevertheless, the above penciled note seems to correlate with an entry in the CHO journal for 13 August 1856: "Prest B.Y., H.C.K. & J.M.G. in office revising history from 10 A.M. to 12.45 & from 2. to 4 P.M." On this day, Woodruff recorded in his journal: "Presidents B Young H C Kimball J. M. Grant & D H Wells spent the day in the office reading History. We finished up to the [-] death of Joseph in Carthage Jail. The brethren felt full & felt that they had heard enough for one day." This seems to correspond with MS #9, rather than Book F-1, since Hawkins would not reach this section of the MS History (pp. 168–89) until sometime between 1 and 22 September 1856.

On 14 August, the CHO journal records: "Prest J.M.G. & DH.W. called at Office at 5½ P.M. & made some suggestions, about striking out parts <items> of the history, of the last days of Joseph." Woodruff's entry gives more details: "President Grant ... called in the office. Spoke his views concerning some items of Markhams statement concerning Josephs remarks in Jail." This apparently refers to Joseph Smith's instruction to Markham to procure a pipe and tobacco for Willard Richards's unsettled stomach (cf. DHC 6:614; chap. 34), which had been added by Bullock on a slip of paper attached to the third draft of MS #9.

Woodruff's entry for 18 August probably also pertains the MS #9:"I Called upon President Young in the morning. ... Presidents Young & Kimball Called upon us in the office in the Afternoon & we finished up the History of Joseph Smith." Since Hawkins probably finished Joseph Smith's history on page 189 in Book F-1 about 22 September 1856.

#### Apostolic Review of Book E-1, 1712-2028 (July-August 1856)

Plotting the apostolic review of Book E-1 is easy. They began on 10 March 1856, and reviewed

<sup>60.</sup> WWj, vol. 7, 24 June 1856 (WWj 4:424).

<sup>61.</sup> WW to JT, 30 June 1856, CHOLB 1:315, 320.

<sup>62.</sup> CHOj 19:35.

<sup>63.</sup> CHOj 19:61-62.

<sup>64.</sup> RDft 9c:70.

<sup>65.</sup> CHOj 19:77.

<sup>66.</sup> WWj, vol. 7, 13 Aug. 1856 (WWj 4:435-36).

<sup>67.</sup> See MSHi Chronology.

<sup>68.</sup> CHOj 19:78.

<sup>69.</sup> WWj, vol. 7, 14 Aug. 1856 (WWj 4:436).

<sup>70.</sup> WWj, vol. 7, 18 Aug. 1856 (WWj 4:437).

pages 1637-68, on 14 April reviewed pages 1668-95, and on 14 July reviewed pages 1695-1743.<sup>71</sup> On 14 July 1856, Woodruff recorded: "I spent the fore part of the day in the office. Called upon President Young at 10 oclok. Read History till 1 oclok. He then Dined[.] called at the Historians office at 3 oclok & read 2 hours. We have revized about 50 pages to day. The President became weary & we closed." Book E-1, 1713, has penciled note in margin: "examined B[righam] Y[oung] W[ilford] W[oodruff] D[aniel] H Wells July 14 [18]56," which probably corresponds with the first shift of revision. A second penciled note in the margin of page 1743 marks the stopping place for that day: "ex[amine]d B[righam] Y[oung] W[ilford] W[oodruff] July 14/[18]56."

On 15 July, Woodruff recorded: "President Young sat in our office during the afternoon & herd History read. President Kimball also came in & soon J M Grant ... came into the office & all the presidency sat for an hour together & herd History read." This corresponds with a penciled note in margin of Book E-1, 1784, which reads: "ex[amine]d. BY, HCK, WW, July 15/[18]56." On the following day, Woodruff wrote: "I spent most of the day at the office. He [BY] called into the office & heard History read for about 2 Hours." Book E-1, 1798, has a note in pencil in margin: "read to B[righam] Y[oung] July 16/[18]56."

On 6 August, Woodruff recorded: "President Young was with us 3½ hours in hearing history read." CHO journal reads: "Prest. B.Y. In office from 3 P.M to. 6½ P.M Hearing history read &c." Book E-1, 1860, has penciled note in margin: "ex[amine]d BY WW TB August 6 [18]56 7 pm."

On 9 August, Woodruff recorded: "I arived at the office at 10 oclok. President Young was there. We spent the fore part of the day reading History. A good deal of it was taken from My Journals." CHO journal reads: "Prest B.Y. in office ... <revising history 121 pages>." A penciled note in margin of Book E-1, 1979, marks the stopping place for this day's work: "Aug. 9th 1856[.] B.Y. J.M.G. W.W. L.H."

On 11 August, Woodruff recorded: "I spent the day in the office. The First Presidency B. Young[,] H. C. Kimball & J. M. Grant spent the afternoon with us to day in hearing the minutes of the April Conference of 1844 read, the last conference the 12 [apostles] ever spent with the prophet Joseph before his death." On this day, the apostles concluded their review of Book E-1, as indicated by the penciled note on page 2028: "Aug 11 1856[.] B.Y. H.C.K. J.M.G. L.H. W.P. Rockwood also." This brought the reviewers to the events of 2 May 1844 (cf. DHC 6:350; chap. 16), and beyond, since apparently they continued reading to page 21 in Book F-1.80

<sup>71.</sup> This was covered in the introduction to vol. 5.

<sup>72.</sup> WWj, vol. 7, 14 July 1856 (WWj 4:429).

<sup>73.</sup> WWj, vol. 7, 15 July 1856 (WWj 4:430); cf. CHOj 19:48.

<sup>74.</sup> WWj, vol. 7, 16 July 1856 (WWj 4:430).

<sup>75.</sup> WWj, vol. 7, 6 Aug. 1856 (WWj 4:434).

<sup>76.</sup> CHOi 19:70.

<sup>77.</sup> WWj, vol. 7, 9 Aug. 1856 (WWj 4:435).

<sup>78.</sup> CHOj 19:73. Contributions from WWj in this section of the History (i.e., 11 Jan.-7 Apr. 1844) are: 14 and 29 Jan. (DHC 6:176, 189; chaps. 7, 8), 2, 4, 7, 8, 21, 25, 26 Feb. (DHC 6:194, 196, 197, 210-11, 223, 225; chaps. 8, 9), 1, 7, 10, 22, 24 Mar. (DHC 6:229, 236-44, 249-54, 271, 272-74; chaps. 9, 10, 11), and 5, 7 Apr. (DHC 6:287, 302-17; chaps. 12, 13). Most notably, WWj was amalgamated with other sources to reconstruct JS's sermons of 7 Mar. (DHC 6:236-44; chap. 10), 10 Mar. (DHC 6:249-54; chap. 10), 24 Mar. (DHC 6:272, 273-74; chap. 11), and his King Follett funeral sermon of 7 Apr. (DHC 6:302-17; chap. 14).

<sup>79.</sup> WWj, vol. 7, 11 Aug. 1856 (WWj 4:435).

<sup>80.</sup> See below.

# Book E-1, Addenda, 1-11 (February-August 1856)

As previously mentioned, Grimshaw added the first addendum of three pages to Book E-1 while comparing the text with the Rough Draft on 7 February 1856.<sup>81</sup> It pertained to 6 April 1844 (DHC 6:292-96; chap. 12) and was keyed to E-1, 1955. The next two addenda were added to pages 3-7 of the addenda section of Book E-1 by R. L. Campbell probably 12-14 May 1856, as previously mentioned.<sup>82</sup> They pertained to 19 August and 6 September 1843 (DHC 5:537-38; chap. 28; 6:4-8; chap. 1) and are keyed to pages 1695 and 1714.

The three remaining addenda added to pages 7-11 by Hawkins are more difficult to date. They pertain to 19 February 1844 (DHC 6:221-22; chap. 9), 7 September 1843 (DHC 6:9-10; chap. 1), and 8 April 1844 (DHC 6:320; chap. 15), and are keyed to pages 1895, 1716, and 1984. They were certainly added after 14 May 1856, after Campbell had added his two addenda, and before 18 February 1857, which is when the installment that included the 7 September 1843 addendum was published in the *Deseret News*. The terminal date for the last addendum is the 15 July 1857 issue of the *Deseret News*. But scrutiny of Hawkins's activities during this period suggests a probable time for these additions would be in July and August 1856, when he returned to working on Book E-1. The CHO journal for 19 July 1856 reads: "L.H. Cleaning up E.1 &c ½ [day]."83 And on 11 August 1856: "L.H. A.M. Cleaning E.1. P.M. readg histy to Prest. [all day]," which was continued the following day. At this time, Book E-1 was being reviewed by the apostles and, as previously discussed, on 14 July they reviewed pp. 1695-2028, which included the insertion point for Hawkins's first addendum, and on 11 August they reviewed pages 1979-2028, which included the insertion point for his third addendum.

Since these addenda appear out of sequence, the following reconstruction of Hawkins's actions seems likely. The second addendum is different from the other two in that it was begun in a blank space on pages 1714–16, and when he ran out of room, he continued it in E-1, Addenda, 8-11. Filling this blank may have been among Hawkins's "cleaning up" activities on 19 July. The first addendum, which consists of three lines at the bottom of page 7, and the third half-page addendum may have been inserted on 11-12 August.

#### Manuscript History, Book E-2, 1-83 (April-August 1856)

The earliest mention of Hawkins copying in Book E-2 is dated 18 April 1856.<sup>85</sup> Between this date and 6 August, Hawkins wrote 83 pages and then recorded the following:

This, the second Copy, discontinued, Aug 6, 1856, by the advise of President Brigham Young.

<sup>81.</sup> CHOj for 7 Feb. 1856 reads: "J.G. ... copying Addenda in E.1" (CHOj 18:286). There is only one addendum in Book E-1 by JG.

<sup>82.</sup> CHOj for 12-13 May 1856 records: "R.L.C. [copying] Addenda &c" (CHOj 18:383-84). This probably refers to Book E-1 addenda since RLC had just finished E-1 on or about 9 Apr. The entry for 14 May records: "R.L.C. finished addenda & cleand up book E" (CHOj 18:385).

<sup>83.</sup> CHOi 19:52.

<sup>84.</sup> CHOj 19:75-76.

<sup>85.</sup> CHOj 18:358.

On the following day, CHOj records: "L.H. Concluded E.2." Copying had been discontinued at 19 July 1843 (cf. DHC 5:513; chap. 27).

#### Manuscript History, Book F-1, 1-189 (April-August 1856)

The first 150 pages of Book F-1, covering events from 1 May-23 June 1844 (cf. DHC 6:349-548; chaps. 16-28), are in Grimshaw's handwriting. The remainder of the book is in Hawkins's handwriting. The first mention of Grimshaw copying in Book F-1 is an entry for 9 April 1856.<sup>87</sup> From this date until 7 June, the CHO journal has regular entries for Grimshaw copying Book F-1.<sup>88</sup> An entry for 12 June 1856 mentions "JG. Ruling in E1. &c [all day]," but he evidently did not return to copying in this book, spending his last days in the CHO working on the third draft of Rough Draft MS #9.

Leaving the bottom half of page 150 blank, Hawkins's began copying MS #9 at the top of page 151. The first mention of Hawkins copying in Book F-1 is an entry for 20 August 1856. 90 Thereafter entries simply record Hawkins's copying in Book F-1 regularly until 1 September. This entry gives a clue as to his progress: "L.H. Copying in F.1. Sterritt's Affidavit &c [all day]." William G. Sterrett's affidavit had been taken by Bullock on 3 October 1850, and a penciled note in Rough Draft 9:33 instructed the scribe to copy Sterrett's affidavit, which Hawkins did on pages 166-67 of Book F-1. Regular entries continue to record Hawkins copying in F-1 until 22 September 1856, 92 then on 27 September, Hawkins starts working on an amalgamation of 8 August 1844 conference, which he will later copy into Book F-1, 296-304. 93 It seems likely therefore that Hawkins had finished copying MS #9, ending with the events of 29 June 1844 on page 189 of Book F-1 on 22 September (cf. DHC 6:548-629; chaps. 28-35).

#### Proofing Book F-1, 1-150 (May-July 1856)

Three entries document Bullock and Grimshaw proofing Book F-1 against the Rough Draft. An entry for 26 May 1856 reads: "T.B. & J.G. examining MS. Histy with F.1 all day." At this time, Grimshaw may have written only about 117 pages. Two other entries, dated 1 and 5 July 1856, mention Bullock and Grimshaw "ex[aminin]g F.1 with Mss [all day]." Grimshaw had stopped copying in Book F-1 on 7 June at page 150, and Hawkins would not take over until 20 August.

#### Apostolic Review of Book F-1, 1-189 (August 1856)

On the same day that they completed their review of Book E-1, Brigham Young, Heber C.

<sup>86.</sup> CHOj 19:71.

<sup>87.</sup> The first mention of JG writing in Book F-1 is an entry for 9 Apr. 1856 (CHOj 18:349).

<sup>88.</sup> See CHOj 18:349-19:10.

<sup>89.</sup> CHOj 19:15.

<sup>90.</sup> CHOj 19:84.

<sup>91.</sup> CHOi 19:96.

<sup>92.</sup> CHOj 19:96-117.

<sup>93.</sup> CHOj 19:122.

<sup>94.</sup> CHOj 18:397.

<sup>95.</sup> CHOj 19:34, 38.

Kimball, and Jedediah M. Grant continued reading to page 21 of Book F-1. On this page is a penciled note in the margin that reads: "Aug 11, 1856[.] B.Y., H.C.K., J.M.G., L.H."

On the following day, Woodruff recorded: "I spent the day in hearing the church History read to Presidents B Young H C Kimball & J M. Grant. D. H. Wells was also present. We read through the 22nd of June." However, Book F-1, 98, which corresponds with 14 June 1844, has penciled note in margin: "Aug. 12, 1856. B.Y., H.C.K., J.M.G., D.H.W., L.H." Perhaps this notation represents the first shift of revision for 12 August, which according to CHO journal for this date, went from 9:45 to 1:45, and then from 3:00 to 5:45. If another notation was made on page 147, where 22 June 1844 concludes, it was erased when the margin was filled with an addendum. If this reconstruction is accurate, then 77 pages were reviewed in the morning and 49 in the evening, for a total of 126 for the day.

At this point, it is uncertain if the reviewers continued reading Book F-1, or switched to the third draft of MS #9. As previously discussed, the entries in the CHO journal for "revising" on 13 and 18 August evidently pertain to MS #9, but they may have been alternating between manuscripts. The final forty-two pages covering 23-29 June 1844 were evidently reviewed after Hawkins finished this section of F-1 about 22 September 1856 and before they were published between 4 and 25 November 1857. The first mention of reviewing the history is an entry dated 11 October: "Prest BY & HC.K in office from about 3 to 4 P.M. revising history." However, imprecise recording makes it difficult to distinguish between their reviewing of this section, their own histories, or the second compilation in Book F-1, 228-304, but it was apparently about this same time.

# Manuscript History, Book F-1, 228-304 (ca. October 1856-February 1857)

When Hawkins returned to copying in Book F-1, he apparently skipped to page 228, leaving thirty-nine blank pages. On pages 228-304, he entered what is known as a "second compilation" of history, which covers events from 22 June 1844 to a special church conference of 8 August 1844, which was published as a continuation of Joseph Smith's History in the *Desert News* between 9 December 1857 and 20 January 1858. 99 B. H. Roberts did not include it in his Documentary History of the Church until he published a supplementary volume 7 in 1932 (cf. DHC 7:129-242).

Between 22 September, when Hawkins apparently finished copying Rough Draft MS #9 into Book F-1, and 15 October 1856, when he continued copying in F-1 regularly, Hawkins worked on an amalgamation of the 8 August 1844 conference, which would become the concluding document for the second compilation of History. On 27 September 1856, Hawkins was "Making out minutes of special meeting in Nauvoo, Aug 8/[18]44 from W.W. & TB's minutes all day." On 10 October, he continued "Compiling minutes" of this meeting. Then, on 15 October, Hawkins returned to "Copying in F 1," and regular entries record him doing so until 6 November. However, he apparently stopped before reaching the conference minutes, as an entry for 14 February 1857 records: "L.H. Copying Min[utes] of

<sup>96.</sup> WWj, vol. 7, 12 Aug. 1856 (WWj 4:435).

<sup>97.</sup> CHOj 19:76.

<sup>98.</sup> CHOj 19:136.

<sup>99.</sup> See *DN* 7 (9 Dec. 1857): 313–15; 7 (16 Dec. 1857): 321–23; 7 (23 Dec. 1857): 329; 7 (30 Dec. 1857): 337–39; 7 (6 Jan. 1858): 345–46; 7 (13 Jan. 1858): 353; 7 (20 Jan. 1858): 361–63.

<sup>100.</sup> CHOj 19:122.

<sup>101.</sup> CHOj 19:135.

<sup>102.</sup> CHOj 19:140-62.

Aug[us]t 8, 1844." This apparently refers to Hawkins copying his previously amalgamated text of the conference into Book F-1, 296-304.

Excluding Hawkins's draft of the conference minutes, the Rough Draft (MS #10) of the second compilation of history is entirely in the handwriting of Robert L. Campbell. The first two pages of Campbell's eighteen-page draft are missing, and a file notation on the last page in Hawkins's handwriting reads: "Copied in Book F." Dating Campbell's contribution is difficult. One might conclude from the instruction in the last line for the scribe to "copy min[utes]. on file," referring to the 8 August 1844 conference, that Campbell's draft post dates Hawkins's October 1856 amalgamation. However, it could refer to the Bullock's original minutes. The CHO journal record Campbell "compiling History," "on History compilation," and "on History," but nothing specific enough to distinguish between MS #10 and his other projects, which included compiling Brigham Young's History around the same time. At the very least, it seems probable that Campbell had completed or was in the process of completing his draft before Hawkins began copying in Book F-1, 228, possibly on 15 October 1856.

## Apostolic Review of Book F-1, 228-304 (March 1857)

Review of the seventy-six-page second compilation of history in Book F-1, 228-304, evidently began on 30 January 1857, when Woodruff recorded: "The Presidency came in at about 3 oclock & spent the afternoon & evening in hearing the History read. We read up to the organization of the Church after the twelve returned to Nauvoo." On this occasion Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Daniel H. Wells apparently read up to page 297 of Book F-1 (cf. DHC 7:231), which is where the minutes for the 8 August 1844 conference begin. As previously discussed, the CHO journal records Hawkins copying these minutes on 14 February 1857, and on the following day Woodruff recorded: "President Young had the minutes read of his discourse on the 8th Aug 1844 at the <re>re</re>organization of the Church." This corresponds with Book F-1, 228-300 (cf. DHC 7:231-36).

Another Woodruff entry for 14 March 1857 also seems to pertain to this section of F-1: "The afternoon I spent in the office. President Young called in & Herd History read nearly all the afternoon. He heard a part of his own history read, & a part of the continuation of the History of the Death of Joseph." <sup>106</sup> If apostolic review of this section of Book F-1 was continued at another time, there is evidently no specific record of it.

#### Proofing Book F-1, 151-89 (May 1857)

In May and July 1856, Bullock and Grimshaw had compared Book F-1 with the Rough Draft to page 150, which was all that was written at that time. From 20 August to 22 September 1856, Hawkins copied Rough Draft MS #9, covering 24-29 June 1844, into Book F-1, 151-89. Then, in May 1857, he proofed it against the manuscript, as an entry for 7 May records: "L.H. Comparing history of Josephs massacre[.] R.L.C. [ditto]." <sup>107</sup>

<sup>103.</sup> CHOj 19:262.

<sup>104.</sup> WWj, vol. 7, 30 Jan. 1857 (WWj 5:13).

<sup>105.</sup> WWj, vol. 7, 15 Feb. 1857 (WWj 5:22).

<sup>106.</sup> WWj, vol. 7, 14 Mar. 1857 (WWj 5:32).

<sup>107.</sup> CHOj 19:344.

#### Manuscript History, Book F-1, 190-204 (ca. July-August 1857)

When Hawkins returned to copying in Book F-1 in July 1857, it was to the blank space he had left between the events of 29 June 1844 on page 189 and the beginning of the second compilation of church history on page 228. Here, on page 190, he began copying a long excerpt from former Illinois governor Thomas Ford's 1854 *History of Illinois*, <sup>108</sup> which George A. Smith had taken an interest in the previous year. <sup>109</sup> Although not published in volume 6 of the Documentary History of the Church, Roberts did include it in his supplementary volume 7 in 1932. <sup>110</sup> However, it was evidently considered part of Joseph Smith's History proper by the LDS historians, since it immediately followed the account of Joseph Smith's martyrdom in the same installment of the *Deseret News* on 25 November 1857. <sup>111</sup>

Hawkins apparently copied the excerpt from Ford's book into Book F-1, 190-204, after he had finished copying the minutes of the 8 August 1844 conference on pages 296-304, which concluded the second compilation of church history, on 14 February 1857.<sup>112</sup> While the CHO journal lists Hawkins "copying history," the first mention of his specifically copying in Book F-1 is dated 13 July, and this type of entry appears regularly until 12 August 1857, when the record reads: "L.H. Finished copying in F.1." This seems the likely time in which Hawkins copied the long excerpt from Ford's book, which according to this reconstruction, is the only major section remaining. When he finished, there were twenty-two blank pages (pp. 205-27) separating the Ford excerpt and the second compilation.

## Proofing Book E-1 (August-September 1857)

Most of Book E-1 had been proofed the previous year. In August and September this activity was concluded, although by this time publication in the *Deseret News* had moved to the contents of Book F-1. An entry for 13 August 1857 reads: "L.H. Cleaning up E1." Although the entry for 14 August 1857 records "L.H. Finished cleaning up Book E 1," another for 14 September reports that he was still cleaning up E-1. 116

# Book F-1, Addenda, 1-10 (October-December 1857)

Following the quick review of Book F-1 by the apostles in August, Hawkins added 10 pages of addenda, beginning in October 1857. After copying Rough Draft MS #9 in April-August 1856 (pp. 1-189), then the second compilation in October 1856-February 1857 (pp. 228-304), then the excerpt

<sup>108.</sup> See HI.

<sup>109.</sup> An entry for 18 Apr. 1856 reads: "G.A.S. on Ford's book for History all day ... J.G. writing from Geo[rg]e. A's dictation" (CHOj 18:358).

<sup>110.</sup> See DHC 7:1-31.

<sup>111.</sup> See DN 7 (25 Nov. 1857): 298-99; DN 7 (2 Dec. 1857): 305-6

<sup>112.</sup> See above.

<sup>113.</sup> CHOj 20:3-19.

<sup>114.</sup> CHOj 20:19.

<sup>115.</sup> CHOj 20:20.

<sup>116.</sup> CHOj 20:42.

from Ford's book about July-August 1857 (pp. 190-204), and recording "L.H. Finished copying in F.1.," <sup>117</sup> the LDS historians revisited Book F-1. The CHO journal for 14 October 1857 records that Woodruff, Hawkins, and Campbell began working "On history of J.S. June /[18]44 &c," and that Hawkins was "copy[in]g. in F." <sup>118</sup>

By this time Hawkins had copied the first three addenda that appear on page 1 of the addenda section of Book F-1, which pertain to 1, 8, 15 June 1844, with insertion points on pages 68, 73, and 101. The first two had appeared in the *Deseret News* on 16 September 1857, and the third on 7 October. The next addendum occupying pages 1-2 pertains to 22 June 1844 and is a continuation of Hawkins's insertion of John Taylor's account of Joseph Smith's murder (JTMA) in F-1, 146, which will be published in the *Deseret News* on 28 October.

Taylor's account was written in the summer and fall of 1856, while he and George A. Smith were in Washington, D.C., but the CHO did not come into possession of it until 26 September 1857, at which time the CHO journal records: "In Evening Elder John Taylor brought to the office 88 [fool]scap pages of MS. of the Martyrdom of Joseph & Hyrum that he had written while in the East." On 14 October, Woodruff recorded: "I spent the day in the office in the forenoon hearing John Taylors Account of the death of Joseph & Hiram in Carthage Jail read." The CHO journal's mention that Hawkins was copying in F-1 possibly refers to the first Taylor addendum.

The following three addenda (pp. 2-8), pertaining to 23, 25 and 26 June 1844 with insertion points on pages 148, 160, and 162 are also from Taylor's account. An entry for 20 October 1857 records Woodruff, Hawkins, and Campbell "Revising Hist[or]y of Assassination & comparing with J.T's M.S." On the following day, Woodruff recorded in his journal: "I spent most of the fore part of the day in reading the History of the death of Joseph & Comparing John Taylors account with it." Hawkins probably recorded these addenda at this time.

The remaining seven addenda are to the second compilation of history (pp. 8-10), and pertain to 28, 29, and 30 July, and 2, 4, 5, and 6 August 1844. Specific references to Hawkins copying addenda in F-1 are dated 28-29 October, 4 November, and 18 December 1857, and it is likely these addenda date to those occasions. 123

#### Publication (February 1857-January 1858)

The first issue of the *Deseret News* to contain the contents of the present volume 6 of the History was 11 February 1857 (cf. DHC 5:551-6:2; chap. 28 and chap. 1), which covered the events of 27 August-1 September 1843 from Book E-1, 1705-13. Frequent entries in the CHO journal indicate that the clerks regularly compared the MS History with the printed text prior to release.

<sup>117.</sup> CHOj 20:3-19.

<sup>118.</sup> CHOj 20:72

<sup>119.</sup> CHOj 20:54. On 27 Sept. 1857, WW recorded: "I Called upon Elder Taylor in the Morning to get the History of Joseph which He had written but He informed me he had left it at the Historians office the evening before" (WWj, vol. 7; WWj 5:101).

<sup>120.</sup> WWj, vol. 7, 14 Oct. 1857 (WWj 5:107).

<sup>121.</sup> CHOj 20:77.

<sup>122.</sup> WWj, vol. 7, 21 Oct. 1857 (WWj 5:111-12); cf. CHOj 20:78.

<sup>123.</sup> CHOj 20:85-86, 92, 136. On 13 Jan. 1858, LH is listed as "Copyg. Addenda", but it is uncertain if this refers to F-1 addenda or relates to the entry for 2 Feb. 1858, which specifically mentions LH "Copying Ad[d]enda in G" (CHOj 20:162, 182).

The 25 November 1857 issue of the *News* contained the account of Joseph Smith's martyrdom and events up to 29 June 1844 (cf. DHC 6:617-29; chaps. 34-35), which is where the current volume 6 of the History ends. This issue of the *News* also published the long excerpt from Thomas Ford's *History of Illinois* from Book F-1, 190-95, covering events from 21-24 June 1844 (cf. DHC 7:1-13), and was concluded in the next issue of 2 December 1857, which covered 24-28 June 1844 from Book F-1, 195-204 (cf. DHC 7:13-31).

The second compilation of history, covering 22 June-8 August and recorded in Book F-1, 228-304, immediately followed in seven consecutive issues, from 9 December 1857 to 20 January 1858 (cf. DHC 7:129-242).

When this volume of the History was published in 1912, B. H. Roberts was surprised and dismayed to discover that some apostle or apostles had given a last minute order to the Deseret News to omit Joseph Smith's King Follett discourse. Consequently, this left a sixteen-page gap in pagination, skipping from page 301 to 318 (chap. 14). There had been some disagreement among the general authorities about Joseph Smith's teaching that mankind were co-eternal with God. While it is unknown who gave the order to suppress the King Follett discourse, suspicion has fallen on forty-two-year-old apostle George Albert Smith, grandson of church historian George A. Smith, who at the time was suffering from what has been termed a "prolonged nervous breakdown." In a letter to Samuel O. Bennion, 30 January 1912, he expressed his opinion concerning the sermon: "I have thought that the report of that sermon might not be authentic and I have feared that it contained some things that might be contrary to the truth." Regardless, Roberts printed and distributed the discourse under separate cover until it was restored in the second edition of 1950. 127

#### Sources

Less than a year after replacing Willard Richards as church historian, George A. Smith complained "the revising of History already written, the inserting additional items concerning important events the History of which is very meager, has kept my hands full up to the present." Shortly after his appointment, Smith wrote John M. Bernhisel and explained his situation: "Dr Richards had compiled the history to Feb 28 1843, from that date the history has not been compiled. He kept journals of his daily proceedings, by writing a line or two, naming the principle events, and leaving his memory to fill the particulars, and a part of this in a Stenographic style of his own, which no memory but his can supply. It is therefore apparent that many very important events of Joseph Smiths history are lost by Prest Richards' untimely death." On 19 July 1854, Smith wrote apostles Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich: "I am making Slow Progress in the history being now Engaged in the april Conference of 1843 being 37 days in advance of when Dr Richards left it ... We find it verry Difficult to trace the History of those time[s] to our Satisfaction. as many Papers are missing. any Contribution that you Can Make in Relation to <the movements in the Last 1½ years of Josephs Life or Since will be verry thankfully Received. ... Since

<sup>124.</sup> Based on WC's draft, JS declared: "The mind or the intelligence which man possesses is co-equal with God himself" (cf. DHC 6:310 [chap. 14], where BHR added "[co-eternal]").

<sup>125.</sup> See Van Wagoner and Walker 1982, 278-79.

<sup>126.</sup> George Albert Smith to Samuel O. Bennion, 30 Jan. 1912, George A. Smith Family Collection, MS 36, Bx 32, fd 2, Manuscript Division, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, quoted in Larson 1994, 286n20.

<sup>127.</sup> See Larson 1994, 285-86n20; Madsen 1999, 325n20; Lyon 1978, 14-15.

<sup>128.</sup> GAS to Cyrus Wheelock, 7 Feb. 1855, CHOLB, 1:87.

<sup>129.</sup> GAS to J. M. Bernhisel, 29 June 1854, GASLB, 47.

Returning from the South I have Employed my time Entirely in Searching after Events of the Life of Joseph—Making Slow Progress, 4 Clerks are now Engaged in assisting me."<sup>130</sup>

In compiling this volume of Joseph Smith's History, the LDS editors drew primarily from his journals (JSj [1843-44], and JSj [1844]), correspondence (JSLB, JSLR, and JSLS), and various items from his papers (JScSup, JSLP, RP, JSHD, UC). Another major source was William Clayton's journals (WCj [1843-44]), which they treated much as they did Joseph Smith's journals kept by Willard Richards. Details of Joseph Smith's extensive land transactions were sometimes inserted from Nauvoo List of Bonds and Deeds (NLB&D) and Nauvoo Trustees Land Books (NTLB).

The compilers also consulted official church records such as the Nauvoo High Council Minutes (NHCM), Quorum of the Twelve Apostles Minutes (QTAM [1840-44]), and General Church Minutes (GCM), church periodicals *Times and Season (T&S)*, *Millennial Star (MSt)*, and *Nauvoo Neighbor (NN)*, and civic records such as the Nauvoo City Council Proceedings (NCCP), Nauvoo City Council Minutes (NCCM), Nauvoo Legion Minutes and history (NLc, NLM, NLHi), Nauvoo Municipal Court Docket Book (NMCDB), and various city records (NCR).

Joseph Smith's sermons were reconstructed from notes taken by Thomas Bullock (GCM, JSAd), Wilford Woodruff (WWj), Willard Richards (JSj), and William Clayton (WCj). An early effort to compile Joseph Smith's sermons resulted in the Nauvoo Sermon Book (NSB), while later efforts at reconstruction were composed on separate sheets, mostly by Jonathan Grimshaw (JSAd, RDft).

Information was taken from the journals of Brigham Young (BYj), George A. Smith (GASj), Willard Richards journals (WRj), John Smith's journal (JnSj), and occasionally the Church Historian's Office journal, which was begun on 11 February 1844.

In addition to these sources, there was also direct input by Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, George A. Smith, Jedediah M. Grant, and possibly Daniel H. Wells.

In gathering information about the martyrdom and events leading up to it, George A. Smith drew on the published account in the *Times and Seasons*, which included the statements of Joseph Smith's attorneys James W. Woods and H. T. Reid, <sup>131</sup> as well as John S. Fullmer's *Assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith*, *The Prophet and the Patriarch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Also A Condensed History of the Expulsion of the Saints from Nauvoo* (Liverpool: S. D. Richards, 1855), and Lyman O. Littlefield's *A Correct Account of the Murders of Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith*, at Carthage, on the 27th Day of June, 1844 by William M. Daniels, an Eye Witness (Nauvoo, IL: John Taylor, 1845).

George A. Smith also solicited and obtained information from John M. Bernhisel on 11 September 1854 (JMB), John S. Fullmer on 27 November 1854 (JSF [1854]), Albert G. Fellows Statement on 1 December 1854 (AGF), Chester Loveland on 12 December 1854 (CL), Cyrus Wheelock on 29 Dec. 1854 (CW), Henry G. Sherwood in 1854 (HGS), Dan Jones on 20 January 1855 (DJ), Theodore Turley on 28 October 1855 (TT [1855]), Dimick B. Huntington in 1856 (DBH), Stephen Markham in 1856 (SM [1856]), Abraham C. Hodge on 23 June 1856 (ACH), John Taylor on 23 August 1856 (JTMA), and Miles Romney (MR).

According to notations in Book F-1, information was obtained from Reynolds Cahoon, William W. Phelps, Cyrus Wheelock, Orrin Porter Rockwell, Dan Jones, Hosea Stout, Jedediah M. Grant, and John S. Fullmer.

<sup>130.</sup> GAS to Amasa Lyman and C. C. Rich, 19 July 1854, GASLB, 51.

<sup>131.</sup> T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 560-64.

## HISTORY OF

JOSEPH SMITH and
THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

1.

## ANTI-MORMON MEETING AT CARTHAGE

## September 1843

[DN 6 (11 February 1857): 385 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>/<sup>2</sup>Friday, September 1 [1843].<sup>3</sup>—A conference was held in Buffalo, New York; Elder John P. Greene presiding; William H. Folsom, clerk. 13 branches, 1 high priest, 58 elders, 2 teachers, 1 deacon, and 247 members were represented.

<sup>4</sup>I and Emma attended the meeting of the high council at the grove as a witness on part of the council in the case of Cowles vs. Geo[rge]. J. Adams. Charges not sustained. G[eorge]. J. Adams was discharged without reproof or censure by the High Council.

<sup>5</sup>The following appears in the *Times and Seasons* of this date:—

To the Editor of the Times and Seasons:—

Sir:—As the Prophet, not long since, told the Unitarian clergyman, in answer to the question, "What is truth?" truth is a matter of fact, I have thought that a few such precious morsels, occasionally handed out to this generation, if carefully attended to, might save some. Much has been said about the bad translations of the Bible; the meaning here and there warped to favor religious creeds; for which curious phenomena in the sectarian horizon, very few of the literati, have ever attempted to give an account, or even render a reason. Every school boy seems to know that when either of the sectarian translators failed in making the two ends of a sentence meet, he filled up the vacuity with *italics*, by which means God has been greatly helped towards expressing himself so as to be understood by the learned world, and benefit the poor heathen, if they are correct; but if their thoughts should not happen to be God's thoughts, it is a matter of fact that the mother of harlot[s] holds in her hand a golden cup full of the filthiness of her abominations.

<sup>1.</sup> Source: Based on "Minutes of a Conference Held in Buffalo, N.Y.," T&S 4 (15 Sept. 1843): 334-35.

<sup>2.</sup> Handwriting of RLC continues in Book E-1, 1712, and continues to 1714 (this chap.).

<sup>3.</sup> Book E-1, 1712: "September 1 \Friday/" (LH)

<sup>4.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 80 (WR) (APR, 412), with editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type. Cf. NHCM, Book 4, 15-16 (NHCM [2005], 115-16; NCHCM, 470-71).

<sup>5.</sup> The following introduction and letter omitted in DHC 6:2. Source: T&S 4 (1 Sept. 1843): 318.

#### [DN 6 (18 February 1857): 393-94, 396]

As your office has not the necessary Hebrew and Greek type to publish the original text of the Bible, I must imitate the sounds with Roman letters; and will begin with an extract from the 33d chapter of Deuteronomy, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17 verses; and follow it with the simplest translation, into English, that any known rules of rendition will allow; and then let candid men judge which sounds most like truth: so here it is:—

Deuteronomy, 33; 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17:

"Ooleyosafe aumare, meboracat yehovauh auretso, memagad shaum ahyeem, metaul, oometehome robatsat tanchat; oomemagad tebooote shaumash; oomemagad garash yerancheem; oomerosh handeray kadame; oomemagad gebe gnote gnolaum; oomemagad arats, oomeloauth; ooretsone shokenay senah, taubotauh lerosh yosafe, oolekandekode nezeer achauv. Bekore shoro handaur lo, vekahrenay Ream kaurenauv, banhame gnoumeen[t] yenahgahch yahchedauv ahfesay aurats; vehame reebebote aferahyeem, vehame ahlefay menahsheh."

Literal translation:—

"And for Joseph he said, on account of the blessings of Jehovah on his land; from the most precious things of the heavens, from the dew and from the great deep's resting place beneath; and from the most precious increase of the sun: and from the most precious productions of the moons; and from the highest honors of ancient times; and from the most precious things of the hills of eternity; and from the most precious things of the earth, and her fullness; and the delight of dwelling in the bush, come thou for the head of Joseph, and for the crown of the prince of his brethren. The firstling of his bullock's majesty is for him, and the horns of the Ream are his horns, with them he shall push the people together from the ends of the earth: and they will be the multitudes of Ephraim; and they will be the thousands of Manasseh."

NOT THE PROPHET, S.T.P.

<sup>6</sup>Saturday, 2.<sup>7</sup>—I was not well, and therefore adjourned mayor's court.

<sup>8</sup>Sunday, 3.<sup>9</sup>—**Evening.** I attended council with my brother Hyrum, N[ewel]. K. Whitney, Willard Richards, William Law and William Marks, and gave instructions to the brethren in relation to things in futurity. **Joseph prayed for Hiram's sick child and Whitney's &c** 

<sup>10</sup>A tremendous storm at Chester, Penn. The creek rose 23 feet in two hours, and swept away all the bridges, many factories and houses, and upwards of twenty persons drowned.

<sup>11</sup>A conference was held at Hayward's Hotel, Manchester, England.

Charles Miller, president; William Walker, clerk. Present—1 patriarch, 1 high priest, 25 elders, 40 priests, 21 teachers and 4 deacons.

Total number of members represented were 12 as follows:—1,549 members, including 44

<sup>6.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 81 (WR) (APR, 412), with light editing and change to first person.

<sup>7.</sup> Book E-1, 1713: "2 \Saturday/" (LH)

<sup>8.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 82 (WR) (APR, 412), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>9.</sup> Book E-1, 1713: "3 \Sunday/" (LH)

<sup>10.</sup> Source: "Great Flood at Chester—Loss of Life and Property," MSt 4 (Sept. 1843): 78-80.

<sup>11.</sup> Source: Based on "Minutes of the Manchester Conference," MSt 4 (Oct. 1843): 81-83.

<sup>12.</sup> DHC 6:2: "was"

elders, 99 priests, 56 teachers, 22 deacons. Baptized since last general conference, 80; cut off, 29; emigrated, 18; removed, 26; died, 4.

<sup>13</sup>Monday, 4. <sup>14</sup>—Attended mayor's court, and tried three cases, viz.:

City v[ersu]s. A. Dodge, S. Dodge, and Luther Purtelow. The two first I fined five dollars, and the last one dollar and costs. **Called for a seal on a paper to go to England for Dr. Bennett shewing the death of a friend.** One p.m., called and gave licence to **Monroe and Mayhue**<sup>15</sup> for a circus performance, which I attended with my family **[from]** 2½ until 5 p.m.

I copy from the New York Sun as follows:-

<sup>16</sup>This Joe Smith must be set down as an extraordinary character, a prophet-hero, as Carlyle might call him. He is one of the great men of this age, and in future history will rank with those, who, in one way or other, have stamped their impress strongly on society.

Nothing can be more plebeian, in seeming, than this Joe Smith. Little of dignity is there in his cognomen; but few in this age have done such deeds, and performed such *apparent* miracles. It is no small thing, in the blaze of this nineteenth century, to give to men a new revelation, found a new religion, establish new forms of worship, <sup>17</sup> to build a city, with new laws, institutions, and orders of architecture, to establish ecclesiastical, civil and military jurisdiction, found colleges, send out missionaries, and make proselytes in two hemispheres: yet all this has been done by Joe Smith, and that against every sort of opposition, ridicule, and persecution. This sect has its martyrs also, and the spirit in which they were imprisoned and murdered, in Missouri, does not appear to have differed much from that which has attended religious persecutions in all ages of the world.

That Joe Smith, the founder of the Mormons, is a man of great talent—a deep thinker, and eloquent speaker; an able writer, and a man of great mental power, no one can doubt who has watched his career. That his followers are deceived, we all believe; but, should the inherent corruptions of Mormonism fail to develop themselves sufficiently to convince its followers of their error, where will the thing end? A great military despotism is growing up in the fertile west, increasing faster, in proportion, than the surrounding population, spreading its influence around, and marshaling multitudes under its banners, causing serious alarm to every patriot.

<sup>18</sup>What is the reason that men are so blind that they cannot, or will not, see the hand of the Lord in his work of the last days?

<sup>19</sup>Tuesday, 5.<sup>20</sup>—Went to the office at 9 a.m., with Mr. Hamilton, of Carthage, who had obtained a deed from the sheriff of the county for Lot 2, block 103, in the city of Nauvoo for taxes, although I had previously paid them: which is another specimen of the oppression, injustice, and rascality of Mr.

<sup>13.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 83 (WR) (APR, 412), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>14.</sup> Book E-1, 1713: "4 Monday"

<sup>15.</sup> Reading of names uncertain.

<sup>16.</sup> Source: "The Mormons," MSt 4 (Sept. 1843): 75.

<sup>17.</sup> Book E-1, 1714: "<to give ... worship,>" (JG)

<sup>18.</sup> Source: Probably GAS's commentary.

<sup>19.</sup> *Source*: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 84 (WR) (*APR*, 412), with editing, elaboration, and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type. The elaboration on Bagby is consistent with JS's views expressed on 1 Aug. 1843 in WCj [1843-44], vol. 3 (*NTNLF*, 404-5), and 13 Aug. 1843 in JSj [1843-44], 52 (*APR*, 405).

<sup>20.</sup> Book E-1, 1714: "5 Tuesday"

Collector Bagby, who by such foul means robs me and other Saints, and abuses all who come unfortunately in his power.

I requested my clerk to make out a bill of fare for the mansion.

Court 10 A.M. Foster vs Easton, Hamilton<sup>21</sup> and adjourned till two. At 2 [p.m.] adjourned to next week.

<sup>22</sup>The ship *Metoka* sailed from Liverpool with a company of Saints on board.

<sup>23</sup>Wednesday, 6.<sup>24</sup>—I went to the Recorder's about 6½ a.m.<sup>25</sup>, and found him in bed. Held mayor's court on<sup>26</sup> the case, "City v[ersu]s. Joseph Owen."

<sup>27</sup>Meeting convened pursuant to adjournment. The former chairman not being present, EDSON WHITNEY, Esq., was called to the chair, and the meeting being organized the following Preamble and Resolutions were submitted by the committee, and unanimously adopted:—

#### PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.

This meeting having convened for the purpose of taking under advisement a subject of vital importance, not only to this county, but to all the surrounding counties, regret that we are necessarily and irresistibly forced to the conclusion, that a certain class of people have obtruded themselves upon us, calling themselves Mormons, or Latter Day Saints, and under the sacred garb of Christianity, assumed, as we honestly believe, that they may the more easily, under such a cloak, perpetrate the most lawless and diabolical deeds that have ever, in any age of the world, disgraced the human species.

In evidence of the above charge, we find them yielding implicit obedience to the osten-sible head and founder of this sect, who is a pretended prophet of the Lord, and under this Heaven-daring assumption, claiming to set aside, by his vile and blasphemous lies, all those moral and religious institutions which have been established by the Bible, and which have in all ages been cherished by men, as the only means of maintaining those social blessings, which are so indispensably necessary for our happiness.

We believe that such an individual, regardless as he must be, of his obligations to God, and at the same time entertaining the most absolute contempt for the laws of man, cannot fail to become a most dangerous character, especially when he shall have been able to place himself at the head of a numerous horde, either equally reckless and unprincipled as himself, or else made his pliant tools by the most absurd credulity that has astonished the world since its foundation.

In the opinion of this meeting, a crisis has arrived, when many of the evils to be expected from a state of things so threatening, have transpired. We feel convinced that circumstances have

<sup>21.</sup> APR, 412, reads "Hamilton", but this reading is uncertain.

<sup>22.</sup> Source: "The Metoka," MSt 4 (Sept. 1843): 80. Cf. W. Rowley, Nauvoo, IL, to Editor, 25 Jan. 1844, in T&S 5 (1 Feb. 1844): 429, which gives 15 Sept. 1843 as departure date.

<sup>23.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 85 (WR) (APR, 412), with light editing and change to first person.

<sup>24.</sup> Book E-1, 1714: "6 Wednesday"

<sup>25.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 85: "6 or 7 A.M."

<sup>26.</sup> DHC 6:4: replaces "on" with "in"

<sup>27.</sup> Book E-1, 1714: adds at *eoln* "\[See addenda page 4]/" (LH). The minutes that follow were added in Book E-1, Addenda, 4-7, by RLC, probably between 12-14 May 1856 (see MSHi Chronology). *Source: Warsaw Messenger* 1 (13 Sept. 1843): [1]-[2]. See also DHC 5:537-38 (chap. 28, under 19 Aug. 1843).

even now occurred, which prove to us most conclusively, that Joseph Smith, the false prophet before alluded to, has evinced, in many instances, a most shameless disregard for all the forms and restraints of law: by boldly and presumptuously calling in question the acts of certain officers, who had fearlessly discharged the duties absolutely imposed upon them by the laws, particularly when they have come in contact with his own sordid and selfish interests.

He has been heard to threaten—nay, he *has* committed violence upon the person of an officer, because that officer dared honestly to do his duty according to law.

He has caused his city council to pass laws contrary to the laws of the State, and subversive of the rights of citizens of this State.

Citizens have been arrested, tried, and punished, for breaches of those mock laws from time to time, in such manner that they have been compelled to the humiliating necessity of seeking an asylum elsewhere, in order to escape the tyranny and oppression of this modern Caligula.

He has caused the writ of habeas corpus to be issued by the municipal court of the city of Nauvoo, in a case not provided for in the charter of that city, and indeed contrary to the letter of that instrument; and, himself a prisoner, arrested under grave charges made by a neighboring State, brought before said court, tried, and acquitted:—Thereby procuring his own rescue from the custody of the law.

Citizens from the adjoining counties have been denied the right to regain property stolen and taken to Nauvoo, even after they have discovered both the thief and the property; and themselves, under the most frivolous pretenses, arrested, fined, and other property rifled from them, to satisfy the mock judgments and costs of his cormorant officers.

Persons upon whom stolen property has been found in the city of Nauvoo, have been brought before this religio-political chief, and he in the capacity of mayor of the city has refused to convict<sup>28</sup>, where the cases have been most clear and palpable.

We have had men of the most vicious and abominable habits, imposed upon us, to fill our most important county offices, by his dictum, in order as we verily believe, that he may the more certainly control our destinies, and render himself, through the instrumentality of these base creatures of his ill-directed power, as absolute[ly] a despot over the citizens of this county, as he now is over the serfs of his own servile clan.

And to crown all, he claims to merge all religion, all law, and both moral and political justice, in the knavish pretension that he receives fresh from heaven, divine instructions, in all matters pertaining to these things; thereby making his own depraved will the rule by which he would have all men governed.

He has caused large bodies of his ragamuffin soldiery to arm themselves, and turn out in pursuit of officers, legally authorized to arrest himself; he being charged with high crimes and misdemeanors committed in the State of Missouri, and these officers arrested by the vilest hypocrisy, and placed in duress, that he might enable himself, to march triumphantly into Nauvoo, and bid defiance to the laws of the land.

In view of the above grievances, this meeting feel that it is their bounden duty to resist, by every laudable means, all such unwarrantable attacks upon their liberties; therefore—

*Resolved*, 1st. That inasmuch as we honestly believe that the combination of people, calling themselves Mormons, or Latter Day Saints, have given strong indications, in their recent movements, that they are unwilling to submit to the ordinary restraints of law; we are, therefore, forced to the conclusion, that the time is not far distant, when the citizens of this county <sup>29</sup> will be compelled to assert their rights in some way.

<sup>28.</sup> Warsaw Message: adds "them"

<sup>29.</sup> DHC 6:6: "country"

Resolved, 2nd. That while we would deprecate anything like lawless violence, without justifiable cause; yet we pledge ourselves in the most solemn manner to resist all the wrongs which may be hereafter attempted to be imposed on this community by the Mormons, to the utmost of our ability; peaceably, if we can, but forcibly, if we must.

*Resolved*, 3rd. That in the event of our being forced into a collision with that people, we pledge ourselves that we will stand by and support each other, in every emergency, up to the death.

*Resolved*, 4th. That we believe that it is also the interest of our friends in the neighboring counties, and also neighboring <sup>30</sup> States, to begin to take a firm and decided stand against the high pretensions and base designs of this latter-day would-be Mahomet.

Resolved, 5th. That provided we must necessarily, for the well-being of this community, the protection of our dearest rights, and the preservation of our excellent institutions, adopt measures to humble the pride and arrogance of that audacious despot; we, therefore, call upon all good and honest men, without distinction of party or place to come to the rescue.

Resolved, 6th. That we pledge ourselves in the most determined manner, that if the authorities of the State of Missouri, shall make another demand for the body of Joseph Smith, and our Governor shall issue another warrant, to stand ready at all times to serve the officer, into whose hands such warrant may come, as a posse, in order that it may not be said of us in future, that the most outrageous culprits have been suffered "to go unwhipped of justice."

Resolved, 7th. That a corresponding committee be appointed to communicate with the different parts of this county, and also with other counties; and we would also recommend to all surrounding counties to appoint like committees, for the purpose of a mutual interchange of views, in regard to the subjects embraced in these proceedings.

Resolved, 8th. That as it has been too common for several years past for politicians of both political parties, not only of this county, but likewise of the State, to go to Nauvoo and truckle to the heads of the Mormon clan, for their influence, we pledge ourselves that we will not support any man of either party in future, who shall thus debase himself.

Resolved, 9th. That if the Mormons carry out the threats they have made in regard to the lives of several of our citizens, we will, if failing to obtain speedy redress from the laws of the land, take summary and signal vengeance upon them as a people.

*Resolved*, 10th. That when the government ceases to afford protection, the citizens, of course, fall back upon their original and<sup>31</sup>inherent right of self-defense.

In pursuance of the 7th resolution, the following gentlemen were appointed to act as a central corresponding committee at Carthage: namely—Capt[ain]. R[obert]. F. Smith, Maj[or]. T. J. Bartlet, H[armon]. T. Wilson, F[rank]. A. Worrell<sup>32</sup> and Walter Bagby.

On motion of Henry Stevens, it was ordered that committees, consisting of two persons, be appointed in each election precinct of this county, for the purpose of communicating with the central committee at Carthage, and that those two may add to their number at discretion.

On motion of Daniel Beaver, it was made the duty of the person, whose name stands first on the list of each committee to act as chairman, and that all communications from the other committees, or from any other source, shall be added.

The following gentlemen were then appointed by the chair, as committees in the several precincts, to wit:—

<sup>30.</sup> Book E-1, Addenda, 6: "<counties, and ... neighboring>" (LH)

<sup>31.</sup> DHC 6:7: omits "and"

<sup>32.</sup> DHC 6:7: "Worrel"

In<sup>33</sup> Green Plains—Edson Whitney, and Levi Williams.

Bear Creek—William White, and Andrew Moore.

Chili-Stephen Owen, and Arthur Morgan.

Augusta—W[illia]m. D. Abernethy, and Alex[ander]. Oliver.

Saint Mary's—William Darnell, and Daniel Beaver.

Fountain Green—Thomas Geddis and S. H. Tyler.

La Harpe—Jesse Gilmer, and Cha[rle]s. Comstock.

Camp Creek—Ja[me]s. Graham and Thomas Harris.

Appanooce—Ino.<sup>34</sup> McCanley, and Ino.<sup>35</sup> R. Atherton.

Montebello—Samuel Steel, and Benj[amin]. B. Gates.

Warsaw—Thomas E.36 Sharp and Mark Aldrich.

On motion of Levi Williams, Col[onel]. Root of McDonough county, was added to the central corresponding committee at <sup>37</sup> Carthage.

On motion of Henry Newton, Esq.,

Resolved, That the central committee of correspondence act as a general committee of supervision, and in case of a contingency occurring requiring aid, that they immediately call on the precinct committees, and upon all others favorable to our cause, to furnish such aid as the exigency of the case may require.

On motion of Cha[rle]s. C. Stevens, the following  $^{38}$ resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That the president of this meeting be requested to communicate with the Governor of Missouri, and respectfully request him to make another demand upon the authorities of this State, for the body of Joseph Smith, commonly called the Mormon Prophet; and in the event of a requisition and an order for his arrest and delivery to the proper officers of the State of Missouri, we offer our services to enforce said order, and pledge ourselves to sustain the supremacy of the laws, at all hazards, and under all circumstances.

Resolved, That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be forwarded to the publisher of the Warsaw Message, Quincy Whig, and Quincy Herald, for publication, with a request to them to add a note soliciting all editors friendly to our cause, in this State, Missouri, and Iowa Territory, to copy.

It was then moved and seconded, that this meeting adjourn, subject to the call of the central corresponding committee.

EDSON WHITNEY, Chairman.

W. D. ABERNETHY, Sec[retary].

Editors throughout Illinois, Missouri, Iowa Territory, friendly to the Anti-Mormon cause, are requested to publish the proceedings in today's paper, of a meeting held at Carthage on the 6th instant.

<sup>33.</sup> DHC 6:8: omits "In"

<sup>34.</sup> DHC 6:8: "John"

<sup>35.</sup> DHC 6:8: "John"

<sup>36.</sup> Warsaw Message, Book E-1, Addenda, 7, DHC 6:8: "C."

<sup>37.</sup> DHC 6:8: replaces "at" with "of"

<sup>38.</sup> DHC 6:8: adds "supplementary"

<sup>39</sup>Thursday, 7.<sup>40</sup>—I took home the letter written to Harrisburg for the church history, a small fragment of which only has been preserved, and is as follows:—

<sup>41</sup>/<sup>42</sup>Messrs. Editors:—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints was founded upon direct revelation, as the true church of God has ever been, according to the scriptures, (Amos 3, 7 and Acts 1, 2) and through the will and blessings of God, I have been an instrument in his hands, thus far, to move forward the cause of Zion: therefore, in order to fulfill the solicitations of your letter of July last, I shall commence with my life.

<sup>43</sup>I was born in the town of Sharon, Windsor co[unty]., Vermont, on the 23rd of December, A.D. 1805. When ten years old my parents removed to Palmyra, New York, where we resided about four years, and from thence we removed to the town of Manchester<sup>44</sup>.

My father was a farmer and taught me the art of husbandry. When about fourteen years of age I began to reflect upon the importance of being prepared for a future state, and upon inquiring the plan<sup>45</sup> of salvation, I found that there was a great clash in religious sentiment; if I went to one society they referred me to one plan<sup>46</sup>, and another to another; each one pointing to his own particular creed as the summum bonum of perfection: considering that all could not be right, and that God could not be the author of so much confusion, I determined to investigate the subject more fully, believing that if God had a church it would not be split up into factions, and that if he taught one society to worship one way, and administer in one set of ordinances, he would not teach another principles which were diametrically opposed. Believing the word of God I had confidence in the declaration of James [1:5], "If any man lack wisdom let him ask of God, who giveth to all men<sup>47</sup> liberally and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him."

I retired to a secret place in a grove, and began to call upon the Lord; while fervently engaged in supplication, my mind was taken away from the objects with which I was surrounded, and I was enwrapped in a heavenly vision and saw two glorious personages who exactly resembled each other in features and likeness, surrounded with a brilliant light which eclipsed the sun at noonday. They told me that all religious denominations

<sup>39.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 86 (WR) (APR, 412), with light editing and change to first person.

<sup>40.</sup> Book E-1, 1714: "7 Thursday"

<sup>41.</sup> Following letter inserted by LH in blank space in Book E-1, 1714-16, and Addenda, 8-11. *Source*: RDft 7:67 directs scribe to "copy from MS.", which has been located (CHL, MS 15538). It is in the handwriting of WWP and contains the first paragraph on a half sheet and last six paragraphs (excluding paragraph about the temple) on two sheets marked 1 and 2. The text ends abruptly, with a note on back in WR's hand: "Phelps says he can hunt up the whole document[.] ask for it." This evidently did not materialize. For some reason the historians settled for the present "fragment", rather than simply copy from the 1844 publication (cf. IDR, 404-10; *PJS* 1:445-58), and supplied the middle portion by copying from JS's letter to John Wentworth in *T&S* 3 (1 Mar. 1842): 306-10, which caused some variant readings. Comparison between the letter published in Rupp's book and the present fragment also shows variant readings, including an entire omitted paragraph about the temple.

<sup>42.</sup> Handwriting of RLC ends; LH's begins in Book E-1, 1714, and continues to p. 1716 (this chap.).

<sup>43.</sup> Middle section of letter omitted in DHC 6:9 with following note: "Then follows a brief historical sketch of the Church from the birth of the Prophet to the settlement of the Saints at Nauvoo, much in the strain of the 'Wentworth Letter' already published in this History, (Vol. IV, Ch. xxxi); and for the reason that all the historical data in this I. Daniel Rupp sketch is contained in the Wentworth Letter, it is thought unnecessary to reproduce it here, excepting the closing paragraphs which deal with conditions and prospects at Nauvoo, on the date at which we have arrived in our HISTORY, viz. September, 1843.—Editor."

<sup>44.</sup> IDR, 404: adds "a distance of six miles"

<sup>45.</sup> IDR, 404: replaces "plan" with "place"

<sup>46.</sup> IDR, 404: replaces "plan" with "place"

<sup>47.</sup> Book E-1, 1715: "<to all men>" (LH)

were believing in incorrect doctrines, and that none of them was acknowledged of God as his church and kingdom. And I was expressly commanded to "go not after them," at the same time receiving a promise that the fulness of the gospel should at some future time be made known unto me.

On the evening of the 21st September, A.D. 1823, while I was praying unto God, and endeavoring to exercise faith in the precious promises of scripture, on a sudden a light like that of day, only of a far purer and more glorious appearance and brightness, burst into the room; indeed, the first sight was as though the house was filled with consuming fire; the appearance produced a shock that affected the whole body; in a moment a personage stood before me, surrounded with a glory yet greater than that with which I was already surrounded. This messenger proclaimed himself to be an angel of God sent to bring the joyful tidings, that the covenant which God made with ancient Israel was at hand to be fulfilled, that the preparatory work for the second coming of the Messiah was speedily to commence; that the time was at hand for the gospel in all its fulness to be preached in power, unto all nations, that a people might be prepared for the millennial reign.

I was informed that I was chosen to be an instrument in the hands of God to bring about some of his purposes in this glorious dispensation.

I was also informed concerning the aboriginal inhabitants of this country, and shown who they were, and from whence they came; a brief sketch of their origin, progress, civilization, laws, governments, of their righteousness and iniquity, and the blessings of God being finally withdrawn from them as a people, was made known unto me: I was also told where there was deposited some plates, on which were engraven an abridgment of the records of the ancient prophets that had existed on this continent. The angel appeared to me three times the same night and unfolded the same things. After having received many visits from the angels of God, unfolding the majesty and glory of the events that should transpire in the last days, on the morning of the 22nd of September, A.D. 1827, the angel of the Lord delivered the records into my hands.

These records were engraven on plates which had the appearance of gold, each plate was six inches wide and eight inches long, and not quite so thick as common tin. They were filled with engravings, in Egyptian characters, and bound together in a volume, as the leaves of a book, with three rings running through the whole. The volume was something near six inches in thickness, a part of which was sealed. The characters on the unsealed part were small, and beautifully engraved. The whole book exhibited many marks of antiquity in its construction, and much skill in the art of engraving. With the records was found a curious instrument, which the ancients called "Urim and Thummim," <sup>48</sup>which consisted of two transparent stones set in the rim of a bow fastened to a breastplate.

Through the medium of the Urim and Thummim I translated the record by the gift and power of God.

In this important and interesting book the<sup>49</sup> history of ancient America is unfolded, from its first settlement by a colony that came from the tower of Babel, at the confusion of languages to the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era.

We are informed by these records that America, in ancient times, has been inhabited by two distinct races of people. The first were called Jaredites, and came directly from the tower of Babel. The second race came directly from the city of Jerusalem, about six hundred years before Christ. They were principally Israelites, of the descendants of Joseph.

<sup>48.</sup> Book E-1, 1716: adds at *eoln* "(See Addenda Page 8[)]" (LH). Remainder of paragraph from Book E-1, Addenda, 8-11 (LH).

<sup>49.</sup> Book E-1, 1716: "the" overwrites "this"

The Jaredites were destroyed about the time that the Israelites came from Jerusalem, who succeeded them in the inheritance of the country. The principal nation of the second race fell in battle towards the close of the fourth century. The remnant are the Indians that now inhabit this country. This book also tells us that our Savior made his appearance upon this continent after his resurrection, that he planted the gospel here in all its fulness, and richness, and power, and blessing; that they had apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, and evangelists; the same order, the same priesthood, the same ordinances, gifts, powers, and blessings, as was enjoyed on the eastern continent, that the people were cut off in consequence of their transgressions, that the last of their prophets who existed among them was commanded to write an abridgment of their prophecies, history, &c., and to hide it up in the earth, and that it should come forth and be united with the Bible, for the accomplishment of the purposes of God in the last days. For a more particular account I would refer to the Book of Mormon, which can be purchased at Nauvoo, or from any of our traveling elders.

As soon as the news of this discovery was made known, false reports, misrepresentation and slander flew as on the wings of the wind in every direction, the<sup>50</sup> house was frequently beset by mobs, and evil designing persons; several times I was shot at, and very narrowly escaped, and every device was made use of to get the plates away from me, but the power and blessing of God attended me, and several began to believe my testimony.

On the 6th of April, 1830, the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints" was first organized in the town of Manchester, Ontario county, State of New York. Some few were called and ordained by the Spirit of revelation and prophecy, and began to preach as the Spirit gave them utterance, and though weak, yet were they strengthened by the power of God, and many were brought to repentance, were immersed in the water and were filled with the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands. They saw visions and prophesied, devils were cast out and the sick healed by the laying on of hands.

From that time the work rolled forth with astonishing rapidity, and churches were soon formed in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri; in the last named State a considerable settlement was formed in Jackson county; numbers joined the church and we were increasing rapidly; we made large purchases of land, our farms teemed with plenty, and peace and happiness was enjoyed in our domestic circle and throughout our neighborhood; but as we could not associate with our neighbors who were many of them the basest of men and had fled from the face of civilized society to the frontier country to escape the hand of justice in their midnight revels, their Sabbath breaking, horse racing and gambling, they commenced at first to<sup>51</sup> ridicule, then to persecute, and finally an organized mob assembled and burned our houses, tarred and feathered and whipped many of our brethren and finally drove them from their habitations; who<sup>52</sup> houseless, and homeless, contrary to law, justice and humanity, had to wander on the bleak prairies till the children left the tracks of their blood on the prairie: this took place in the month of November, and they had no other covering but the canopy of heaven, in this<sup>53</sup> inclement season of the year. This proceeding was winked at by the government, and although we had warrantee deeds for our land and had violated no law, we could obtain no redress.

There were many sick, who were thus inhumanly driven from their houses, and

<sup>50.</sup> IDR, 406: replaces "the" with "my"

<sup>51.</sup> Book E-1, Addenda, 9 (pencil): "<to>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>52.</sup> IDR, 406: replaces "who" with "these"

<sup>53.</sup> IDR, 406: replaces "this" with "that"

had to endure all this abuse and to seek homes where they could be found. The result was, that a great many of them being deprived of the comforts of life, and the necessary attendances, died; many children were left orphans; wives, widows; and husbands, widowers. Our farms were taken possession of by the mob, many thousands of cattle, sheep, horses, and hogs, were taken, and our household goods, store goods, and printing press and type were broken, taken, or otherwise destroyed.

Many of our brethren removed to Clay, where they continued until 1836, three years; there was no violence offered, but there were threatenings of violence. But in the summer of 1836, these threatenings began to assume a more serious form<sup>54</sup>; from threats, public meetings were called, resolutions were passed, vengeance and destruction were threatened, and affairs again assumed a fearful attitude, Jackson county was a sufficient precedent, and as the authorities in that county<sup>55</sup> did not interfere, they boasted that they would not in this, which on application to the authorities we found to be too true, and after much violence, privation and loss of property we were again driven from our homes.

We next settled in Caldwell and Daviess counties, where we made large and extensive settlements, thinking to free ourselves from the power of oppression, by settling in new counties, with very few inhabitants in them; but here we were not allowed to live in peace, but in 1838 we<sup>56</sup> were again attacked by mobs, an exterminating order was issued by Gov[ernor]. Boggs, and under the sanction of law an organized banditti ranged through the country, robbed us of our cattle, sheep, horses, hogs, &c., many of our people were murdered in cold blood, the chastity of our women was violated, and we were forced to sign away our property at the point of the sword, and after enduring every indignity that could be heaped upon us by an inhuman, ungodly band of marauders, from twelve to fifteen thousand souls, men, women and children were driven from their own firesides, and from lands that they had warrantee deeds of <sup>57</sup>, houseless, friendless and <sup>58</sup> homeless (in the depth of winter), to wander <sup>59</sup> as exiles on the earth or to seek an asylum in a more genial clime, and among a less barbarous people.

Many sickened and died, in consequence of the cold and hardships they had to endure; many wives were left widows, and children orphans, and destitute. It would take more time than is allotted me here<sup>60</sup> to describe the injustice<sup>61</sup>, the wrongs, the murders, the bloodshed, the theft, misery and woe that has been caused<sup>62</sup> by the barbarous, inhuman and lawless proceedings of the State of Missouri.

<sup>63</sup>And I would refer you, and the readers of your history who may be desirous of further information on this topic, to the evidence taken on my recent trial before the Municipal Court of Nauvoo, on Saturday, July 1st, 1843, on a writ of habeas corpus, which is published in pamphlet form by Messrs. Taylor & Woodruff, of this city.

<sup>54.</sup> IDR, 408: replaces "form" with "aspect"

<sup>55.</sup> Book E-1, Addenda, 9 (pencil): adds "<in that county>" in left margin with insertion point marked with caret (pos. RLC)

<sup>56.</sup> IDR, 408: omits "we"

<sup>57.</sup> IDR, 408: omits "of"

<sup>58.</sup> Book E-1, Addenda, 10: "<friendless and>" (LH)

<sup>59.</sup> IDR, 408: moves "to wander" to precede "houseless"

<sup>60.</sup> IDR, 408: replaces "is allotted me here" with "I am able to devote to your service, at present"

<sup>61.</sup> Book E-1, Addenda, 10 (pencil): adds "<the injustice>" in left margin with insertion point marked with caret (pos. RLC)

<sup>62.</sup> IDR, 408: replaces "caused" with "committed upon our people"

<sup>63.</sup> This paragraph silently omitted in Book E-1, Addenda, 10, and DN.

<sup>64</sup>From<sup>65</sup> this awful, bloody, and inhuman expulsion<sup>66</sup> by<sup>67</sup> the Government, and people, from<sup>68</sup> Missouri, we found an asylum and friends in the State of Illinois. Here, in the fall of 1839, we commenced a city called Nauvoo, in Hancock county, which, <sup>69</sup>in December, 1840, received an act of incorporation from the legislature of Illinois, and is endowed with as liberal powers as any city in the United States.

Nauvoo, upon every point connected with increase and prosperity, has exceeded the most sanguine expectations of thousands. It now contains near 1,500<sup>70</sup> houses, and more than 15,000 inhabitants. The charter contains, among its important powers, privileges or immunities, a grant for "The University of Nauvoo," with the same liberal powers of the city, where all the arts and sciences will grow with the growth, and strengthen the strength of this beloved city of the Saints of the last days.

Another very commendatory provision of the charter is, that that portion of the citizens subject to military duty, are organized into a body of <sup>71</sup> independent military men, styled the "Nauvoo Legion," whose highest officer holds the rank, and is commissioned Lieutenant-General. This legion, like other independent bodies of troops in this Republican Government, is at the disposal of the Governor of the State, and President of the United States. There is also an act of incorporation for an Agricultural and Manufacturing Association, as well as the Nauvoo House Association.

<sup>72</sup>The temple of God, now in the course of erection, being already raised one story, and which is 120 feet by 80 feet, of stone, with polished pilasters, of an entire new order of architecture, will be a splendid house for the worship of God, as well as an unique wonder for the world, it being built by the direct revelation of Jesus Christ for the salvation of the living and the dead.

Since the organization of this church its progress has been rapid, and its gain in numbers regular. Besides these United States, where nearly every place of notoriety has heard the glad tidings of the gospel of the Son of God, England, Ireland and Scotland have shared largely in the fullness of the everlasting gospel, and <sup>73</sup>thousands <sup>74</sup>have already gathered with their kindred saints to this the corner stone of Zion. Missionaries of this church have gone to the East Indies, to Australia, Germany, Constantinople, Egypt, Palestine, <sup>75</sup> the islands of the Pacific, and are now preparing to open the door in the extensive dominions of Russia.

There is no correct data by which the exact number of members composing<sup>76</sup> this now extensive, and still extending Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, can be known. Should it be supposed at 150,000, it might still be short of the truth.

Believing the Bible to say what it means, and mean what it says: and guided by reve-

<sup>64.</sup> From this point to end of document (excluding bolded paragraph about the temple) taken from WWP fragment (see "Source" note at beginning of document).

<sup>65.</sup> WWP MS: "After <From>"

<sup>66.</sup> IDR, 408: replaces "From ... expulsion" with "After being thus inhumanly expelled"

<sup>67.</sup> WWP MS: "from <by>"

<sup>68.</sup> WWP MS: "of <from>"

<sup>69.</sup> WWP MS: adds "in 1840 recei[ved]"

<sup>70.</sup> DHC 6:9: "3,500"

<sup>71.</sup> Book E-1, Addenda, 10 (pencil): "\of/" (pos. LH)

<sup>72.</sup> This paragraph has been added from IDR, 409 (*PJS* 1:456). It did not appear in the WWP fragment, and therefore was not copied into MSHiJS, nor published in *DN* or DHC 6:9.

<sup>73.</sup> WWP MS: adds "many"

<sup>74.</sup> WWP MS: adds "have come into the new and ever=lasting covenant, and some"

<sup>75.</sup> WWP MS: "<Germany, Constantinople, Egypt, Palestine,>"

<sup>76.</sup> Book E-1, Addenda, 10 (pencil): "compri<o>sing" (US)

lation, according to the ancient order of the fathers, to whom came  $^{77}$  what little light  $^{78}$ we enjoy; and circumscribed only by the eternal limits of truth, this church must continue the even tenor  $^{79}$  \* \* \*80

<sup>81</sup>/<sup>82</sup>Called at the office<sup>83</sup> [at] 12 [o'clock], and administered the laying on of hands to sister Partington and her two children.

<sup>84</sup>Dreadful conflagration at Studlweissenburg<sup>85</sup> in Hungary; about six hundred houses destroyed. <sup>86</sup>Friday, 8.<sup>87</sup>—I was at home all day, my wife being sick<sup>88</sup>.

Stephen Markham started for Dixon with the court papers in relation to the writ of habeas corpus, and as a witness.

## <sup>89</sup>Evening [William Clayton] went to see Pres[iden]t J[oseph]. Sister E[mma] a little better.

<sup>90</sup>I directed William Clayton to go to Augusta, Iowa, to get a deed signed by Mr. Moffit for the steamer *Maid of Iowa*.

<sup>91</sup>Muster day of the first cohort.

<sup>92</sup>The Twelve held a meeting in Boylston Hall, Boston; present Elders H[eber]. C. Kimball, O[rson]. Pratt, Geo[rge]. A. Smith, Wilford Woodruff and J[ohn]. E. Page.

<sup>93</sup>Saturday, 9.<sup>94</sup>—My wife a little more comfortable. William Clayton went to Augusta, got the deed signed by Mr. Moffit and his wife, and returning in the evening.

General training of the Nauvoo Legion.

[Willard] Richards went to temple to pay 14 head of cattle. Cold, cloudy. City council did not form a quorum but adjourned.

<sup>95</sup>The quorum of the Twelve met the church in Boston, at Boylston Hall, in conference: 16

- 77. WWP MS: "<came>"
- 78. WWP MS: adds "from"
- 79. DHC 6:10: adds "of its way"; evidently taken from IDR, 410 (PJS 1:456).
- 80. Ellipses in Book E-1, Addenda, 11, and *DN*. Remainder of letter contains the thirteen articles of faith (IDR, 410), but omitted in WWP MS, Book E-1, *DN*, and DHC.
- 81. Source: JSj [1843-44], 86 (WR) (APR, 412), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.
- 82. Handwriting of LH ends; RLC begins in Book E-1, 1716, and continues to p. 2028, or end of Book E-1 (chap. 16).
  - 83. JSj [1843-44], 86: "<office>"
  - 84. Source: Based on "Extensive Conflagration," MSt 4 (Oct. 1843): 95.
  - 85. DHC 6:10: "Stuhlweissenburg"
- 86. Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 87 (WR) (APR, 412), with light editing and change to first person.
  - 87. Book E-1, 1716: "8 Friday"
  - 88. DHC 6:10: moves "my wife being sick" to beginning of sentence
  - 89. Source: From unused portion of WCj, [1843-44], vol. 3, 8 Sept. 1843 (DMQP, 12).
- 90. Source: WC's trip to Augusta is mentioned in JSj [1843-44], 88 (WR) (APR, 413), under 9 Sept. 1843, and WRj 9:49, but reason for trip not given; possibly in restricted WCj, [1843-44], vol. 3, or supplied by WC orally.
  - 91. Source: JSj [1843-44], 87 (WR) (APR, 412), with light editing.
  - 92. Source: Based on WWj, vol. 4, 8 Sept. 1843 (WWj 2:285).
- 93. Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 88 (WR) (APR, 412-13), with editing and elaboration about Moffit added, possibly in restricted WCj, [1843-44], vol. 3, or supplied by WC orally. Deleted material supplied here in bold type. Cf. NLM [1843-44], 7.
  - 94. Book E-1, 1716: "9 Saturday"
  - 95. Source: This paragraph apparently summarizes WWj, vol. 4, 9 Sept. 1843 (WWj 2:286-87).

branches were represented, containing 878 members. A great deal of valuable instruction was given by the Twelve, and the Hall, a very large one, was crowded. A number were baptized during conference which lasted three days. The minutes of conference I here insert:—

## <sup>96</sup>CONFERENCE<sup>97</sup>

Held at Boylston Hall, Boston, September 998, 1843.

Present of the quorum of the Twelve—Elders Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Orson Hyde, John E. Page, Wilford Woodruff and <sup>99</sup> George A. Smith.

Reported by Wilford Woodruff. 100

Conference opened with 101 prayer by Elder George A. Smith.

<sup>102</sup>President Young Called for Business.

Elder E[li] P Magin[n] represented the Boston Branch Containing members 182, [and] Peterboro [Containing members] 88, strong in faith of gathering.

Elder B. F. Gruid Represented the Lowel Branch consisting of members 48.

Elder Snow Represented the Salem Branch of 75 or 80, 12 or 15 to start west next Tuesday & another company to start the 1st of October which will take about half of the Church.

Elder Lewis Represented the Church in New Bedford containing members 100. Many of them not active. Not more than one third of them come to meeting. Have not had a Preacher lately. If a good one was to come good might be done.

E P Magin[n] represented the Church in Gilsom N.H. containing 42. Among the No are two Cousins of President Joseph Smith one the postmaster of the Place.

Elder Bryant Represented the Georgetown Branch containing members 30. But not much of the spirit of gathering. Elder E Snow remarked he did not wonder they had not the spirit of gathering when their Presiding Elder Nathaniel Holmes & his Son Elder Milton Holmes has settled down with the Church manifesting No disposition to gather themselves. It was no wonder the Church had not the spirit of it.

Elder Jesse Haven Represented the Church in North Bridge members 41. They were scattered in several towns. Large majority have the spirit of gathering. One cut off 1 died 1 set aside. The majority in full faith.

E P Magin[n] Represented New Salem Branch from 45 to 50.

[E P Maginn] And Wendall 40.

And Leveratt generally in good standing 35.

Elders Rogers informs that several families was to start from Leveratt next Wednesday. He represents the Westfield Branch members 39, Cabitsville 10, Northbridge Branch 37, Farmington, Ct., 12, Scattering 13.

<sup>96.</sup> *Source*: Following minutes of a three-day conference in Boston were taken mainly from a 25-page draft in JG's hand, with corrections by TB (presently in UC; see transcription in vol. 7, RDft MS #7, chap. 1, under date). JG began preparing this draft on 3 May 1855 (CHOj 17:396), using mostly WWj, vol. 4, 9-10 Sept. 1843 (*WWj* 2:286–303), with occasional phrases and sentences from an earlier 21-page rough draft (by US, also in UC), and possibly NSB, 37-42 (LH), for the sermons of BY and HCK (see notations below). For 11 Sept. 1843, JG used the rough minutes. On 13 June 1855, TB and GAS read JG's draft to BY, who approved it for publication (CHOj 18:37).

<sup>97.</sup> DHC 6:11: "Important Conference of the Twelve"

<sup>98.</sup> Book E-1, 1716: "9th September"

<sup>99.</sup> DHC 6:11: omits "and"

<sup>100.</sup> JG draft, 1: "<reported by Wilford Woodruff.>"; DHC 6:11 brackets this line.

<sup>101.</sup> JG draft, 1: "Meet[ing] Conference opened by <with>"

<sup>102.</sup> Following bolded section is from omitted portion of WWj, vol. 4, 9 Sept. 1843 (WWj 2:286-87).

After the various branches in the New England States<sup>103</sup> were represented, Elder P. P. Pratt <sup>104</sup>made a few remarks, of which the following is a synopsis:—

"Some elders<sup>105</sup> tell us that they have taught the gathering according to the scriptures; but it is not sufficient to teach the principle from the scriptures *alone*; for <sup>106</sup>if there was no other guide, the people would be left in doubt as to whether they should gather to Jerusalem, Africa, America, or elsewhere<sup>107</sup>. It is right to teach the gathering according to the scriptures, although some predictions of the prophets are obscure, <sup>108</sup> but we are not left to them alone. We know, and all the Saints ought to know, that God has appointed a place and time of gathering, and has raised up a prophet to bring it about; of which we are witnesses. Our message is, that we are witnesses of the fulfillment of the predictions of the prophets. <sup>109</sup>

["]We have not to lay down<sup>110</sup> a long round-about <sup>111</sup>of <sup>112</sup>arguments and calculations<sup>113</sup>:—the specific time and place are pointed out, the stakes are driven<sup>114</sup>, the foundations of the city and Temple are laid, and a people already gathered. We therefore know where to go; and to reject the revelations of God which have pointed out these things to us, only brings condemnation. If this is not the case, then our faith is vain, and our works and hopes are vain also.

["]We worship a God who can inspire his servants to tell the people what to do. 115 We have already got the opinions of men enough concerning the coming of Jesus Christ; but we need the voice of a Prophet in such a case, and we have it. I am willing to risk my all upon it; and if the elders understand the principle of gathering and teach it correctly, the people will have the correct spirit of the gathering 116.

117["]It is time we came<sup>118</sup> out, and declared boldly and definitely<sup>119</sup> what God has<sup>120</sup> for the people: we want more than opinions—we want your works. He has said he would send a prophet to prepare the way; and let me ask these profound sectarians, why he has not done it? If the angels found a God in heaven able to give instructions, shield them from sword and famine, &c., why have we not found him? Let the teachers bear the message they are entrusted with; and if they<sup>121</sup> wish then for scripture, tell them that they were<sup>122</sup> in fulfillment of prophecy; but let them have the whole message."

```
103. JG draft, 1:"<in the New England States>"
```

<sup>104.</sup> WWj: adds "arose and"; JG draft, 1: "arose and"

<sup>105.</sup> WWj: omits "elders"; JG draft, 1: "<Elders>"

<sup>106.</sup> WWj: adds "By this"; JG draft, 1: "by this"

<sup>107.</sup> JG draft, 1:"<else>where"

<sup>108.</sup> WWj: omits "although some predictions ... obscure"; JG draft, 1: "<although some predictions ... obscure;>"  $\,$ 

<sup>109.</sup> WWj: omits "Our message ... prophets"

<sup>110.</sup> WWj: replaces "lay down" with "go"; JG draft, 1: "go < lay down>"

<sup>111.</sup> DHC 6:11: adds "[system]"

<sup>112.</sup> JG draft, 1: adds "posit"

<sup>113.</sup> WWj: omits "arguments and calculations"

<sup>114.</sup> WWj: omits "the stakes are driven"

<sup>115.</sup> WWj: omits "We worship ... what to do"

<sup>116.</sup> JG draft, 2: inserts at eoln "it. \the gathering./"

<sup>117.</sup> This paragraph not in WWj.

<sup>118.</sup> DHC 6:11: "come"

<sup>119.</sup> JG draft, 2:"<and definitely>"

<sup>120.</sup> DHC 6:11: replaces "has" with "had"

<sup>121.</sup> DHC 6:12: replaces "they" with "the people"

<sup>122.</sup> DHC 6:12: replaces "they were" with "their message is"

Elder E. P. Maginn <sup>123</sup>said he for one had taught the gathering according to the scriptures, but he considered all modern revelations scripture as well as those given anciently.

#### <sup>124</sup>P. P. Pratt said they agreed their was no disagreement &c.

125 Elder Brigham<sup>126</sup> Young addressed the meeting on the subject of our faith. "We hear the elders represent the feeling of the brethren concerning the gathering—this is right<sup>127</sup>. The Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ is a gathering spirit: its tendency is to gather the virtuous and good, the honest and meek of the earth, and in fine the Saints of God. The time has come when the Lord is determined to fulfill his purposes. The people are apt to say that if they had lived in the days of Jesus Christ they would have received his work; but judge ye if the people are better now than then. They are not. When the full, set time was come, the Lord came in the flesh to do his work, whether the people were prepared or not, and he would not have come at all if he had waited till the people were prepared to receive him. It was decreed from all eternity that he should come, and he came; the people were not prepared then, nor are they any more prepared now. And now the full set time has come for the Lord God Almighty to set his hand to redeem Israel. We are not bound to make the people believe, but we are bound to preach the gospel, and having done this, our garments are clear.

["]The Lord does not require every soul to leave his home as soon as he believes: some may be wanted to go to the isles of the sea, and some to go north and some south—but he *does* require them to hearken to counsel, and follow that course which he<sup>129</sup> points out, whether to gather or stay to do some other work<sup>130</sup>.

["]The Spirit of the Lord, and this<sup>131</sup> work, are on the alert, and those who keep up with the work must be on the alert also. The Spirit of the Lord will leave them who sit down, and refuse to obey. When the Lord says, 'Gather yourselves together,' why do you ask him what for? Had you not rather enjoy the society of Saints, than sinners whom you cannot love? Is it not the principle of the Saints to mingle together and promote the great cause in which they are engaged?

["]Perhaps some of 134 you are ready to ask, 'Cannot the Lord save us as well where we are as to gather together?'Yes, if the Lord says so; but if he commands us to come out and gather together, he will not save us by staying at home. Have you not received the gospel? Yes.

["]Then do you believe <sup>135</sup>what we say[?] Have you not received the Holy Ghost, by receiving the gospel which we have brought unto you? Yes; thousands have, and it stands as a testimony that God has got a prophet on the earth. You might have been baptized seventy times seven in any way except the way God had ordained, and pointed out, and you would not have received the Holy Ghost; this also is a testimony to you.

["]Are you engaged with us in this great work? 'Yes, certainly,' you answer, 'heart and 136

```
123. WWj: adds "arose &"; JG draft, 2: "arose and"
```

<sup>124.</sup> This paragraph from omitted portion of WWj.

<sup>125.</sup> Cf. BY's sermon in NSB, 37-40.

<sup>126.</sup> WWj: "B."; JG draft, 2: "B<righam>"

<sup>127.</sup> WWj: omits "this is right"

<sup>128.</sup> WWj: omits "and he would not ... now"

<sup>129.</sup> JG draft, 3:"the Lord <he>"

<sup>130.</sup> WWj: omits "whether to gather ... work"

<sup>131.</sup> DHC 6:12: replaces "this" with "His"

<sup>132.</sup> WWj: omits "The Spirit of the Lord will leave ... obey"

<sup>133.</sup> WWj: omits "Had you not ... love"

<sup>134.</sup> JG draft, 3: "<some of>"

<sup>135.</sup> WWj: adds "the gospel"

<sup>136.</sup> JG draft, 3: "head<eart> in <and>"

hand'<sup>137</sup>; [']can we do any good?'Yes, you can. The sectarian world send the Bible to the nations of the earth: the poor among them<sup>138</sup> put sixpence, fifty cents, or a dollar into the box to carry out that object<sup>139</sup>; and can the Latter Day Saints do nothing? Let them do what God requires; he has required that we should build a house unto his name, that the ordinances and blessings of his kingdom may be revealed, and that the Elders may be endowed, go forth, and gather together the blood of Ephraim—the people of God, from the ends of the earth.

["]Can you get an endowment in Boston, or anywhere, except where God appoints<sup>140</sup>? No, only in that place which God has pointed out. Now, query—Could Moses have obtained<sup>141</sup> the law, if he had<sup>142</sup> stayed in the midst of the children of Israel, <sup>143</sup>instead of going up on to<sup>144</sup> the mountain? The Lord said, 'Go and do so and so, stand before Pharaoh, pull off thy shoes, for the place is holy.' Moses obeyed, and obtained blessings which he would not have received, if he had been disobedient.

["]Has the Lord spoken in these last days, and required us to build him a house? Then why query about it? If he has spoken, it is enough. I do not care whether the people gather or not, if they don't want to do so; I do not wish to save the people against their will; I want them to choose whether they will gather and be saved with the righteous, or remain with the wicked and be damned like to have all people bow down to the Lord Jesus Christ; but it is one of the decrees of the Lord that all persons shall act upon their agency, which was the case even with the angels who like to have never the large last of the large last one of the decrees of the Lord that all persons shall act upon their agency, which was the case even with the angels who like last one of the large last of the large last of the la

["]Now, will you help us to build the Nauvoo House and Temple? If so, you will be blessed; if not, we will build it without you<sup>147</sup>; and if you don't hearken you will not have the Spirit of the Lord; for the Spirit of the Lord is on the move.

["]The apostles tried to gather the people together in their day; Christ said he would gather the Jews oft as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, but they would not. Neither God nor angels care whether men hear or forbear; they will carry on their work, for the full set time is come for God to set up his kingdom<sup>148</sup>; and we go<sup>149</sup> about it—we must build a house, and get an endowment, preach the gospel, warn the people, gather the Saints, build up Zion, finish our work, and be prepared for the coming of Christ.

["]Now, we want to send four missionaries to the Pacific Islands, and we want a little clothing, and beds, and money to pay their passage<sup>150</sup>. Can you do something for them? This is not all; we want you to give us<sup>151</sup> all you have to spare<sup>152</sup> towards building the Temple. We

```
137. WWj: omits "heart and hand"
```

<sup>138.</sup> WWj: replaces "poor among them" with "people"

<sup>139.</sup> WWj: replaces "to carry out that object" with "& send Bibles through the world"

<sup>140.</sup> WWj: omits "or anywhere ... appoints"

<sup>141.</sup> JG draft, 4: "got <obtained>"

<sup>142.</sup> JG draft, 4: "<if he> had he"

<sup>143.</sup> JG draft, 4: adds "and not"

<sup>144.</sup> JG draft, 4: "<on> unto"

<sup>145.</sup> WWj: omits "and be damned"; JG draft, 4: "righteous <the wicked and be damned>"

<sup>146.</sup> JG draft, 4: "that <who>"

<sup>147.</sup> WWj: replaces "without you" with "alone"; JG draft, 4 (pencil): "alone <without you>"

<sup>148.</sup> WWj: omits "for God to set up his kingdom"

<sup>149.</sup> WWj: replaces "go" with "care"; JG draft, 4 (pencil): "eare <go>"

<sup>150.</sup> WWj: omits "and we want ... passage"

<sup>151.</sup> DHC 6:14: omits "us"

<sup>152.</sup> WWj: "We want you to give us sum thing to build a temple. We want what you have to spare"; JG draft, 4: "<all you have to spare>"

shall be<sup>153</sup> able to build it, if we have to work with a sword in one hand.<sup>154</sup> But, perhaps, you are afraid you will not have enough for yourself when you get there; yet how easy it is for the Lord to take it away from you by fire or otherwise.

["]Elder Maginn had an ivory<sup>155</sup> cane; I asked him for it, but he declined making me a present of it; not long after he had it<sup>156</sup> stolen from him in a crowd<sup>157</sup>, and it now does neither of us any good. Perhaps your purse may slip through your pocket, or you may lose your property;<sup>158</sup> for the Lord can give and take away. Jacob with his faith obtained all the best cattle his father-in-law had.

["]If I had a wife and ten children, I would give all my money to build the Temple and Nauvoo House, and I would trust in God for their support<sup>159</sup>; yet<sup>160</sup> I will be richer for it; for God would prosper me in business. Men are apt to serve God on Sunday, and neglect him all the week.<sup>161</sup> Who blesses you and all the people? God; but do <sup>162</sup>the people acknowledge the hand of God in all these things? No, they turn away from him, and do not acknowledge him, or realize from whom their blessings flow. They know not who blesses them; it never comes into their heart<sup>163</sup>. So with the farmer; the blessings are constantly flowing to him, and he considers not whence they come.<sup>164</sup>

["]Let me tell you a secret, when the Lord shakes the earth, and every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, he will bring gold for brass, silver for iron, brass for wood, and iron for stones. Then you will have no use for gold, for money, and Gods<sup>165</sup> as you now have<sup>166</sup>: you will not care so much about it;<sup>167</sup> but the Lord will think as much of it then as now.

["]But now we want some of the gods of the gentiles<sup>168</sup>—some of the gold and silver to build the Temple and Nauvoo House for the accommodation of the kings, princes and nobles of the earth, when they come to inquire after the wisdom of Zion—that they may have a place for their entertainment, and for the weary traveler to be refreshed. Let us have your gold to take to Nauvoo<sup>169</sup> for this purpose. <sup>170</sup>

["]Is there wisdom in Zion? We think so, and the world begins to think so. Let the world come forward, and translate the plates that have of late come forth, if they have wisdom to do it. The Lord intends to take away the gods of the gentiles: he pulleth down and buildeth up at his own pleasure.

["]Sacrifice your gods for the building up of Zion; administer of your substance; send our missionaries to the islands of the sea; <sup>171</sup> don't be afraid of a dollar, or a hundred dollars, or even a

```
153. JG draft, 4: "<be>"
```

<sup>154.</sup> WWj: omits "We shall be able ... hand"

<sup>155.</sup> WWj: "<ivory>"

<sup>156.</sup> JG draft, 5: "<it>"

<sup>157.</sup> WWj: "But he soon lost it"

<sup>158.</sup> WWj: omits "Perhaps your purse ... property"

<sup>159.</sup> JG draft, 5 (pencil): "<for their support>"

<sup>160.</sup> JG draft, 5: "<yet>"

<sup>161.</sup> WWj: omits "If I had a wife ... week"

<sup>162.</sup> JG draft, 5: adds "they"

<sup>163.</sup> DHC 6:14: "hearts"

<sup>164.</sup> WWj: omits "They know not ... come"

<sup>165.</sup> DHC 6:14: "gods"

<sup>166.</sup> JG draft, 5:"<and gods as you know have>"

<sup>167.</sup> WWj: omits "you will not care so much about it"

<sup>168.</sup> WWj: omits "some of the gods of the gentiles"

<sup>169.</sup> JG draft, 5: "<to take to Nauvoo>"

<sup>170.</sup> WWj: omits "Let us have ... purpose"

<sup>171.</sup> WWj: omits "Sacrifice your gods ... sea"

thousand dollars: I would not; I have made a sacrifice of all I possessed a good many times. I am richer the more I give;<sup>172</sup> for the Lord has promised and does reward me a hundredfold; and if I sacrifice all for the cause of God, no good thing will be withheld from me.<sup>173</sup> I have taken this course to get rich; I have given all I had, and God has given many blessings in consequence. If I am too bold in asking, be too bold in giving. I ask expecting to receive. Put <sup>174</sup>your shoulder to the wheel with all your might—give your all and become rich by receiving a hundredfold."<sup>175</sup>

Adjourned until half-past two o'clock, when the meeting was opened by singing.

Prayer by Elder Parley P. Pratt.

Singing.

Elder Parley P. Pratt <sup>176</sup>said, "I have a few remarks to make concerning the subject spoken of in the forenoon by Elder B[righam]. Young, who said we wanted all your gold, silver and precious things. We not only want your all as pertaining to gold, silver, &c., but we want you, your wives and children, and all you have, to be engaged in the work of the Lord<sup>177</sup>.

["]I don't know that I can give you a better pattern of what we want, than the case of Joseph in Egypt. <sup>178</sup>Israelites will get all they can; they are very great to go ahead. The Egyptians believed in dreams, and by the peculiar gift of interpretation of dreams, Joseph entered into a great scheme of speculation; he used the gift of interpretation <sup>179</sup> to become great in the eyes of the Egyptians. He obtained great political influence, came <sup>180</sup> out with gold ornaments, and rode in the king's chariot <sup>181</sup> in great splendor. He laid up corn in great abundance during the seven years of plenty, and when the famine came he got all their gold, silver, cattle, land, property, and finally their persons. <sup>182</sup>No one but an Israelite or an Israelitish God would have thought of it; <sup>183</sup> it was like an Israelite—it was like Noah, Lot, Christ, &c.; and it is a fair sample <sup>184</sup> of our speculation.

 $^{185}\mbox{["]}\mbox{There is more said in scripture about gold, silver, and land than any other subject.}$ 

["]God is the origin<sup>186</sup> of power—the Sovereign; he made the people and the earth<sup>187</sup>, and he has the<sup>188</sup> right to reign. There will be good times and good government, when the world will acknowledge the God of heaven as their lawgiver, and not till then<sup>189</sup>; and if I could live under his government I should be thankful, although I am a real republican in principle, and would rather live under the voice of the people than the voice of one man, but it will<sup>190</sup> be

```
172. WWj: omits "I am richer the more I give"
```

<sup>173.</sup> WWj: omits "and if I ... from me"

<sup>174.</sup> JG draft, 6: adds "to with all you"

<sup>175.</sup> WWj: replaces "I ask ... hundredfold" with "Give your all and God will repay as much again".

<sup>176.</sup> JG draft, 6: adds "arose and"

<sup>177.</sup> WWj: omits "to be engaged ... Lord"

<sup>178.</sup> JG draft, 6: adds "An"

<sup>179.</sup> WWj: replaces "interpretation" with "dreams"

<sup>180.</sup> JG draft, 6: "comes <came>"

<sup>181.</sup> WWj: "Came out on the kings horse"

<sup>182.</sup> Remainder of this and next paragraph omitted in DHC 6:15.

<sup>183.</sup> WWj: replaces "No one but ... thought of it" with "This speculation was from A Josephite and"

<sup>184.</sup> JG draft, 6: "specimen <sample>"

<sup>185.</sup> WWj also omits this paragraph.

<sup>186.</sup> JG draft, 7: "subject <origin>"

<sup>187.</sup> WWj: omits "he made ... earth"

<sup>188.</sup> JG draft, 7: "the" overwrites "a"

<sup>189.</sup> WWj: omits "and not till then"

<sup>190.</sup> JG draft, 7: "would <will>"

for the good and happiness of man when that government is established,<sup>191</sup> which we pray for when we say, 'Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven'; and until that time arrives, we must pray for it.

["]This Joseph in Egypt—the speculator—what a great and good man he was; I love him—I admire his course, and I believe a little of his blood is in my veins; but had Joseph been like the religious world at the present day—had he said he had got religion, and done with the world, 192 he would not have rode the king's horse, worn his robe, or had to do with gold and silver; and he would have done no good, 193 built no storehouses, and saved no corn for fear of speculation.

["]But he acted differently; and there is an ancient prediction respecting our modern Prophet Joseph, namely, that a prophet and seer should be raised up, and those who seek to destroy him shall be confounded. This has proved true; <sup>194</sup>upwards of thirty law suits have been brought against the Lord's anointed, and his persecutors have <sup>195</sup> as often been confounded. He has been raised and supported, according to the prophecy, to do a work on the earth, and the Lord has been with him; every weapon formed against him has been broken, he has overcome all the lawsuits which have been brought against him, and no accusation has been sustained against him; yet he will lay a plan to speculate as large as ancient Joseph did; he will have power to buy up all the rest of the world. <sup>196</sup>

["]What Elder Young said is good, we want all he spoke of, and a great deal more; we do not want it for ourselves, but for you. We want you to use it, and we have a prophet who tells how, when, and where to use it; take your means, and unite your exertions in this work. <sup>197</sup> We want you to take that course which will save you; build up a city and temples, and enjoy them; and do as the Lord tells you; and hearken to counsel.

["]We have a prophet<sup>198</sup> to tell us what to do, and we should get as much wisdom as the world; if they want a railroad built, all they have to do is to open books; the people subscribe stock, a railroad is soon built, and an income is realized. The Saints ought to be as well united as the world, and do the things that God has required, that a great nation may be saved from all nations.

["]The old gentleman <sup>199</sup>that rules the nations has ruled long enough; and if I was<sup>200</sup> an infidel, I would like to have the Lord raise up a Joseph, or a Daniel, or a Mordecai, or an Esther, to obtain political, temporal, and spiritual power,<sup>201</sup> and cause a change for the good of the world. Thank Heaven, he has begun to raise them up. He has raised up another Joseph, to do the great work of God, and it will continue on until the saying goes forth that the Lord has built up Zion.

["]The kingdom of God must be established, and it will be.<sup>202</sup> I read that gold, silver, power, thrones, and dominions will be connected with the great work of God in the last days; then let us wake up to see what God says shall come to pass, and let us enlarge our hearts and prepare for the great and glorious work.

<sup>191.</sup> WWj: omits "although I am ... established"

<sup>192.</sup> WWj: omits "had he said ... world"; JG draft, 7: "<had he said ... world,>"

<sup>193.</sup> JG draft, 7: adds "to"

<sup>194.</sup> JG draft, 7: adds "thirty"

<sup>195.</sup> JG draft, 7: "<have>"

<sup>196.</sup> WWj: omits "he will have power ... world"

<sup>197.</sup> WWj: omits "we want all he spoke of ... work"

<sup>198.</sup> DHC 6:16: replaces "a prophet" with "prophets"

<sup>199.</sup> DHC 6:16: adds "[Satan]"

<sup>200.</sup> DHC 6:16: "were"

<sup>201.</sup> WWj: replaces "or a Mordecai ... power" with "or sumbody"

<sup>202.</sup> WWj: omits "The kingdom ... be"

["]Do the Saints here in Boston know that they are identified with the laying of the foundation, and establishing of a great and mighty kingdom<sup>203</sup>, which is to include all the great and glorious work to be fulfilled in the last dispensation and fullness of times? And I prophesy in the name of the Lord, that whether the Saints in<sup>204</sup> Boston or any other place<sup>205</sup>, stand for it or rise against it, numberless millions will celebrate that day when the foundation of this work was laid."

Elder Geo[rge]. A. Smith <sup>206</sup>said, "I <sup>207</sup>am pleased with the many remarks which have been made this day. You can easily<sup>208</sup> see a similarity between the two Josephs and the revelations<sup>209</sup> that are<sup>210</sup> given, for the salvation of the present generation. Joseph in Egypt a savior of his father's house and the Egyptians: Joseph [Smith] at this day holds the keys of salvation, not only to the gentiles, but also to the house of Israel<sup>211</sup>.

["]I do not know but some may have reflections different from my own: I will, however, show how the Lord deals with mankind.<sup>212</sup> Some may say, 'Who can believe that God who dwells in heaven will condescend to speak to the people about building him a house in this day of religion and <sup>213</sup>science?'

["]This may be considered simple in the eyes of many;<sup>214</sup> but the day was when the salvation or damnation of the<sup>215</sup> whole world hung upon as small a<sup>216</sup> circumstance. 'Noah by faith<sup>217</sup>, being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear,<sup>218</sup> prepared an ark to the saving of his house; by which he condemned the world,<sup>219</sup> and became heir of the<sup>220</sup> righteous which is by faith<sup>221</sup>.'

["]Had the editors of this day $^{222}$  lived then, I think they would have said and written more against it, than they have against Joseph Smith, and the revelations he has received and published. $^{223}$ 

["]We find God was in the habit of telling men to do many simple things, even to the giving of a law concerning the protection of <sup>224</sup> birds' nests. <sup>225</sup>You talk about God condescending to speak of small things in the last days, but it is only as it was in the days of Moses; for we read in the Bible how God commanded the children of Israel when they found a bird's nest,

```
203. WWj: replaces "kingdom" with "work"
204. DHC 6:17: replaces "in" with "of"
205. WWj: omits "or any other place"
206. WWj: adds "arose and"; JG draft, 8: "arose and"
207. JG draft, 8: adds "have"
208. JG draft, 8: "<easily>"
209. WWj: replaces "revelations" with "Laws"; JG draft, 8: "laws < revelations > "
210. WWj: replaces "are" with "were"; JG draft, 8: "were <are>"
211. WWj: omits "for the salvation ... Israel"; JG draft, 8: "<for the salvation ... Israel>"
212. WWj: omits "I do not know ... mankind"
213. JG draft, 9: adds "scripture"
214. WWj: omits "This may ... many"
215. JG draft, 9: "a <the>"
216. JG draft, 9: "small <similar a>"
217. JG draft, 9: "<by faith>"
218. JG draft, 9: "\of things/ <not seen as yet ... fear,>"
219. JG draft, 9: "himself and family <this house ... world,>"
220. JG draft, 9: "an heir of <the>"
221. JG draft, 9: "<which is by faith>"
222. JG draft, 9: "<of this day>"
223. JG draft, 9: "to th[e]"
224. JG draft, 9: "a <the protection of>"
225. JG draft, 9: adds "<<del>Deut 22 ch 6&7th</del>>"
```

(Deut. 22 ch. 6<sup>226</sup> v.) not to take the dam with the young; 'But thou shalt in any wise let the dam go free, and take the young to thee'; <sup>227</sup>(Why?) 7 v., 'That it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days.'

["]We see from this, that however small and simple the commandments of God appear to be, they are great in their results. Connecting this with the law of God to Israel<sup>228</sup> concerning the eating of locusts, beetles, and grasshoppers, (Leviticus 11 ch. 22 v.)<sup>229</sup> <sup>230</sup> Even these of them ye may eat, the locust after his kind, and the bald locust after his kind, and the beetle after his kind, and the grasshopper after his kind.'

["]Is this as small business for the Lord to talk about, as it is for him to command the Saints to build a tavern or <sup>231</sup>boarding house for visitors who constantly go to Nauvoo, which<sup>232</sup> when done will do much good for the spreading of the work to all nations; what good could arise from a law of God permitting the<sup>233</sup> eating of beetles and grasshoppers, I cannot say.

["]All the prophecies have aimed at the gathering of the people, and saving them in the last days. But it is better never to have known the Master's will, than to know it and not perform it;<sup>234</sup> and<sup>235</sup> my advice is, if you cannot take hold of the work, and go through the whole course, to<sup>236</sup> stop, and go no further; if you have not courage to go on at the expense of all things, it is better to turn back.<sup>237</sup>

["]We do not want to deceive you. Our traditions have taught us to be very religious, to wear long faces, never to tell an amusing story, nor to laugh, &c.: this was the case with the long-faced Christians in Missouri, and they were the first to strike a dagger to our hearts. It is better for a man to act out what he is, than to be a hypocrite. 'Pure religion and undefiled <sup>238</sup>before God and the Father is this,' says James, 'to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.' <sup>239</sup>

## [DN 6 (25 February 1857): 401]

["]I do not like that religion which lies in a man's long face, or his coat or hat.<sup>240</sup> If I wear a strange hat, it is not because of my religion; for where the religion of a man is in the shape of <sup>241</sup> his hat or coat, it is not very extensive anywhere else.

["]Some of the Elders want to appear very big, and to be called great preachers; 242 but whenever I have seen them trying to preach something large and mysterious to get a name, I have concluded they have yet much to learn. I have been eleven years a member of this church,

```
226. DHC 6:17:"7"
```

<sup>227.</sup> JG draft, 9: adds "what for?"

<sup>228.</sup> JG draft, 9:"word <law> of the Lord <God to Israel>"

<sup>229.</sup> JG draft, 9: "<Leviticus 11 ch 21&22 v.>"

<sup>230.</sup> JG draft, 9: "(bottom)"; remainder of paragraph written at bottom of page and keyed to this location.

<sup>231.</sup> JG draft, 9: adds "This"

<sup>232.</sup> JG draft, 9: "<for visitors ... which>"

<sup>233.</sup> JG draft, 9: "<a law <of God> permitting the>"

<sup>234.</sup> WWj: omits "it is better ... it"

<sup>235.</sup> JG draft, 9: "<it is better ... and>"

<sup>236.</sup> DHC 6:18: omits "to"

<sup>237.</sup> WWj: omits "if you have not courage ... back"

<sup>238.</sup> JG draft, 10: adds "says P"

<sup>239.</sup> WWj: omits "It is better for a man ... world"

<sup>240.</sup> WWj: omits "I do not like ... hat"

<sup>241.</sup> JG draft, 10: "<the shape of>"

<sup>242.</sup> WWj: omits "Some of the Elders ... preachers"

and was a believer two years before I entered it; and during that time I have seen many elders who like to preach large and mysterious sermons.<sup>243</sup>

["]As many are desirous of hearing mysteries, I will rehearse a short sermon of mysteries for their edification. Elder Kimball has had a long standing in the church; he has preached much, done much good, brought many souls into the kingdom, had great influence, and is considered the most successful minister among us<sup>244</sup>.

["]Elder Amasa Lyman and myself went into Pike county, Illinois, <sup>245</sup> to preach where the elders had preached all the mysteries about beasts, heads and horns <sup>246</sup>: they wanted us to preach mysteries; <sup>247</sup>we told them we were not qualified to preach mysteries, but if they would send for Elder Kimball he could <sup>248</sup> preach them. So they sent about forty miles for Elder Kimball, and brought him down, they were so anxious to hear the mysteries.

["]When he came he had a large congregation assembled; he arose and remarked that he understood they had sent for him to come and preach the mysteries to them. 'I am well qualified, and fully competent to do it, and am happy to have the privilege: I want the attention of all.' When every mind was stretched and eager to learn these great mysteries, he said, 'The first mystery I shall present before you is this: look at<sup>249</sup> Elder Amasa Lyman, he<sup>250</sup> needs<sup>251</sup> a pair of pantaloons, and a new hat<sup>252</sup>; but it appears you do not see it, consequently I want to open your eyes, and reveal to you<sup>253</sup> a great mystery, for<sup>254</sup> an elder in this<sup>255</sup> church has need of a hat and<sup>256</sup> a pair of breeches!! as well as yourselves,<sup>257</sup> and *especially* when the Saints *know* he is<sup>258</sup> so much in<sup>259</sup> need of them?' He preached a few more mysteries of the same nature: and the result of this sermon was, that Elder Lyman got a pair of pants and a new hat<sup>260</sup>, and Elder Kimball and myself each<sup>261</sup> a barrel of flour for our<sup>262</sup> families."

<sup>263</sup>Elder Brigham Young arose and said: "I will make an apology for my remarks in the former<sup>264</sup> part of the day; some may think I spoke very plain<sup>265</sup>, but the object I had in view was to

```
243. WWj: omits "I have been eleven years ... sermons"
244. WWj: replaces "and is considered ... us" with "&c."
245. WWj: replaces "Pike county, Illinois" with "a place"; JG draft, 10: "a place <Pike co. Ill:>"
246. WWj: omits "about beasts, heads and horns"
247. JG draft, 10: adds "but"
248. DHC 6:18: "would"
249. JG draft, 10: omits "look at"; Book E-1, 1723: "<look at>" (TB)
250. JG draft, 10: omits "he"; Book E-1, 1723: "\he/" (pos. TB)
251. JG draft, 10: "wants <needs>"
252. WWj: omits "and a new hat"
253. Book E-1, 1723: "Is it not <and a new hat ... you>" (TB)
```

```
258. Book E-1, 1723: "was <is>" (TB)
259. JG draft, 11: "in <so> much <in>"
```

254. Book E-1, 1723: "that \for/" (TB)

<sup>255.</sup> DHC 6:19: replaces "this" with "the"
256. WWj: replaces "has need of ... and" with "should want"; Book E-1, 1723: "should want for <has need of ... and>" (TB)

<sup>257.</sup> WWj: omits "as well as yourselves"; JG draft, 10-11: replaces "and a new hat ... yourselves" with "It is not a great mystery that an Elder in this church should want <for> a pair of breeches"; Book E-1, 1723: "<as well as yourselves,>" (TB)

<sup>260.</sup> WWj, JG draft, 11: omit "and a new hat"; Book E-1, 1723: "<and a new hat>" (TB)

<sup>261.</sup> WWj: omits "and myself each"; JG draft, 11: "<and myself each>"

<sup>262.</sup> WWj: replaces "our" with "his"; JG draft, 11: "his <our>"

<sup>263.</sup> Cf. BY's sermon in NSB, 40-41 (LH).

<sup>264.</sup> JG draft, 11:"fore <former>"

<sup>265.</sup> DHC 6:19: "plainly"

teach you your duty, as I am aware the people are not made to feel<sup>266</sup>; and the apology I have to make is this: I will turn Thomsonian doctor, and give the composition without cream and sugar; it matters not whether I get friends or foes.<sup>267</sup> If this work does not live, I do not want to live; for it is my life, my joy, my all; and if it sinks, God knows I do not want to swim.<sup>268</sup>

["]I wish you to understand this; that he that gathereth not with us scattereth, and they have not the Spirit of God<sup>269</sup>. We live in anticipation of the day when mobs cannot harm us, and they who have tasted the bitter cup feel to realize this hope.<sup>270</sup> Wake up, ye elders of Israel who have sought to build yourselves up and not the kingdom of God, and put on your sword<sup>271</sup>:—wake up, ye that have daubed with untempered mortar, hearken and hear me; for I say unto you in the name of Jesus Christ, that if you do not help us to build <sup>272</sup>the Temple, and the Nauvoo House, you shall not inherit the land of Zion.

["]If you do not help to<sup>273</sup> build up Zion, and the cause of God, and help me and my brethren on our way when we want to go on the Lord's business, you shall not partake of the blessings which are laid up in store for the Saints.

["]Many Elders seek to build themselves up and not the work of the Lord<sup>274</sup>; they will say, 'Put gold rings on my fingers—give me what I want,' and they care nothing about the Temple. This they should not do: I will not allow myself to do so;<sup>275</sup> and when any one does this, no matter who he may be, even though he was one of the Twelve, he will not prosper. Those of the Twelve and others of the elders who have apostatized, I have known their hearts, and their breathings; I have known their movements, although they thought I did not know much; but I knew all about them, and when I see men preaching to build themselves up and not Zion, I know what it will end in. But you may say you are young: I don't care if you are so<sup>276</sup>; are you old enough to know what you are about? if so, preach and labor for the building up of the city of Zion; concentrate your means and influence there, and not scatter abroad. Instead of which some of the elders appear to be dumb and lazy, and care for nothing but themselves.<sup>277</sup>

["]Now, ye elders, will you be faithful? if not, you will not be chosen, for the day of choosing is at the door. Why be afraid of a sacrifice? I have given my all many times, and am willing to do it again. I would be glad to hear the Lord say through his servant Joseph, 'let my servant Brigham give again all that he has,' and I would obey it in a moment, if it took the last coat off from my back."

<sup>278</sup>A hymn was sung.

<sup>279</sup>Elder Kimball arose and said: "I get up on<sup>280</sup> necessity, to say a few words. I am quite unwell, but I feel the importance of this work. I have been a member of this church twelve years: I came out of the Baptist church, and joined this with all my heart, as I was seeking after truth. I have passed through everything but death; in fact, I have been brought into situations

```
266. WWj: omits "but the object ... feel"; DHC 6:19: adds "it"
```

<sup>267.</sup> WWj: omits "it matters not ... foes"

<sup>268.</sup> WWj: omits "and if it sinks ... swim"

<sup>269.</sup> WWj: omits "and they have not the Spirit of God"

<sup>270.</sup> Preceding sentence based on WWj: "And they that have tasted the Bitter Cup feel it."

<sup>271.</sup> WWj: omits "and put on your sword"

<sup>272.</sup> JG draft, 11: adds "up"

<sup>273.</sup> JG draft, 11: "<to>"

<sup>274.</sup> WWj, JG draft, 11: replace "the Lord" with "God"

<sup>275.</sup> WWj: omits "they will say ... so"

<sup>276.</sup> DHC 6:20: omits "so"

<sup>277.</sup> WWj: omits "Instead of which ... themselves."

<sup>278.</sup> WWj: omits this line

<sup>279.</sup> Cf. HCK's sermon in NSB, 41-42 (LH).

<sup>280.</sup> DHC 6:20: replaces "on" with "of"

even worse than death. It has been my lot and privilege to sacrifice all I possessed from time to time;<sup>281</sup> and we have come here to call for help to build the Temple and Nauvoo House. I have spent thirty dollars to get here, and have collected fifteen, and that with much difficulty<sup>282</sup>.

["]We were commanded of the Lord to come, but it seems as though but few felt interested in it. Here I see four brethren going as missionaries to the Sandwich Islands, and destitute of means to help themselves: I could weep for them. I feel interested in this great work; we are seeking to bring about a work that could never before be performed.<sup>283</sup>

["]When the time is brought about that we are to receive our inheritances, the more faithful we are, <sup>284</sup>the larger will be our reward. <sup>285</sup> We have come out to reap, but do we have time to reap new grain? No: for it takes all our time to try to save that which is already reaped.

["]We have reapers in the field, and we are trying to save the wheat; we want to get it on the barn floor, so that we may thrash it; we have come after you<sup>286</sup> to warn you:<sup>287</sup> you think Elder Young put the flail on rather heavy, but it is nothing to be compared with the thrashing you will get in Zion; and those who have the hardest heads will, of course, have to be thrashed the hardest; but don't be troubled about the chaff when it comes to the barn, for God will prepare a great winnowing mill which will blow all the chaff away, and the wheat will be found before the mill; then it has to go through the smut machine, then ground, then put through the bolting machine, and many will bolt in going through.<sup>288</sup> <sup>289</sup>I speak in parables: I compare the Saints to a good cow; when you milk her clean, she will always have an abundance of milk to give; but if you only milk her a little, and don't strip her, she will soon dry up. So with the Saints, if they do but little in building up Zion, they soon have but little to do with; this was the case in Cincinnati.

<sup>290</sup>["]The night <sup>291</sup> before arriving at Cincinnati I had a dream while on the steamboat; <sup>292</sup> I dreamt that <sup>293</sup> I had a wagon with a rack on it, and an individual with me. We were going to a field of wheat of mine <sup>294</sup> that had been cut, bound and shocked up, in order <sup>295</sup> to haul into the barn; when we came to the field, I jumped off the wagon and got <sup>296</sup> over the fence to examine it, pulled off the cap sheaf, and behold it was oats, pulling the bundles apart I found there were clusters of rats<sup>297</sup>: on <sup>298</sup> further examination I found clusters of mice <sup>299</sup>, and the oats were all eaten up.

```
281. WWj: omits "It has been my lot ... time"
282. WWj: omits "and that with much difficulty"
283. WWj: omits "I feel interested ... performed"
284. Book E-1, 1724: adds "and"
285. WWj: omits "When the time ... reward"
286. DHC 6:20: replaces "you" with "it"
287. WWj: omits "We have reapers ... warn you"
```

288. WWj: omits "then it has to go ... through"; JG draft, 13: "<then it has to go ... through.>"

289. JG draft, 13: "all right"

290. At this point, JG draft, 13, follows WWj in reading: "I had a dream concerning the saints there; <see over> I thought I was in a field of wheat which was stacked up, and we had got to draw it out the barn: when we came to open-the stack the bundles all fell to pieces, and we found that the stack was filled with clusters of rats and mice who had been-eating up the grain." On the back (verso) of p. 13 appear the next two paragraphs in pencil in JG's hand.

```
291. JG draft, 13 (verso): "while after [illegible] < the night>"
292. Book E-1, 1725: "[erasure of about eight words] < The night before ... steamboat;>" (JG)
293. JG draft, 13 (verso): "In a dream\t/ < that>"
294. JG draft, 13 (verso): "< of mine>"
295. JG draft, 13 (verso): "< in order>"
296. JG draft, 13 (verso): "jumped < got>"
297. JG draft, 13 (verso): replaces "rats" with "mice"
298. JG draft, 13 (verso): "with < on>"
299. JG draft, 13 (verso): replaces "rats" with "mice"
```

<sup>300</sup>["]In my dream I was going to haul in wheat, but to my astonishment it was oats, and they were all eaten up by the rats and mice.

["]I thought these rats and mice were the elders and official members who had been in and lain on the church at Cincinnati<sup>301</sup>, lived on the wheat, eaten them<sup>302</sup> up, instead of building up new branches; so that when the Twelve came along, they could not get anything for the Temple or Nauvoo House, or hardly a place to stay; the rats had eaten up the wheat; so we had to go to the world for a home to stay while we were there.

["]We do not profess to be<sup>303</sup> polished stones like Elders Almon W.<sup>304</sup> Babbitt, Geo[rge]. J.<sup>305</sup> Adams, James<sup>306</sup> Blakeslee, and Eli P.<sup>307</sup> Maginn, &c.<sup>308</sup>: but we are rough stones out of the mountain, and when we roll through the forest, and knock the bark from the trees, it does not hurt us even if we should get a corner knocked off occasionally; for the more we roll about, and knock the corners off, the better we are; but if we were polished and smooth when we get the corners knocked off, it would deface us.

["]Joseph Smith never professed to be a dressed, smooth, polished stone, but to have kicked himself<sup>309</sup> rough out of the mountain; and he has been rolling among the rocks and trees, yet it<sup>310</sup> has not hurt him at all; but he will be as smooth and polished in the end as any other stone, while many who were so very polished and smooth in the beginning<sup>311</sup>, get badly defaced and spoiled while they are rolling about.["]

Elder Parley P. Pratt said: "Some are going to Zion, and the rest want to know what they shall do. The Lord, through Jeremiah, 3 ch. 14 <sup>312</sup>v. <sup>313</sup>, says, 'I will take you one of a city, and two of a family, and I will bring you to Zion; and I will give you pastors according to mine <sup>314</sup> heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and understanding.' Inasmuch as you hearken to counsel, you will know what the will of the Lord is concerning you in all things. Meet often together to worship God, and to speak to each other of the things of God. Gather as soon as you can; come up to the mountain of the Lord's House, and there learn of these things, that the scriptures may be fulfilled." <sup>315</sup>

Elder Orson Pratt <sup>316</sup>said: "I do not know that I can say anything to impress the subjects which have been spoken upon<sup>317</sup> more fully upon your minds <sup>318</sup>than has been done. There are some things, however, I wish to mention: we have learned from what we have heard<sup>319</sup> this

```
300. JG draft, 13 (verso): adds "I-went"
```

<sup>301.</sup> WWj: omits "at Cincinnati"; JG draft, 13: "<at Cincinnati>"

<sup>302.</sup> JG draft, 13: replaces "it" with "them"; DHC 6:21: replaces "them" with "it"

<sup>303.</sup> WWj: "We are not"; JG draft, 13: "are rough <do> not profess to be>"

<sup>304.</sup> WWj: reads "Elder" and omits "Almon W."; JG draft, 13: "Elder\s/ <Almon>" and omits "W."

<sup>305.</sup> WWj: replaces "Geo. J." with "Elder"; JG draft, 13: "Elder < Geo J.>."

<sup>306.</sup> WWj: replaces "James" with "Elder"; JG draft, 13: "Elder < James>"

<sup>307.</sup> WWj: replaces "Eli P." with "Elder"; JG draft, 13: "Elder <Eli P.>."

<sup>308.</sup> DHC 6:21: adds another "&c."

<sup>309.</sup> DHC 6:21: replaces "kicked himself" with "come"

<sup>310.</sup> JG draft, 14: "he <yet>"

<sup>311.</sup> JG draft, 14: "in the end as any <and smooth in the beginning>"

<sup>312.</sup> DHC 6:22: adds "15"

<sup>313.</sup> WWj: "Isaiah Said ..."; JG draft, 14: "<3 ch. 15 v>"

<sup>314.</sup> JG draft, 14: "my <mine>"

<sup>315.</sup> WWj: omits "Meet often ... fulfilled".

<sup>316.</sup> WWj: adds "arose &"; JG draft, 14: "arose and"

<sup>317.</sup> JG draft, 14: "<the subjects which ha{\ve/} been spoken upon>"

<sup>318.</sup> JG draft, 14: adds "the subject"

<sup>319.</sup> JG draft, 14: "<heard>"

day that great blessings will be given to the faithful when the Temple is finished. I will speak of some of the consequences that will follow, if we do not obey.

When the Temple is reared, God will manifest himself in a peculiar manner; if we are obedient, he has told us he will make manifest to us things we are ignorant of;<sup>320</sup> he <sup>321</sup>has said he will reveal things which pertain to this dispensation that have been <sup>322</sup> hidden and kept secret from the foundation of the world.

No former age or generation of the world have had the same things revealed; all other dispensations will be swallowed up in this. He declares in his revelations, the consequences of not building the house unto his name within such a time. The Lord says, if you build the house in that time, you shall be blessed; but if not you shall be rejected as a church with your dead, saith the Lord. So if that house is not built, then in vain are all our cares; our that and works, our meetings and hopes are vain also—our performances and acts will be void. The same things revealed; all other dispensations will be void. The consequences of not built time, you shall be rejected as a church with your dead, saith the Lord. So if that house is not built, then in vain are all our cares; our the same things revealed; all other dispensations will be void. The consequences of not built time, you shall be rejected as a church with your dead, saith the Lord. So if that house is not built, then in vain are all our cares; our the consequences are vain also—our performances and acts will be void.

The servants of God who are faithful and do their duty, will get the blessing; and we are determined to do our duty, and lay these principles before the Saints<sup>326</sup>, so that they may have the privilege of contributing;<sup>327</sup> we will turn this responsibility upon the heads of the Saints;<sup>328</sup> then our garments will be clear, and the Lord is able and will be willing<sup>329</sup> to endow all the faithful in some other place.

This church, in its infancy, was directed to do a certain work, and the consequences pointed out. The Lord gave are revelation several years since to the church to appoint our wise men, and send up our moneys by them to buy lands if not, we should not have an inheritance, but our enemies should be upon us. We went through and told the Saints these things; but did the churches do as God commanded? No, they did not, but the revelation was fulfilled, and the enemies of the Saints came upon them, and drove them the saints houses and homes, and finally from the State of Missouri. This was in consequence of their dispersion dispersion obeying the commandments of God through his servant Joseph.

<sup>340</sup>Many suppose they must get direct revelation from God for themselves<sup>341</sup>; not so; he has a prophet, and he says the church shall give heed to the words of the prophet, as he is to

```
320. WWj: omits "When the temple ... ignorant of"
321. JG draft, 14: adds "will"
322. WWj: omits "which pertain ... have been"; JG draft, 14: "<been>"
323. WWj: omits "all other dispensations ... time"
324. JG draft, 15: "<our>"
325. WWj: omits "our performances and acts will be void"
326. JG draft, 15: "people <Saints>"
327. WWj: omits "so that they may have the privilege of contributing"
328. JG draft, 15: "<we will turn ... Saints;>"
329. JG draft, 15: "<and will be willing>"
330. WWj: omits "This church ... out."
331. JG draft, 15: "When driven from Jackson County <the Lord gave>"
332. JG draft, 15: "was given < several years since>"
333. JG draft, 15: "gather together < designate > < appoint > "
334. JG draft, 15: "<by them>"
335. DHC 6:22: "land"
336. JG draft, 15: "and <but>"
337. JG draft, 15: adds "out"
338. JG draft, 15: "the <in>"
339. JG draft, 15: "<their>"
340. This paragraph omitted in WWj.
341. JG draft, 15: "<for themselves>"
```

hold the keys of the kingdom of God in this life, and in the world to come. Then it is of much consequence that you give heed to his word.

Says one, suppose we are not satisfied that this is the work of God?<sup>342</sup> You can ask God if the work is true, and he will give you a testimony. You can put every confidence in the Book of Mormon, and in Joseph the Prophet; and if you are not satisfied, go to God.<sup>343</sup> I doubt in my own mind if any man<sup>344</sup> can stand what they will have to pass through, unless they do get a witness for themselves: and I pray you to give heed to the words which the Twelve have taught you, and ask God to help you."

The conference was adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Sunday, 10th.—Conference met according to adjournment.

Meeting was opened by singing; and prayer by Elder Maginn; after which Elder W[ilford]. Woodruff <sup>345</sup>addressed the assembly from Amos 3 ch. 7 v., "Surely the Lord God will do nothing but he revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets?" ["]According to the testimony of the scriptures in all ages of the world, whenever God was about to bring a judgment upon the world or accomplish any great work, the first thing he did was to raise up a prophet, and reveal unto him the secret, and send him to warn the people, so that they may be left without excuse. This was the case in the days of Noah, and Lot: God was about to bring judgments upon the people, and he raised up those prophets who warned the people <sup>346</sup> of it; yet they gave no heed to them, but rejected their testimony; and the judgments came upon the people <sup>347</sup>, so that they were destroyed, while the prophets were saved by pursuing the course marked out by the Lord.

["]Jesus Christ testified to the Jews of the things that awaited them as a nation, the fall of Jerusalem, and their dispersion among the gentile world; but they did not believe it. Yet the secret of all these things was revealed to the prophets and apostles; they believed it, and looked for its fulfillment; and it came to pass as it was predicted, though contrary to the expectation of the Jewish nation.

["]In like manner do we look for the certain fulfillment of those tremendous events upon the heads of the gentile world, which have been spoken of, and pointed out by all the holy prophets and apostles since the world began, they having spoken as they were moved upon by the power of God and the gift of the Holy Ghost: events which more deeply concern the gentile world, than the overthrow of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews did the Jewish nation; for while they stumbled at the stone they were broken, but when it falls upon the heads of the gentile world it will grind them to powder.

["]The full set time is come for the Lord to set his hand to accomplish these mighty events; and as he has done<sup>348</sup> in other ages, so has he done now—he has raised up a prophet, and is revealing unto him his secrets; through that prophet he has brought to light the fullness of the everlasting gospel to the present generation, and is again once more for the last time establishing his church upon the foundation of the ancient apostles and prophets, which is revelation, <sup>349</sup> Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone.

["In the church is now found judges as at the first, and counselors as at the beginning;

<sup>342.</sup> Preceding sentence omitted in WWj.

<sup>343.</sup> WWj: omits "You can put every ... God"

<sup>344.</sup> DHC 6:23: replaces "any man" with "men"

<sup>345.</sup> WWj: adds "arose &"; JG draft, 16: "arose and"

<sup>346.</sup> JG draft, 16: "a <those> prophet\s/, and <who> warned them <people>"

<sup>347.</sup> WWj: replaces "the people" with "them"; JG draft, 16: "them <the people>"

<sup>348.</sup> JG draft, 17: "<as> he has done as he"

<sup>349.</sup> JG draft, 17: omits "which is revelation"; Book E-1, 1727: "<which is revelation,>" (TB)

also<sup>350</sup> apostles, prophets, evangelists<sup>351</sup>, pastors, and teachers, with<sup>352</sup> gifts and graces, for the perfecting of the saints, the work of the ministry, and the edifying of the body of Christ.

["]The Lord has raised up his servants, and sent them into the vineyard to prune it <sup>353</sup> once more for the last time—to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to warn the nations that they may be left without excuse in the day of their visitation; also to gather the honest in heart, and the meek of the earth, that Zion may be built up, and the sayings of <sup>354</sup> the prophets fulfilled.

["]One of the secrets that God has revealed unto his prophet in these days is the Book of Mormon; and it was a secret to the whole world until it was revealed unto Joseph Smith, whom God has raised up as a prophet, seer, and revelator, unto his people. This record contains an account of the ancient inhabitants of this continent, and of the cities with which they overspread this land from sea to sea, the ruins of which still remain as standing monuments of the arts, science, power and greatness of their founders<sup>355</sup>. It also points out the establishing of this our own nation, with <sup>356</sup>its progress, <sup>357</sup>**decline, and fall**; and those predictions contained in the Book of Mormon—the stick of Joseph in the hand of Ephraim, will as truly be fulfilled as those contained in the Bible—the stick and record of Judah; and both these sticks or records contain prophecies of great import concerning the gentile nations, and especially this land and nation, which are not yet fulfilled, but must shortly come to pass; yea, their fulfillment is nigh, even at the doors.

["]Though the secrets which God is revealing through his servant the Prophet in these last days may be unpopular, and unbelieved in by the world, yet their unbelief will not make the truth of God of none effect, any more than it did in the days of Lot and Noah, or at the fall of Jerusalem.

["]When Jesus Christ said there should not be left one stone upon another in the temple, that should not be thrown down, the Jewish nation did not believe it, neither would they receive such testimony; but they looked at outward circumstances, and were ready to say, 'who can prevail against us? What nation like unto 358 our nation? We have held the giving of the law, the articles 359, and the Urim and Thummim; the lawgiver has never departed from between our feet: we have held the power of government from generation to generation; and what nation hath power now to prevail against us?"

["]Through this order of reasoning they were blinded, and knew not the day of their visitation—they understood not the things that belonged to their peace—they rejected their Lord and King, contended against the word and testimony, and finally put him to death on the cross, with many who followed him. But this did not hinder the fulfillment of his predictions concerning that nation; the words of the Lord had gone forth out of his mouth, and could not return unto him void. The things that belonged to their peace were hid from their eyes, and they were counted unworthy as a nation; the kingdom was to be rent out of their hands, and given to another; the die was cast, and judgment must come.

["]Jerusalem was soon surrounded by the Roman army, led on by the inspired Titus; and

```
350. JG draft, 17: "the Church is composed of <also>"
```

<sup>351.</sup> JG draft, 17: "<Evangelists>"

<sup>352.</sup> JG draft, 17: "<with>"

<sup>353.</sup> JG draft, 17: "<to prune it>"

<sup>354.</sup> JG draft, 17: "<the sayings of>"

<sup>355.</sup> WWj: omits "of their founders"; JG draft, 17: "inhab[itants] < founders>"

<sup>356.</sup> DHC 6:24: adds "the conditions for"

<sup>357.</sup> DHC 6:24: deletes remainder of sentence

<sup>358.</sup> JG draft, 18: "<unto>"

<sup>359.</sup> DHC 6:25: replaces "articles" with "oracles"

a scene of calamity, judgment, and woe immediately overspread the inhabitants of <sup>360</sup> that city, which was devoted to destruction—such a calamity as never before rested upon the nation of Israel. Blood flowed through their streets, tens of thousands fell by the edge of the sword, and thousands by famine. Women were evil towards the children of their own bosoms in the straitness of the siege, the spectacle of which shocked the Roman soldiers as they entered the city. The Jews were crucified in such numbers by their enemies that they could find no more wood for crosses, or room for their bodies; and while despair was in every face, and every heart sinking while suffering under the chastening hand of God, their enemies rushed upon them in the city to strike the last fatal blow; and as their last resort, they rushed for safety<sup>361</sup> into the temple, which was soon on fire, and they sunk in the midst of the flames with the cry of their sufferings ascending up on high, accompanied by the smoke of the crackling spires and<sup>362</sup> towers.

## [DN 6 (4 March 1857): 409-10]

["]The remaining miserable few<sup>363</sup> were sold as slaves, and driven like the dumb ass before his burthen, and scattered, as corn is sifted in a sieve, throughout the gentile <sup>364</sup>world. Jerusalem was razed from its foundations, the ruins of the<sup>365</sup> Temple thrown down, and the foundation thereof ploughed up that not one stone was left upon another. Christ said that Jerusalem should be trodden down of the gentiles until the times of the gentiles be fulfilled, which has been the case to the very letter, until the present generation.

["]Will not God in like manner as truly and faithfully bring to pass those great, important, and tremendous events upon the heads of the gentile world, which have been proclaimed by the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and many other<sup>366</sup> holy prophets; also by Christ and the apostles on the continent of Asia, as well as by<sup>367</sup> Lehi, Nephi, Alma, Moroni, and others on this continent; all of whom have proclaimed these things as they were moved upon by the spirit of inspiration, the power of God, and the gift of the Holy Ghost?

["]The Apostle says, that 'no prophecy of the scriptures<sup>368</sup> is of any private interpretation, and the commandments<sup>369</sup> came not<sup>370</sup> of olden time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved upon by the Holy Ghost.'

["]Isaiah's soul seemed to be on fire, and his mind rapt in the visions of the Almighty, while he declared, in the name of the Lord, that it should come to pass in the last days that God should set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, assemble the outcasts of Israel, gather together the dispersed of Judah, destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea and<sup>371</sup> make men go over dry-shod, gather them to Jerusalem on horses, mules, swift beasts, and in chariots, and rebuild Jerusalem upon her own heaps; while at the same time the <sup>372</sup>destroyer of the gentiles will be on his way; and while God was turning the captivity of Israel, he would put

```
360. JG draft, 18: "<the inhabitants of>"
```

<sup>361.</sup> WWj: moves "for safety" to follow temple; JG draft, 19: "<for safety>"

<sup>362.</sup> JG draft, 19: "<spires and>"

<sup>363.</sup> DHC 6:25: replaces "miserable few" with "population"

<sup>364.</sup> WWj: adds "nations"

<sup>365.</sup> WWj: omits "ruins of the"; JG draft, 19: "<ruins of the>"

<sup>366.</sup> WWj: replaces "other" with "of the"; JG draft, 19: "of the <other>"

<sup>367.</sup> JG draft, 19: "<by>"

<sup>368.</sup> DHC 6:26: "Scripture"

<sup>369.</sup> DHC 6:26: replaces "and the commandments" with "for the prophecy"

<sup>370.</sup> JG draft, 19: "<came not>"

<sup>371.</sup> WWj: omits "destroy ... sea and"

<sup>372.</sup> JG draft, 20: adds "destruction"

all their curses and afflictions upon the heads of the gentiles, their enemies, who had not sought to recover but to destroy them, and had trodden them under foot from generation to generation.

["]At the same time the standard should be lifted up, that the honest in heart, the meek of the earth, among the gentiles, should seek unto it; and that Zion should be redeemed, and be built up a holy city, that the glory and power of God should rest upon her, and be seen upon her; that the watchman upon mount Ephraim might cry, 'Arise ye, and let us go up unto Zion, the city of the Lord our God'; that the gentiles might come to her light, and kings to the brightness of her rising; that the Saints of God may have a place to flee to, and stand in holy places while judgment works in the earth; that when the sword of God that is bathed in heaven falls upon Idumea, or the world—when the Lord pleads with all flesh by sword and by fire, and the slain of the Lord are many—the Saints may escape these calamities by fleeing to the places of refuge, like Lot and Noah.

["]Isaiah, in his 24 ch[apter]., gives something of an account of the calamities and judgments, which shall come upon the heads of the gentile nations, and this because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinances, and broken the everlasting covenant. The Apostle Paul says to his Roman brethren, that if the gentiles do not continue in the goodness of God, they, like the house of Israel, should be cutoff. Though Babylon says, 'I sit as a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow,' the Revelator says, 'therefore shall her plagues come in one day; death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire, for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her.'

["]Jesus communicated the parable of the fig-tree, which in putting forth its leaves betokens the approach of summer; and so likewise when we see the signs in the sun, moon and stars, and in the heavens and the earth of which he spoke, we might know that his coming is near—that the generation in which those signs appeared should not pass away <sup>373</sup>, till all should be fulfilled. Though Heaven and earth should pass away his words should not pass away but should all be fulfilled.<sup>374</sup>

["]These things are about to come to pass upon the heads of the present generation, notwithstanding they are not looking for it, neither do they believe it; yet their unbelief will not make the truth of God of none effect; the signs are appearing in the heavens and on the earth, and all things indicate the fulfillment of the prophets; the fig-tree is leafing, summer is nigh, and the Lord has sent his angels to lay the foundation of this great and important work.

["]Then why should not God reveal his secrets unto his servants the prophets, that the saints might be led in paths of safety, and escape those evils which are about to engulf a whole generation in ruin[?"]

<sup>375</sup>Monday, <sup>376</sup>11. Conference met at Boylston Hall, at 9 o'clock, a.m. Present of the Quorum of the Twelve, Elders B[righam]. Young, P[arley]. P. Pratt, O[rson]. Pratt, J[ohn]. E. Page, W[ilford]. Woodruff, G[eorge]. A. Smith, H[eber]. C. Kimball, and O[rson]. Hyde.

Opened with prayer by Elder Page.

Elder B[righam]. Young stated the object of the meeting. ["]The first item of business is the spread of the gospel of salvation. I want to state what devolves upon the Twelve: nine years ago a revelation was given which was fulfilled in 1835, and when fulfilled the prophet lifted up his head and rejoiced before the Lord. Previously the responsibility of spreading the gospel<sup>377</sup>

<sup>373.</sup> JG draft, 20: "<away>"

<sup>374.</sup> Preceding bolded text from omitted portion of WWj.

<sup>375.</sup> Minutes for 11 Sept. do not appear in WWj; following based on rough minutes.

<sup>376.</sup> JG draft, 21: adds "Septr."

<sup>377.</sup> JG draft, 21: "<of spreading the gospel>"

rested on him, now<sup>378</sup> it is on the Twelve: this is the relation we hold between the living and the dead, to direct how you may escape.

["]Last winter we were directed to send men to the nations of the earth; Elder Addison Pratt had been to the Sandwich Islands, and proffered his services: we have power to ordain them and call upon the church to assist in sending them. Here are four men willing to go<sup>379</sup>, and we do not wish them to cease trying, unless it be to die trying. One of them is ill; <sup>380</sup>if he stays he will die. I would go, or<sup>381</sup> die trying.

["]We call on the churches<sup>382</sup> to fit out these men with necessaries: Elder Eli P. Maginn<sup>383</sup> and Elder Philip B.<sup>384</sup> Lewis, we call on to fit them out; if Elder Lewis does not, Maginn<sup>385</sup> will do it himself: this takes the responsibility from us.

["]If the Saints will not help, the curse of God will rest upon them. If the Temple at Nauvoo is not built, we will receive our endowments, if we have to go into the wilderness, and build an altar of stone. If a man gives his all, it is all God requires; brother Kimball has received one dollar since he came to Boston, and seventeen dollars and a half before, towards building the Temple; a book is kept of all sums given; this book will also be opened. All is recorded. I have received twenty-three dollars—<sup>386</sup>and I have spent about forty-five or fifty dollars. I am rich, and expect to be so<sup>387</sup> throughout all eternity, with the help of God and my brethren. I can get home, if I can sell land; some of the Twelve are more destitute, but they are the best set of boys<sup>388</sup> you ever saw.

["]During the persecution in Missouri, when<sup>389</sup> the mob came against Far West, Elder Kimball stood near me in one of the<sup>390</sup> companies, and every time they formed, he rammed down another ball into his old musket<sup>391</sup>, until be got five balls in. We are a good-feeling set of men, because of the Spirit which is in us. What produces it? The impulse of the heart: we should feel the same on the desert of Arabia, or on the islands of the sea; we feel happy wherever we are. When we ask for victuals and get turned away, as we often have been, we feel just as well.

["]The Spirit which is in me prompts me to look forward to something better. We have a prospect of selling shares of the Nauvoo House, and of obtaining subscriptions for the Temple, and we feel better.

["]Here are twelve men, and I defy all creation to bring a charge of dishonesty against them. We had to give security for the faithful performance of our duty as agents for the Nauvoo House and Temple: this has been heretofore<sup>392</sup> unheard of in the church<sup>393</sup>, I glory in it: the financial affairs of the church rest on our shoulders, and God is going to whip us into it. When men are in future called to do like Brigham, I will be one to bind them: this is a precedent. We

```
378. JG draft, 21: "and <now>"
379. JG draft, 21:"<willing to go>"
380. JG draft, 21: adds "if he goes he shall get well, but"
381. JG draft, 21 (pencil): "had <or>"
382. JG draft, 21: "Saints < churches>"
383. JG draft, 21: "McGuin < Eli P. Maginn>"
384. JG draft, 21: "< Philip B>."
385. JG draft, 21: "McGuin < Maginn>"
386. JG draft, 22: adds "(Captn. Stone paid my passage to New York)"
387. JG draft, 22: "<so>"
388. JG draft, 22: replaces "boys" with "chaps"; Book E-1, 1731: "{\boys/}" (TB)
389. JG draft, 22: "and <when>"
390. JG draft, 22 (pencil): "was stood near <me> one of our <the>"
391. JG draft, 22: replaces "old musket" with "rifle"; Book E-1, 1731: "{\old musket/}" (TB)
392. JG draft, 22: "<been heretofore>"
393. JG draft, 22: "\in/ <the church>"
```

are the only legally authorized agents of the church to manage affairs, give counsel to emigrants how to dispose of goods, &c.

["]Some men come into this church through designing purposes. Mr. Cowen, who lives about 30 miles above Nauvoo, wanted brother Joseph to make a settlement at Shoquokon; several of the brethren went there and preached, and some families moved up with the intention of settling. Mr. Cowen was all love, a charming fellow, and calculated to magnetize: he is now in the eastern country, and going amongst the brethren. He gives one a kiss, and says he, 'I am not a Mormon, but expect to be; brother Joseph and myself are confidential friends; can't you lend me five hundred dollars? I have got land, and I will give you a mortgage.' At the same time he knew quite<sup>394</sup> well that his land was in a perfect swamp, and that the place was not fit for a settlement; even the captains of <sup>395</sup> steamers could with difficulty be persuaded upon<sup>396</sup> to call there either on account of goods or passengers. His name is John F. [Cowen], and he stands five feet six inches high. There are others.

["]I would ask the Latter Day Saints, Do you know your benefactors? do you know the source from whence you derive your knowledge? Take in the publications and periodicals of the church; they give you intelligence of all matters pertaining to this dispensation, with revelations for the guidance of the church.

["]I know that men who go through the world with the truth, have not much influence; but let them come with silk velvet lips and sophistry, and they will have an influence. It is your privilege to be discerners of spirits; if you don't know me or the Twelve, walk with us fifty years, and perhaps you will know us then; and if such a man as Cowen comes along, will you trust him or me? No power can hide the heart from the discerning eye. If we are ignorant, what knowledge have the rest of the people? I sit down with all my ignorance, and read people's hearts as I see their 397 faces 398, and they can't help themselves.

["]No one has ever stepped aside but I have known it; I know the result of their actions, and they cannot help themselves. If you find out my heart you are welcome to it: if any of <sup>399</sup> the Twelve take a wrong <sup>400</sup> path, or a course by themselves, <sup>401</sup> I know the path, and know the end of it; they are soon in the ditch crying for help. I sit down, and let others run. I strike with a crooked stick to hit the whole.

["]Now, the Twelve must be helped home, and there must be something for the Temple and the Nauvoo House. We have got a <sup>402</sup>plot of the city of Nauvoo for lithographing <sup>403</sup>; if any one wishes <sup>404</sup> to advance the money to lithograph, and have a few thousands struck off <sup>405</sup>, they <sup>406</sup> shall be paid till they are satisfied: there was not wealth enough in New York, and the regions round about. (He here exhibited the map of Nauvoo.) He concluded with a few remarks relative to the circumstances of Elder Hyde, who had just returned from his mission to Jerusalem.

```
394. JG draft, 23: "perfectly <quite>"
395. JG draft, 23: "<Captains of>"
396. JG draft, 23: "<upon>"
397. Book E-1, 1731: "<hearts as I see their>" in lighter ink (TB)
398. JG draft, 23: omits "hearts ... faces"
399. JG draft, 23 (pencil): "<If any of>"
400. JG draft, 23 (pencil): "may take a <wrong>"
401. JG draft, 23 (pencil): "by themselves <or a course by themselves>, and"
402. JG draft, 24 (pencil): "want <have got> a lithographed"
403. JG draft, 24 (pencil): "for lithographing> which will cost $45 or $50"
404. DHC 6:29: "if any wish"
405. JG draft, 24 (pencil): "<to lithograph, & struck off have a few thousands struck off>"
406. JG draft, 24: omits "they"; Book E-1, 1732: "<they>" (prob. RLC)
```

["]Elder Parley P. Pratt spoke as follows: In the middle of last April, I arrived at Nauvoo houseless, and with a large family. Brother Joseph said to me, 'Brother Parley, stay at home and build a house.' I was behindhand in instructions and information, while others had been at home learning the great things of God. I have now come east principally on business, though I always have a mission wherever I am. I speak for my brethren; they have an absolute claim—it belongs to them, and they want it—it is justly theirs; I ask for nothing for myself.

["]Elder Heber C. Kimball said: I suppose you all understand what Elder Young has said, and I consider his counsel good; he is my superior and my head in the council of the Twelve. If I go astray<sup>407</sup> it will be through ignorance; we must be subject to the powers that be, and there are no powers but <sup>408</sup> are ordained of God; and if we reject their counsel we shall be damned. Some of our finest-looking and smartest men have fallen.

["]I consider those trees in the forest which have the largest and highest tops, are in the greatest danger—they are blown down, and there is no way of restoring them but to cut <sup>409</sup>off; let the stump go back, and new sprouts come out. Those who have most responsibility are in most danger; we must be careful how we treat God's officers.

["]No man ever fell unless it was through rejecting counsel: I as well as my brethren see this. My superior knows more than I, because he is nearer the fountain: to get knowledge, begin at the foot of the stream, and drink all up till you get to the fountain, and then you get all the knowledge.

["]It is necessary for the people 410 here to obey counsel. God has sent me forth through his servants to take my part in this great work, and the work is true. I know there are but few in this church who will be able to walk in this narrow path. We must keep the celestial law in the flesh. The more simple we teach the better for us.

["]It is a wrong idea of elders whipping sects; try and win the people; salt both sheep and shepherd too; get them up so that they will lick the salt out of your hands. (An infidel here handed money to brother Kimball, who prophesied that he would be a Saint and an elder, and all his family should be Saints.) Give them good salt; gain the affections of the shepherd, and the whole flock will come. Now, we get sheep up to <sup>411</sup>lick, and when the old<sup>412</sup> shepherd of the sheep<sup>413</sup> comes up to lick salt, the elders will hit him over the head with a cane<sup>414</sup>; their religion<sup>415</sup> is as dear to them as ours to us. Don't feed too much salt at once, but give a little at a time<sup>416</sup>, or they are cloyed.

["]Elders of Israel, be wise; give short discourses, as long ones cloy your hearers, who will say, 'a good discourse, but I got tired.'

["]Never infringe on the right<sup>417</sup> of other people, and <sup>418</sup>never tear down other people's houses till you have built a better. We are sent to preach repentance, and let people alone. How

```
407. JG draft, 24: "contrary to <astray>"
```

<sup>408.</sup> DHC 6:30: adds "what"

<sup>409.</sup> DHC 6:30: adds "them"

<sup>410.</sup> JG draft, 25: "poor<eople>"

<sup>411.</sup> JG draft, 25: adds "take a"

<sup>412.</sup> JG draft, 25 (pencil): "<old>"

<sup>413.</sup> JG draft, 25 (pencil): "<of the sheep>"

<sup>414.</sup> JG draft, 25 (pencil): "comes <up to lick salt> we crack <the Elders will hit> him over the head <with a cane>"

<sup>415.</sup> JG draft, 25: "relation<igion>"

<sup>416.</sup> JG draft, 25: "<at once, but give a little at a time>"

<sup>417.</sup> Book E-1, 1733: "rights"

<sup>418.</sup> Remainder of paragraph missing in JG draft, 25, and has been compared against the rough minutes, p. 21.

do you like to go into other churches, and hear them abusing<sup>419</sup> us? Do as you would be done by; persuade men, and not compel them, unless the time spoken of <sup>420</sup> by the Savior <sup>421</sup> comes, when the Lord shall say unto his servants. 'Go out into the highways and <sup>422</sup> hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled.' Luke, 14 ch. 23 v. <sup>423</sup> Let men be humble, kind, and affectionate. <sup>424</sup>Milk a cow regularly and she will increase and if not will dry up. We have to take and milk the cow and strip a little for ourselves, and you will give more.["]

<sup>419.</sup> DHC 6:30: "abuse"

<sup>420.</sup> Book E-1, 1733: "off"

<sup>421.</sup> Rough minutes, 21: omit "spoke of by the Savior"

<sup>422.</sup> Rough minutes, 21: omit "the Lord shall say ... highways and" and adds "we go into"

<sup>423.</sup> Rough minutes, 21: omit "compel them ... 23 v." and adds "ditches &c."

<sup>424.</sup> Following bolded text appears only in rough minutes, 21.

## SPECIAL CONFERENCE AT NAUVOO

# September-October 1843

#### [DN 6 (4 March 1857): 409-10 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>Sunday, [September] 10 [1843].—Cold, and considerable rain: kindled a fire in the office for the first time this fall. This is the first rain of any consequence since the first of June; there has<sup>2</sup> been occasional—say three or four slight showers, but not enough to wet the potato hills, and the vegetables in the gardens have generally stopped growing on account of the drouth [drought]<sup>3</sup>;—even corn is seriously injured,—much of it by a worm in the ear. Early potatoes are scarcely worth digging.

<sup>4</sup>Monday, 11.—Early this morning a petition was presented to me, as Lieut.-General, to devise means to get the public arms of the State for the Legion: whereupon **before noon I granted the petition and** appointed W[illiam]. W. Phelps, Henry Miller, and Hosea Stout, a committee to wait on Governor Ford on the subject.

Election for probate justice—weather cold—people cold. Greenleaf received most of the votes in Nauvoo,—say 700 votes.

Six, p.m., I met with my brother Hyrum, William Law, N[ewel]. K. Whitney and Willard Richards in my private room<sup>5</sup>, where we had a season of prayer for brother Law's little daughter who was sick, and Emma, who was some<sup>6</sup> better.

## [Lucien] Woodworth very humble 3 or 4 days &c.

<sup>7</sup>Tuesday, 12.—Rainy day.

<sup>8</sup>Elder Woodruff left Boston for Portland by railroad, and while passing through Chester woods, the engine was thrown off the tracks, and with the baggage cars, smashed to pieces, several of the passenger trains<sup>9</sup> mounted the ruins, but none of the passengers were injured, except two very slightly. The

<sup>1.</sup> Source: Close ly follows JSj [1843-44], 89 (WR) (APR, 413).

<sup>2.</sup> DHC 6:31: "have"

<sup>3.</sup> Brackets this editor's.

<sup>4.</sup> *Source*: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 90 (WR) (APR, 413), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>5.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 90: replaces "private room" with "east room New House"

<sup>6.</sup> DHC 6:31: "somewhat"

<sup>7.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1843-44], 91 (WR) (APR, 413).

<sup>8.</sup> Source: Based on WWj, vol. 4, 12 Sept. 1843 (WWj 2:304).

<sup>9.</sup> DHC 6:32: replaces "trains" with "cars"

engineer, however, was killed instantaneously. Elder Woodruff with most of the passengers remained all night in the woods, and found it very cold.

<sup>10</sup>Wednesday, 13.—**Rode out on horseback 8 A.M. [At] 2 o'clock and 10 minutes,** I attended a lecture at the Grove by Mr. John Finch, a Socialist from **Liverpool,** England, and said a few words in reply. <sup>11</sup> The following article appears <sup>12</sup>in the *Neighbor*, copied from *The New Haven (Conn.) Herald.*—

<sup>13</sup>NAUVOO AND JOSEPH SMITH.—A gentleman of this town, <sup>14</sup>of undoubted veracity, who has lately spent several weeks at Nauvoo, and among the Mormons, informs us that the general impression abroad in regard to that place and people is very erroneous. During his residence there he became quite familiar with their manners, principles and habits, and says there is not a more industrious, moral and well-ordered town in the country. Society is as much diversified there as it is here, the Mormons constituting about two-thirds of the population, while all religious sects are as freely tolerated as in any other part of the State. He was at the late trial and acquittal of Joseph Smith, and says that the charges against him were of the most frivolous and unsubstantial nature. He <sup>15</sup>is an agreeable man in conversation, is respected by those who know him, and is "as much sinned against as sinning." He only claims the privilege of exercising and enjoying his own religion—a privilege which he and his followers cheerfully award to others. They invite immigrants to come among them, and receive those who design to enter into the Mormon community with great attention and kindness. Houses are prepared for their reception, to which they are conducted on their arrival by a committee appointed for that purpose, whose next business it is to attend to their immediate wants, and see them comfortably situated. Education is by no means neglected—proper schools and teachers being provided; and temperance reigns throughout. It has now about 15<sup>16</sup> to 18,000 inhabitants, and promises to become a place of extensive business, four or five steamboats stopping there every day. The gentleman remarked to us that he wished he could speak as well of his own native town as he could of Nauvoo. This is news to us, as no doubt it will be to many, but no one who knows him can doubt the integrity of our informant.

 $[...]^{17}$ 

<sup>18</sup>Thursday, 14.—2 P.M. at the Temple stand. I attended a second lecture on Socialism by Mr.

<sup>10.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 92 (WR) (APR, 413), with significant editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type (see next note).

<sup>11.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 92, gives more details: "2 o'clock and 10 minutes, Joseph introduced Mr. John Finch of Liverpool, England to give an address on his views of the social systems agreeable to Mr. Owen's System. 1. evils society is suffering. 2. causes which produce them. 3. best means of removing them. Spoke on the first two points. Joseph spoke and Finch replied &c. All pleasantly." Possibly the briefer version in MSHiJS came from WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 13 Sept. 1843: "Evening went of Prests. P.M. attended socialist Lecture at the Grove by Mr Finch from England. J[oseph]. said a few words in reply" (DMQP, 12).

<sup>12.</sup> DHC 6:32: adds "[this day]"

<sup>13.</sup> Source: "Nauvoo and Joe Smith," NN 1 (13 Sept. 1843): [78].

<sup>14.</sup> DHC 6:32: adds "(New Haven, Conn.)"

<sup>15.</sup> DHC 6:32: adds "[Joseph Smith]"

<sup>16.</sup> DHC 6:32:"15,000"

<sup>17.</sup> Book E-1, 1734: adds "Linsert the doing of the anti-Mormon meeting at Carthage as published in the-Warsaw Message of this date, as a most diabolical specimen of black hearted corruption and falsehood ever spread upon paper: see addenda pages." The excerpt from the *Warsaw Message* was moved from the date of publication to the dates of the meetings—that is, 19 Aug. 1843 (cf. DHC 5:537-38; chap. 28) and 6 Sept. 1843 (DHC 6:4-8; chap. 1)—without this introduction.

<sup>18.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 93 (WR) (APR, 413-14), with significant editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in **bold** type.

Finch;<sup>19</sup> and after he got through **[at] 10 past 3,** I **spoke 5 minutes [and]** made a few remarks alluding to Sidney Rigdon and Alexander Campbell getting up a community at Kirtland, and of the big fish there eating up all the little fish. I said I did not believe the doctrine.

Mr. Finch replied a few minutes, and said, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness: I am the spiritual prophet—Mr. Smith the temporal."

Elder John Taylor replied to the lecture at some length.<sup>20</sup> **Finch spoke. Joseph closed about 6 [p.m.].** 

<sup>21</sup>Friday, 15.—Mr. Finch left Nauvoo. Mailed letter to Clyde Williams and Co[mpany], Publishers, Harrisburgh, giving a history of the faith of the Church for their Book of Denominations Also power of attorney to Oliver Granger to Reuben McBride, Kirtland c[e]rtified by the city Recorder.

I put up a sign, "NAUVOO MANSION," in consequence of my house being constantly crowded with strangers and other persons wishing to see me, or <sup>22</sup>had business in the city; I found myself unable to support as much company free of charge, which I have done from the foundation of the church; my house has been a home and resting-place for thousands, and my family many times obliged to do without food, after having fed all they had to visitors, and I could have continued the same liberal course, had it not been for the cruel and untiring persecution of my relentless enemies. I have been reduced to the necessity of opening my<sup>23</sup> mansion as a hotel, <sup>24</sup>have provided the best table accommodations in the city, and the mansion being large and convenient, renders travelers more comfortable than any other place on the Upper Mississippi. I have erected a large and commodious brick stable, and it is capable of accommodating 75 horses at one time, and storing the requisite amount of forage, and is unsurpassed by any similar establishment in the State.

## Resolutions of the Carthage Mob meeting arrived in town.

There was an officer<sup>25</sup> drill in Nauvoo.

Rhoda Ann, daughter of Willard and Jenetta Richards, was born at 15 minutes to 3 p.m., in Nauvoo.

<sup>26</sup>Evening President Joseph met me [William Clayton] and I returned with him to O[rson] Spencer's to borrow \$1400. to clear his farm from an incumbrance laying on it which fact Esq. Skinner has ascertained on searching the Records. President J[oseph]. told me he had lately had a new item of law revealed to him in relation to myself. He said the Lord had revealed to him that a man could only take 2 of a family except by express revelation and as I had said I intended to take Lydia [Moon] he made this known for my benefit. To have more than two in a family was apt to cause wrangles and trouble. He finally asked if I would not give L[ydia] to him. I said I would so far as I had anything to do in it. He requested me to talk to her.

<sup>27</sup>Saturday, 16.—General parade of the Nauvoo Legion near my farm—went in company with

<sup>19.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 93: "John Finch spoke on the 3d principle mentioned yesterday."

<sup>20.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 93: "Mr. Taylor commenced 3½ [P.M.]. Spoke about an hour and ½."

<sup>21.</sup> *Source*: This day's entry (except last bolded paragraph) from JSj [1843-44], 94 (WR) (*APR*, 414), with editing and long elaboration explaining the need for the sign added by the historians. It appears as an addendum in TB's hand in RDft 7:69a. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>22.</sup> DHC 6:33: adds "who"

<sup>23.</sup> DHC 6:33: replaces "my" with "the"

<sup>24.</sup> DHC 6:33: adds "I" and begins new sentence

<sup>25.</sup> DHC 6:33: "officers"

<sup>26.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 15 Sept. 1843 (IC, 120; DMQP, 13).

<sup>27.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 95-96 (WR) (APR, 414), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type. Cf. NLM [1843-44], 7.

my staff to the muster, was met by an escort, and arrived before the Legion about noon. I was received and saluted with military honors<sup>28</sup>. The Legion was dismissed about 1 p.m., for two hours, and I rode home to dinner. I returned about twenty minutes after 3, attended the review, and with my staff inspected the Legion; after which I took my post and gave orders.

After the inspection I made a speech to the Legion, on their increasing prosperity, and requested the officers to increase the Legion in numbers and military knowledge.<sup>29</sup>

I was highly gratified with the officers and soldiers, and I felt extremely well myself.

About sundown the Legion was dismissed. I rode home with my staff, highly delighted with the day's performance, and well paid for my services.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>31</sup>Sunday, 17.—I was at meeting, **[and] gave some directions**; and while Elder Almon W. Babbitt was preaching I took my post as Mayor outside the assembly to keep order, and set an example to the other officers.

After preaching I gave some instructions about order in the congregation, men among women, and women among men, horses in the assembly, and men and boys on the stand who do not belong there, &c.

P.M.<sup>32</sup>—Mr. Blodgett, a Unitarian minister preached: I was gratified with his sermon in general, but differed in opinion on some points, on which I freely expressed myself to his great satisfaction, viz, on persecution making the work spread—like rooting up a flower garden or kicking back the sun.

Monday, 18.—I received a letter from Governor Ford as follows:—

<sup>33</sup>Springfield, September 13, 1843.

Dear Sir:—In answer to your letter, I have the honor to reply that I will consider it my duty to prevent the invasion of this State, if in my power, by any persons elsewhere for any hostile purposes whatever.

From information in my possession I am of opinion that there is but little danger of any such invasion. It is altogether more likely that some other mode of annoyance will be adopted. My enemies here I think are endeavoring to put something of the kind on foot.

I am most respectfully

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS FORD.

<sup>34</sup>I attended a council at my old house. [The] 12 came in [...]<sup>35</sup> a few minutes.

Tried two causes in behalf of Nauvoo vs [Samuel] Music, Nonsuit. Nauvoo vs [William B.] Brinks. Fined defendant \$3.00.

<sup>28.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 95: replaces "honors" with "style"

<sup>29.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 95: omits "on their ... numbers"; Book E-1, 1735: "[eoe of about three words] {\on their ... numbers/} [eoe of about seven words]" (TB). The added words (including bolded words omitted in MSHiJS) are from NLHi, [6] (HSt); see also NLHi Dft, 8-9.

<sup>30.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 96: adds "The return will appear hereafter"

<sup>31.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 97-98 (WR) (APR, 414-15), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>32.</sup> DHC 6:34: "In the evening"

<sup>33.</sup> Source: Original letter in JSLR, Bx3, fd 5, 64.

<sup>34.</sup> Source: Following two paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 99 (WR) (APR, 415). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>35.</sup> Words omitted by ellipsis appear in preceding sentence.

<sup>36</sup>J[oseph] and I [William Clayton] rode out to borrow money, drank wine at Sis[ter] Lyons. P.M. I got \$50 of Sis[ter] Lyons and paid it to D[avid]. D. Yearsley.

<sup>37</sup>A conference was held at Preston, Halifax county, Nova Scotia; 1 Elder, 1 Teacher, 1 Deacon and 14 members were represented.—Robert Dixon, President; J. Jermen, Clerk.

<sup>38</sup>David Greenleaf was elected Probate Judge for the county of Hancock, by a majority of 598 votes.

<sup>39</sup>Tuesday, 19.—Stand on steps at 7 [a.m.]. Gave Dr. Richards a cod fish. <sup>40</sup>

I directed brother Phelps to answer the letter recently received from the Governor, and to enclose a copy of the resolutions passed at the meeting of the mobocracy at Carthage; which he did, **dated 20[th]**.

Wrote a letter to J. B. Backenstos and lady to attend wedding of W[illia]m Backenstos [on] 3 Sept[ember October].

<sup>41</sup>[[oseph] and E[mma] rode to [Edwin D.] Woolley's &c.

<sup>42</sup>A portion of <sup>43</sup> the Twelve were present at a general muster of the independent companies of Boston; saw a sham battle in which 35 brass cannon were discharged 7 times; one party was commanded by the Governor of Mass[achusetts].; and the other by the officer next in rank.

<sup>44</sup>Wednesday, 20.—Visited my farm, accompanied by my brother Hyrum. **M[argaret Moon** Clayton] and Sarah Ann Whitney also rode to the farm but did not see him.

The Neighbor has the following:—

<sup>45</sup>PORTER ROCKWELL.—A few short months ago it was heralded through this State, that Porter Rockwell was the individual who attempted to murder ex-Governor Boggs, of Missouri. It was confidently stated that Joseph Smith was "accessory before the fact"; the thing was swallowed as a precious morsel by the enemies of Mormonism; it was iterated and reiterated by the public journals, and the general expression of a certain class was, that Mr. Smith ought to be hung; there was no doubt of his guilt; he was one of the most inhuman, diabolical, dangerous and malignant persons in the universe—and when a requisition was made for him by the Governor of Missouri, it was considered worse than "arson" or "treason," that he should be acquitted by the legal authorities of this State, under habeas corpus; and afterwards when Porter Rockwell was taken, it was exultingly stated that they had got the scoundrel, and that he would now receive the due demerit of his crime. How stands the matter when it is investigated?—investigated by a Missouri court. The following will show:—

"The last *Independence Expositor* says:—Orin Porter Rockwell, the Mormon confined in our county jail, some time since, for the attempted assassination of ex-Governor Boggs, was indicted by our last grand jury, for escaping from our county jail some time since, and sent to Clay county for trial. Owing, however, to some informality in the proceedings, he was remanded

<sup>36.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 18 Sept. 1843 (IC, 120; DMQP, 13).

<sup>37.</sup> Source: Based on "Minutes of a conference ...," T&S 4 (1 Oct. 1843): 342-43.

<sup>38.</sup> Source: Based on NN 1 (20 Sept. 1843): [83].

<sup>39.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 100 (WR) (APR, 415), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>40.</sup> Book E-1, 1736: adds "I was standing on the door steps at 7 a.m. and gave Dr. Richards a cod fish." A note written lightly in pencil in the left margin reads: "crossed out by W. Woodruff" (pos. RLC).

<sup>41.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 19 Sept. 1843 (IC, 120).

<sup>42.</sup> Source: Based on WWj, vol. 4, 19 Sept. 1843 (WWj 2:309), with elaboration.

<sup>43.</sup> Book E-1, 1736 (lighter ink): adds "a portion of" at boln

<sup>44.</sup> *Source*: WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 20 Sept. 1843 (*IC*, 120; *NTNLF*, 407; DMQP, 13). Deleted material supplied here in bold type. Cf. JSj [1843-44], 101 (WR) (*APR*, 415), which does not mention Hyrum and the others.

<sup>45.</sup> Source: NN 1 (20 Sept. 1843): [82].

to this county again for trial.—There was not sufficient proof adduced against him, to predicate an indictment for shooting ex-Governor Boggs, and the grand jury therefore did not indict him for that offense."—St. Louis New Era.

It appears then after all the bluster, the hue-and-cry about Mormon outrages, Mormon intrigue, "blood," "arson," and "murder," that "there was not sufficient proof adduced against him to predicate an indictment for shooting ex-Governor Boggs, and the grand jury therefore did not indict him for that offense." This speaks for itself; it needs no comment. We are glad for the sake of suffering innocence, that Mr. Rockwell stands clear in the eyes of the law. Thus it seems that after exerting all their malice and hellish rage to implicate the innocent, they can find no proof against him. But yet he must be again incarcerated without proof for another hearing. This is Missouri justice. If he was guilty of breaking jail, why not try and punish him for that before that court?—Where is the necessity of remanding him to another county for another hearing? It is evident that they wish to immolate him, and, by offering him as a sacrifice, glut their thirst for innocent blood.

<sup>46</sup>I answered Gov[ernor]. Ford's letter received on the 18th.

<sup>47</sup>Elder Brigham Young instructed Elder Addison Pratt to go and engage a passage for himself and Elders Noah Rogers, Knowlton F. Hanks and B. F. Grouard, as missionaries to the Pacific islands, although they had not one-tenth of the means on hand to pay their passage.

<sup>48</sup>In the evening Elders B[righam]. Young, H[eber]. C. Kimball, O[rson]. Pratt, W[ilford]. Woodruff, G[eorge]. A. Smith and J[ohn]. E. Page visited Mr. O. S. Fowler the phrenologist, who examined their heads and gave their phrenological charts.

Thursday, 21.—<sup>49</sup>This A.M. he [Joseph Smith] came to talk with Lydia [Moon] but she won't yet consent [to marriage]. She wants to tarry with her sisters.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>51</sup>Made affidavit with Willard Richards and William Clayton to Auditor of State, vs. Walter Bagbee<sup>52</sup>. About 11 a.m. called with my brother Samuel H. to see about getting a copy of his blessing, and wished Doctor Richards much joy in his new daughter.

About noon went on board the Maid of Iowa with William Clayton, Clerk of the boat.

 $^{53}$ P.M. at the Boat and Joseph's settling with the hands. He says I must go on the Boat a month to regulate the Books.

<sup>54</sup>1 p.m., the thermometer stood at 100 deg. in the shade **at Esqu[ire] [W.W.] Phelps' [home]**. Friday, 22.—<sup>55</sup>**About noon [Willard Richards] saw Joseph pass in a wagon with Hyrum.** 

<sup>46.</sup> Source: Based on JS to T. Ford, Springfield, IL, 20 Sept. 1843, in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 6, 26-27 (WWP) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.1). On Ford's 13 Sept. 1843 letter, see above under 18 Sept. 1843.

<sup>47.</sup> Source: Undetermined. Cf. T&S 6 (1 Jan. 1846): 1085.

<sup>48.</sup> This paragraph added interlinearly in Book E-1, 1737 (TB). Source: Probably based on WWj, vol. 4, 20 Sept. 1843 (WWj 2:310).

<sup>49.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 21 Sept. 1843 (IC, 121; DMQP, 13).

<sup>50.</sup> As JS's requested, WC had approached Lydia with the Prophet's marriage proposal on 17 Sept., recording afterwards in his journal: "I had some talk with Lydia. She seems to receive it kindly but says she has promised her mother not to marry while her mother lives and she thinks she won't."

<sup>51.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 102 (WR) (APR, 415), with light editing and change to first person.

<sup>52.</sup> DHC 6:37: "Bagby"

<sup>53.</sup> *Source*: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 21 Sept. 1843 (*IC*, 121).

<sup>54.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 102 (WR) (APR, 415). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>55.</sup> Source: From unused portion of JSj [1843-44], 103 (WR) (APR, 415).

<sup>56</sup>The Twelve visited the Navy Yard and harbor of Boston, the *Mississippi* steamship, the rope-walk, the Bunker-hill monument, the State-house, and the State's prison. In the evening they addressed the Saints in Boylston hall.

<sup>57</sup>Elder Addison Pratt accompanied by Elder Philip B. Lewis, engaged a passage to the Society islands at \$100 each for himself, Noah Rogers, Knowlton F. Hanks and B. F. Grouard.

<sup>58</sup>Saturday, 23.—Elder Stephen Markham returned from Dixon; the trial of Reynolds and Wilson being postponed till May next [since] there were so many cases on the docket.

## [Willard Richards] Saw the President riding down Main St. about 5 o'clock.

Bishop George Miller returned from the pinery. He reports the water in Black river so low that they could not get their raft into the Mississippi.

<sup>59</sup>I had an interview with Elder Orson Spencer, from whom I borrowed \$75 for the Temple.

<sup>60</sup>Sunday, 24.—I preached on the stand about one hour on the 2d ch[apter]. <sup>61</sup>Acts; designing to show the folly of common stock. In Nauvoo every one is steward over his own. **Amasa Lyman and Geo[rge] J. Adams continued the meeting.** After preaching I called upon the brethren to draw stone for the Temple, and gave notice for a special conference for 6th <sup>62</sup>Oct[ober]. next. Adjourned the meeting about 1 p.m., on account of the prospect of rain. Judge McBride, and a lawyer from Missouri were present at the meeting. **H[igh] Priests Quorum met in the store [and] ordained [a] Bro[ther].** 

<sup>63</sup>Monday, 25.—Wet day. At home—held a conversation with the Missouri lawyer and Lorenzo Wasson called for constitution of the United States.

<sup>64</sup>Tuesday, 26.—Held Mayor's court and tried <sup>65</sup>case <sup>66</sup>"Dana vs. Leeches" **about 11 A.M. at old house**. No cause of action. Called at the store about 6 p.m. and directed the clerk to issue papers in the case <sup>67</sup>"Medagh vs. Hovey".

Wednesday, 27.—The Neighbor of this date has the following editorial:—

<sup>68</sup>We find that the *Quincy Whig* has some very righteous remarks to make concerning the Mormons, emanating from the purest principles of patriotism (?). The editor has had

<sup>56.</sup> Source: Based on WWj, vol. 4, 22 Sept 1843 (WWj 2:311-12).

<sup>57.</sup> Source: Undetermined. Cf. T&S 6 (1 Jan. 1846): 1085.

<sup>58.</sup> *Source*: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 104 (WR) (APR, 415), with light editing, elaboration, and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>59.</sup> Source: TTL, Ledger A, 248, which lists in its columns under "Joseph Smith D[ebto]r.": "[September] | [23rd] | [To] Cash [space] Orson Spencer | [blank] | 355 | 75—" (WC); or LL, 355, as indicated in second to last column, which was reserved for recording the origin of debts that were carried over into the new account book.

<sup>60.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 105 (WR) (APR, 415-16), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>61.</sup> DHC 6:37: adds "of"

<sup>62.</sup> DHC 6:38: adds "of"

<sup>63.</sup> *Source*: Based on JSj [1843-44], 106 (WR) (*APR*, 416). Deleted material supplied here in bold type. The compilers evidently assumed JS stayed home, because WR recorded that he "did not see the President" and only "heard" about what he recorded.

<sup>64.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 107 (WR) (APR, 416), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>65.</sup> DHC 6:38: adds "the"

<sup>66.</sup> DHC 6:38: adds "of"

<sup>67.</sup> DHC 6:38: adds "of"

<sup>68.</sup> Source: NN 1 (27 Sept, 1843): [86].

some "private conversation" with some individual or individuals about certain charges bro[ugh] t against the Mormons, particularly that of screening horse thieves.

We think that the *Whig* has not done itself much credit in advocating the principles contained in those resolutions—we leave that, however, for a discerning public to judge.

Concerning the horse thieves, however, the informant of the *Whig* would have shown himself a better friend to society to have given information to the proper authorities and had these pests of society brought to condign punishment. And the editor of that paper would have proved himself more patriotic by telling us who these people are that are screened in our midst, than dealing thus in generals and stabbing in the dark.

Come, Mr. Whig, out with it, and let us know who it is that is found transgressing; who knows but that far fallen as we are, there yet may be virtue enough left to prosecute a horse thief. We have tried this more than once and prosecuted them as far as Carthage; but no sooner do they arrive in the jail there than we lose all track of them. The lock of the door is so slippery that it lets them all out. We presume, however, that it is on account of the honesty of the people (?). We are pleased to find that the *Whig* is in the secret.

Mr. Ivins<sup>69</sup>, of this city had a horse stolen last week, and we frequently have occurrences of the kind. Will the editor of that paper be so kind as to ask his informant who the thieves are, and where they live, and give us the desired information and we shall esteem it a peculiar favor.

 $^{70}$ I was at home all day, **good feelings**, and gave br[other]. Phelps the privilege of occupying the small house near the store.

<sup>71</sup>Thursday, 28.—[Willard Richards saw Joseph Smith at] 10 A.M. in the street going toward printing office.

At 11.30 a.m. a council convened over the store consisting of myself, my brother Hyrum, uncle John Smith,<sup>72</sup> Newel K. Whitney, George Miller, Willard Richards, John Taylor, Amasa Lyman, John M. Bernhisel and Lucien Woodworth;<sup>73</sup> and at 7 in the evening we met in the front upper room of the Mansion, with William Law and William Marks. By the common consent and unanimous voice of the council I<sup>74</sup> was chosen President of the Quorum and anointed and ord[aine]d to the highest and holiest order of the priesthood (and companion [Emma] D[itt]o.)<sup>75</sup>.

[Present:] Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Geo Miller, N. K. Whitney, Willard Richards, John Smith, John Taylor, Amasa Lyman, Lucien Woodworth, J. M. Bernhisel, Wm Law, Wm Marks.

The President led in prayer that his days might be prolonged until his mission on the earth is accomplished <sup>76</sup>—have dominion over his enemies—all their households be blessed—and all the church and <sup>77</sup>world.

<sup>69.</sup> NN 1:[86]: "Ivings"

<sup>70.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 108 (WR) (APR, 416). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>71.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 109 (WR) (APR, 416). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>72.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 109: "J.S." It is uncertain if this refers to "Joseph Smith" or "John Smith". RDft 7:71 originally interpreted it as referring to Joseph, but then inserted "<Uncle John Smith>" (JG), possibly when it was discovered that John was present at the 7 o'clock meeting (see below).

<sup>73.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 109, gives more details concerning this meeting of the Anointed Quorum: "11½ A.M. Council over the Store. Hyrum, Newell, Geo[rge]. W[illard]., Wa[she]d. & An[ointed: in shorthand] and J[ohn?]. S[mith], J[ohn]. T[aylor]., A[masa]. L[yman]. W[ight]., J[ohn]. M. B[ernhisel]., an[oin]t[ed]."

<sup>74.</sup> Book E-1, 1738 (different ink): adds "Baurak Ale \I/"

<sup>75.</sup> Book E-1, 1738: adds "and anointed and ordained to the highest and holiest order of the Priesthood (withhis companion)"; DHC 6:39: replaces "Quorum" with "special council"

<sup>76.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 109: omits "until his mission on the earth is accomplished"

<sup>77.</sup> DHC 6:39: adds "the"

<sup>78</sup>Friday, 29.—Elder Brigham Young started from Boston for Nauvoo. The Twelve were now scattered among the branches in the Eastern States.

## [DN 7 (11 March 1857): 417]

Sunday, October 1 [1843]. 81—I copy the following from the Times and Seasons of this date:—

<sup>82</sup>WHO SHALL BE OUR NEXT PRESIDENT?—This question we frequently hear asked, and it is a question of no small importance to the Latter Day Saints.

We as a people have labored, and are still laboring under great injustice from the hands of a neighboring state. The Latter Day Saints have had their property destroyed, and their houses made desolate by the hands of the Missourians; murders have been committed with impunity, and many in consequence of oppression, barbarism and cruelty, have slept the sleep of death. They <sup>83</sup>have been obliged to flee from their possessions into a distant land, in the chilling frosts of winter<sup>84</sup>, robbed, spoiled, desolate, houseless, and homeless; without any just pretext or shadow of law; without having violated the laws of that State, or of <sup>85</sup> the United States, and have had to wander as exiles in a strange land, without as yet being able to obtain any redress for their grievances.

We have hitherto adopted every legal measure; first, we petitioned the State of Missouri, but in vain. We have memorialized Congress, but they have turned a deaf ear to our supplication and referred us again to the State and *justice* (!!!) of Missouri. Doubtless many of the members of that honorable body were not sufficiently informed of the enormity and extent of the crimes of our persecutors, nor of the indelible stain which our national escutcheon has received through their inhuman daring. They have been allowed to revel in blood, and luxuriate in the miseries of the oppressed, and no man has laid it to heart.

The fact is, that gentlemen of respectability and refinement, who live in a civilized society, find it difficult to believe that such enormities could be practiced in a republican government; but our wrong cannot slumber; such tyranny and oppression must not be passed over in silence; our injuries, though past, are not forgotten by us, they still rankle in our bosoms, and the blood of the innocent yet cries for justice; and as American citizens, we have appealed, and shall still continue to appeal to the legally-constituted authorities of the land for redress, in the hopes that justice, which has long slumbered, may be aroused in our defense; that the Spirit which burned in the bosoms of the patriots of seventy-six, may fire the souls of their descendants, and though slow, that their indignation may yet be aroused at the injustice of the oppressor, and that they may yet mete out justice to our adversaries, and step forward in the defense of the innocent.

We shall ask no one to commit themselves on our account; we want no steps taken but

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup>Saturday, 30.—Rainy and strong west wind.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup>Elders Young and Woodruff stayed at Elder Forster's, in New York.

<sup>78.</sup> Source: Based on BYj [1840-44], vol. 3, 29 Sept. 1843 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.2), with commentary probably added by GAS.

<sup>79.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1843-44], 111 (WR) (APR, 416).

<sup>80.</sup> This paragraph added interlinearly in Book E-1, 1738 (TB). *Source*: Based on WWj, vol. 4, 30 Sept. 1843 (*WWj* 2:313).

<sup>81.</sup> Book E-1, 1738: "Sunday 1"; "October 1" in margin.

<sup>82.</sup> Source: T&S 4 (1 Oct. 1843): 343-44. Rept. NN 1 (8 Nov. 1843): [110].

<sup>83.</sup> DHC 6:39: adds "[the Saints]"

<sup>84.</sup> T&S 4:343: replaces "winter" with "December"; Book E-1, 1738 (lighter ink): "December < Winter>" (TB)

<sup>85.</sup> DHC 6:40: omits "of"

what are legal, constitutional, and honorable—but we are *American citizens*, and as American citizens we have rights in common with all that live under the folds of the "star-spangled banner." Our rights have been trampled upon by lawless miscreants, we have been robbed of our liberties by mobocratic influence, and all those honorable ties that ought to govern and characterize Columbia's sons have been trampled in the dust. Still we are *American citizens*, and as American citizens we claim the privilege of being heard in the councils of our nation. We have been wronged, abused, robbed, and banished, and we seek redress. Such crimes can not slumber in Republican America. The cause of common humanity would revolt at it, and Republicanism would hide its head in disgust.

We make these remarks for the purpose of drawing the attention of our brethren to this subject, both at home and abroad; that we may fix upon the man who will be the most likely to render us assistance in obtaining redress for our grievances—and not only give our own votes, but use our influence to obtain others, and if the voice of suffering innocence will not sufficiently arouse the rulers of our nation to investigate our case, perhaps a vote of from fifty to one hundred thousand may rouse them from their lethargy.

We shall fix upon the man of our choice, and notify our friends duly.

I published the following in the same number of the 86 Times and Seasons:—

<sup>87</sup>To all the Saints and honorable men of the earth, to whom the Lord has given liberally of this world's goods—greeting:—

Our worthy brother, Elder George J. Adams, has been appointed by the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints at Nauvoo, to present to them the importance, as well as the things connected with his mission to Russia, to introduce the fullness of the gospel to the people of that vast empire, and also to which is attached some of the most important things concerning the advancement and building up of the kingdom of God, in the last days; which cannot be explained at this time; but as the mission is <sup>88</sup>attended with much expense, all those who feel disposed to bestow, according as God has blessed them, shall receive the blessings of Israel's God; and tenfold shall be added unto them, as well as the prayers of the Saints of God.

With sentiments of high esteem, we subscribe ourselves, your friends and brethren in the new and everlasting covenant,

JOSEPH SMITH,
HYRUM SMITH,
Presidents of the Church of Jesus Christ
of Latter Day Saints.

<sup>89</sup>I copy the following from the same number:

#### PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS.

It would seem from the following, that there is a very material difference between Catholicism in Italy, and in the United States: and that while its advocates in this country

<sup>86.</sup> Book E-1, 1740: "\the/" (prob. RLC)

<sup>87.</sup> Source: T&S 4 (1 Oct. 1843): 347.

<sup>88.</sup> Book E-1, 1740: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>89.</sup> Source: T&S 4 (1 Oct. 1843): 347-49. Text here from Book E-1, 1740-43, which was canceled and not published in DN or DHC. A partial quote of it was added interlinearly and marginally in Book D-1, 1579-80 (cf. DHC 5:434-35; chap. 23).

cry loud for equal rights, and equal privileges, and profess great reverence for republican institutions, that in Italy, where they possess the power, they are most fierce and intolerant in their proscriptions and persecutions; and whatever may be said concerning the more liberal views of Catholics in this and the mother country, it is evident, form the following, that they want only the power to reinstate in England, and put in force in this, or any other country, all the damning horrors of the "Holy Inquisition" which has been lately revived in Italy, in their base persecutions of the Jews.

At the very moment when a spirit of toleration seemed to influence the feelings of society throughout the civilized world, we regret to perceive that the tribunals of the Pope are, in June, 1843, reviving at Rome and Ancona the very worst proscriptions of that fell and sanguinary institute, the Inquisition, as will be seen by a perusal of the following document:—

"We, Fra Vicenzo Salina, of the Order of Predicatori, Master in Theology, General Inquisitor in Ancona, Sinigaglia, Jesi, Osinio, Cingoli, Macerata, Tolentino, Loreto, Recanati, and other towns and districts, &c.

"It being deemed necessary to revive the full observance of the disciplinary laws relative to the Israelites residing within our jurisdiction, and having hitherto without effect employed prayers and exhortations to obtain obedience to those laws in the Ghetti (Jewries) of Ancona and Sinigaglia, authorized by the despatch of the Sacred and Supreme Inquisition of Rome, dated June 10th, 1843, expressly enjoining and commanding the observance of the decrees and pontifical constitutions, especially in respect to Christian nurses and domestic servants, or to the sale of property either in town or country districts, purchased and possessed previously to 1827, as well as subsequently, to that period, we decree as follows:

- "1. From the interval of two months after the date of this day, all gipsy and Christian domestics, male and female, whether employed by day or by night, must be dismissed from service in the said two Ghetti; and all Jews residing within our jurisdiction are expressly prohibited from employing any Christian nurse, or availing themselves of the service of any Christian in any domestic occupation whatever, under pain of being immediately punished according to the pontifical decrees and constitutions.
- "2. That all Jews, who may possess property, either in town or country, permanent or moveable, or rents or interests, or any right involving shares in funded property, or leased landed property, must within the term of three months from this day dispose of it by a positive and real, and not by any pretended or fictitious contract, Should this not be done within the time specified, the Holy office is to sell the same by public auction, on proof of the annual harvest being got in.
- "3. That no Hebrew nurses, and still less, any Hebrew family, shall inhabit the city, or reside in, or remove their property into, any town or district where there is no Ghetto (place of residence for Jews;) and that such as may actually be there in conformacy [conformance] to the laws, must return to their respective Ghetto within the peremptory period of six months, otherwise they will be proceeded against according to the tenor of the law.
- "4. That, especially in any city where there is a Ghetto, no Hebrew must presume to associate at table with Christians, either in public houses or ordinaries, out of the Ghetto.
- "5. That in a city which has a Ghetto, no Hebrew shall sleep out of the Israelite quarter, nor make free to enter into familiar conversation in a Christian house.

"6. That no Hebrew shall take the liberty, under any pretext whatever, to induce male Christians, and still less female Christians, to sleep within the boundaries of the Ghetto

"7. That no Hebrew shall hire Christians, even only by the day, to work in their houses in the Ghetto.

"8. That no Hebrew, either male or female, shall frequent the houses of Christians, or maintain friendly relations with Christian men or women.

"9. That the laws shall remain in force respecting the decorum to be observed by the Hebrews who may absent themselves from their Ghetto, to travel in other parts of the State."

"After laying down these monstrous rescripts, which we had hoped even the Romish church would not have attempted to revive and still less to re-clothe with authority, and arm with tremendous pains and penalties. The savage order is issued that these intolerant laws shall be read in each of the Jewish synagogues. It is added:—

"They who violate the above articles, will incur some or all of the penalties prescribed in the edicts of the Holy Inquisition."

Why the Jews have been thus selected as the victims of their hellish wrath, is difficult for us to determine. We cannot account for it upon any other principle than that of legalized plunder—such as has been too frequently practiced upon them by most of the courts of Europe.—It is thus that their property, in the second section, is not ostensibly confiscated; but it is virtually so, as it places them in the power of their enemies, if they cannot find purchasers for their property, which is very unlikely, when they are placed under these severe, inhuman restrictions. "The property must be disposed of within three months, whether in town or country, permanent or moveable, or rents, or interest or any rights involving shares in funded property." And if there are no buyers, what then? "The Holy office (rather say holy devils) is to sell the same by public auction."

We are led to ask, is this Christianity? Are these the followers of the meek and lowly Jesus? Is this the conduct of a church which professes to be the only true church? purely apostolic? Oh shame! where is thy blush?—The heart sickens at the contemplation. Only think of thousands of men, women and children, being dispossessed of their inheritance robbed of their property—rendered houseless and homeless, and destined to wander about as vagrants and exiles, through the tyranny, rapacity and thirst for plunder, which is evidently manifested by these infernals of the Holy order. We had hoped that those days of horrid barbarity were gone by, and that even the Roman church would not have attempted to revive them: and still less did we imagine that the edicts of the Holy Inquisition would ever have disgraced the footstool of God. What if the governments of America, England, Russia, Prussia, Norway, Sweden, and other powers, were to exercise the same spirit of intolerance towards the professors of the Catholic religion? Would they like to have meted to them the same measure which they give to others? We know that there was great dissatisfaction manifested by the Catholics of England and Ireland during the existence of the Test Act. They made long and loud complaints against the injustice, tyranny and oppression of that instrument; and no one felt more indignant than ourselves at such illiberal proceedings—but we must confess that in this instance they have "out-Heroded Herod" a thousand times.—What would the Irish Catholics have thought had the British government dealt with them as their great Pontificate has dealt with the poor Jews? How much misery, how much distress would not such a step create among them?

We cannot but feel indignant at such proceedings; and as the conductors of public journals, feel ourselves in duty bound to express our feelings. We heartily despise oppression in every shape; and if the European courts do not take sufficient notice of such proceedings as to frown down, indignantly, upon the perpetrators of those inhuman deeds, and awe them into a respect sufficient to ameliorate the condition of their victims, we shall, at least, have had the satisfaction of entering our protest against the proceedings of those heartless wretches, who would make a pretext of religion to plunder the inoffensive, and put in force these inhuman, savage edicts, merely because they have them in their power.

We had thought that the cup of misery of the Jews had been sufficiently wrung out, and that they had drank it to the very dregs. They have been persecuted by almost every nation in its turn. They have been plundered, driven and banished, and their lives have continually hung in doubt. We had hoped that the recently expressed opinion, concerning their persecutions in Damascus, by the European powers, and the revolutions in Spain, would have greatly ameliorated their condition, and have operated well for them, even in Italy; and we are yet in hopes that some steps will be taken to cause the power who oppresses them to mitigate their sufferings; and if not by power, out of respect to courtly influence, which may be used to remove the heavy load under which they groan.

The Rothschild's possess great influence in many European courts. Can it not be used at the present time, in behalf of their oppressed brethren?

<sup>90</sup>I attended meeting this morning, and adjourned it in consequence of the cold and rain; the afternoon being more pleasant, the people assembled, and were addressed by Elders Marks, Charles C. Rich and Bishop Jacob Foutz.

Council met in the evening same as on Thursday previous, except S[ister]. [Jane] Law, [Rosannah] Marks, [Elizabeth] Durphy, Hiram's wife [Mary] [were also present]; Joseph &c. re-anointed. [William] Law &c. [and] anointed [his] counselors. 91 Prayer and singing. Adjourned to Wednesday eve[ning].

<sup>92</sup>Monday, 2.—At home.

<sup>93</sup>Tuesday, 3.—Elders Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, George A. Smith, Wilford Woodruff and Jedediah M. Grant, spent the day in visiting the Saints in Philadelphia. In the evening they partook of an oyster supper, on the invitation of Mr. Jeffreys. <sup>94</sup>

<sup>95</sup>The brethren assembled with their wives, to the amount <sup>96</sup> of about one hundred couples, and dined at the Mansion as an opening to the house;—a very pleasant day, and all things passed off well.

The following is extracted from the Neighbor<sup>97</sup>:—

<sup>90.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 112 (WR) (APR, 416-17). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>91.</sup> WR's sketchy notes are difficult to decipher, but "except" appears as the first word on the line, apparently over an erasure, followed by a malformed "&". The record of the meeting reads: "Joseph reanointed Law & anointed Councillors" ("Meetings of the anointed Quorum Journalizings[.] Journal kept for Joseph Smith the Prophet," CHL, quoted in Anderson and Bergera 2005, 28).

<sup>92.</sup> Source: [Sj [1843-44], 113 (WR) (APR, 417).

<sup>93.</sup> Source: Based on WWj, vol. 4, 3 Oct. 1843 (WWj 2:315). Cf. BYj [1840-44], vol. 3, 3 Oct. 1843 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.2).

<sup>94.</sup> Book E-1, 1743: adds "who also invited about thirty of the Saints to meet with them."

<sup>95.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 114 (WR) (APR, 417).

<sup>96.</sup> DHC 6:42: replaces "amount" with "number"

<sup>97.</sup> DHC 6:42: adds "of this date"

# 98PLEASURE PARTY AND DINNER AT "NAUVOO MANSION," OCTOBER 3, 1843.99

General Joseph Smith, the proprietor of said house, provided a luxurious feast for a pleasure party, and all having partook<sup>100</sup> of the luxuries of a well-spread board, the cloth was removed, and a committee appointed to draft resolutions suitable to the occasion. They adjourned for a few moments and returned, when <sup>101</sup>R [obert]. D. Foster was appointed chairman.

The object of the meeting was then briefly stated by the chairman; after which a hymn was sung, and prayer by Elder Taylor. The chairman then arose and made some appropriate remarks for the occasion, touching upon the rise and progress of the city, the varied scenes through which the Saints had to pass, the persecutions and abuses the prophets had to undergo, &c., &c.; after which he read the following resolutions and toasts<sup>102</sup>, which were unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, 1st. That a vote of thanks be presented to General Joseph Smith and lady, through the medium of the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, for the very bountiful feast by them provided, for the accommodation of this party of more than one hundred couple[s], at their Mansion.

Resolved, 2d. General Joseph Smith, whether we view him as a Prophet at the head of the Church; a General at the head of the Legion; a Mayor at the head of the city council; or as a landlord at the head of his table, if he has equals he has 103 no superior 104.

Resolved, 3d. Nauvoo, the great emporium of the West, the center of all centers, a city of three years' growth—a population of 15,000<sup>105</sup> souls, congregated from the four quarters of the globe, embracing <sup>106</sup>the intelligence of all nations, with industry, frugality, economy, virtue, and brotherly love; unsurpassed in <sup>107</sup> any age of the world—a suitable home for the Saints.

Resolved, 4th. Nauvoo Legion, a well disciplined and faithful band of invincibles; ready at all times to defend their country with this motto, "Vive la Republique".

Resolved, 5th. Nauvoo Charter, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, an unalterable decree by a patriotic band of wise legislators for the protection of the innocent 108.

Resolved, 6th. Thomas Ford, Governor of Illinois: fearless and faithful in the discharge of all official duties, long may he live, and blessings attend his administration.

Col[onel]. F[rancis]. M. Higbee was then called to the stand, who addressed the audience in a very spirited and appropriate manner for the day.

Professor O[rson]. Spencer was then called, who arose, and in his usual easy and eloquent manner highly entertained the company for near half-an-hour.

<sup>109</sup>Next called was Elder John Taylor, who alone was capable of putting on the top stone of the entertainment; his address was highly interesting, combining, like a Lacoon, a volume in every gesture.

<sup>98.</sup> Source: NN 1 (4 Oct. 1843): [91].

<sup>99.</sup> DHC 6:42: omits date

<sup>100.</sup> DHC 6:42: "partaken"

<sup>101.</sup> NN 1:[91]: adds "Genl."

<sup>102.</sup> DHC 6:42: "toast"

<sup>103.</sup> NN 1:[91]: "he has few equals and no superior"; Book E-1, 1744: "\he/ has few equals and <he has>" (prob.TB)

<sup>104.</sup> DHC 6:42: "superiors"

<sup>105.</sup> NN 1:[91]: "eighteen thousand"

<sup>106.</sup> Book E-1, 1744: adds "all"

<sup>107.</sup> DHC 6:42: replaces "in" with "by"

<sup>108.</sup> NN 1:[91]: replaces "innocent" with "saints"; Book E-1, 1744 (lighter ink): inserts "Saints \Innocent/" at elon (pos. LH)

<sup>109.</sup> DHC 6:43: adds "The"

Gen[eral]. Smith then arose, and in a very touching and suitable manner, tendered his thanks to the company, for the encomiums and honors conferred on him. He recited the many woes through which he had passed, the persecutions <sup>110</sup>he had suffered, and the love he had for the brethren and citizens of Nauvoo. He tendered his gratitude for the pleasing prospects that surrounded him, to the great Giver of all good. He said he thought that his case was similar to that of old Job's; that after he had suffered and drank the very dregs of affliction, the Lord had remembered him in mercy, and was about to bless him abundantly.

After he had done, Mrs. Emma Smith presented her thanks, through the chair, to the company present; after which a motion was made and carried to adjourn, whereupon the company were 111 called to their feet. Benediction by Elder Taylor, and the party retired with the most perfect satisfaction and good humor, as was 112 ever witnessed on such occasions.

R[OBERT]. D. FOSTER, Chairman.

<sup>113</sup>In the evening, Mr. William Backenstos and Clara M. Wasson were married at the Mansion. I solemnized the marriage in presence of a select party.

Wednesday, 4.—I extract the following from the Neighbor of this date:—

114ANTI-MORMONISM.—[...] With respect to the Carthage meeting, I take upon myself to deny the charges in toto, and challenge them to the proof. If we harbor horse-thieves among us, as is basely asserted, let the man that has lost his horse publish his name and the name of the villain, or how he knows him to be a Mormon, and where he is harbored, that we may have something more than vague assertions. They well know that no such proof can be produced, but that the charges had their birth in the minds of one or two heartless scoundrels, thirsting 115 for revenge for their late disappointments. The whole of the charges are a tissue of falsehoods, got up with the idea of intimidating a peaceable body of citizens; but, sir, we set such designing knaves at defiance, and laugh at their threats, treating them with utter contempt, but ever ready to abide by the truth. [...]

JOHN GREENHOW.

### <sup>116</sup>Elder Reuben Hedlock wrote the following letter:—

<sup>117</sup>Liverpool, Oct[ober]. 4, 1843.

To the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, greeting:—

Dear and much esteemed Brethren:—I hasten to inform you of my arrival in Liverpool on the 30th day of Sept[ember]., in company with Elders John Cairns, James Sloan and wife, James Houston and William G. Jermon. We left six of the Twelve in the city of New York, the 2nd day of September, and came on board of the ship *Columbus*: our passage money was five dollars; we had a very hard passage. We were very much crowded in the steerage; there were 118 236 persons, Dutch, Irish, English and Scotch, and as dirty as any I ever saw; we were not much

<sup>110.</sup> DHC 6:43: adds "which"

<sup>111.</sup> Book E-1, 1744: "were" overwrites "was"

<sup>112.</sup> NN 1:[91]: omits "was"; Book E-1, 1744: "<was>" (prob. RLC)

<sup>113.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 114 (WR) (APR, 417).

<sup>114.</sup> Source: NN 1 (4 Oct. 1843): [91].

<sup>115.</sup> NN 1:[91]: replaces "thirsting" with "wreaking"; Book E-1, 1745 (lighter ink): "wreaking <thirsting>"

<sup>116.</sup> Book E-1, 1745, DHC 6:44: add this sentence

<sup>117.</sup> Source: Original letter in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 5, 77-79.

<sup>118.</sup> MS letter, 1: replaces "were" with "was"; Book E-1, 1745: "were" overwrites "was"

sick, the weather was cold: had it been otherwise, we should have suffered more. <sup>119</sup>A<sup>120</sup> steamer leaves for New York today, and I thought I would announce to you my arrival by this opportunity, and such information as I was in possession of <sup>121</sup>; there is a ship to sail on the 14th inst[ant]., by which I shall write you again.

I found Elders Hiram Clark, Thomas Ward and Amos Fielding in Liverpool, and they were well, and as far as I was informed by them, that 122 the church is in a 123 good state and on the increase, it numbers somewhere between eight and nine thousand members. There is a great want of laborers in the vineyard. 124 Many of the first elders have 125 left this for Nauvoo, leaving their places vacant. I presented to the presidency here your decision relative to the printing: 126 Elders Ward and Fielding 127 received it, and manifested a desire to abide by it. Elder Fielding wept when 128 I showed him your decision concerning him and his 129 coming to Nauvoo by the first ship to see you face to face. The brethren say here that he has been too hasty in some things, and has given some an offense; but I do not as yet know anything 130 derogatory to his character that I could say aught against him. I shall write you all the particulars as fast as I come in possession of them. As it regards the printing in this land, we shall stop it after the next number is published: in it we wish to publish the news 131 from Nauvoo for the benefit of the Saints 132, and to announce our arrival in this country.

Permit me here to give you my opinion as it regards the printing in this land, and I will<sup>133</sup> cheerfully abide your advice notwithstanding. After we stop the *Star*, we shall have during the shipping season to advertise, and give general information in the emigration business to the Saints scattered abroad. I think it would be best to republish the *Times and Seasons* for the benefit of the Church. The duties on books<sup>134</sup> are  $\pounds 2$ —10s<sup>135</sup>. per hundredweight; and there is<sup>136</sup> now 1,600<sup>137</sup> *Stars* circulated here at the present, and the demand<sup>138</sup> for<sup>139</sup> our publications are on the increase. The duties would almost reprint the *Times and Seasons*, and then we could do our advertising on the last page, <sup>140</sup>if thought advisable. We could afford it as cheap as the present *Star*, and pay you something for the privilege of publishing, as well as to pay it to the crown. I have not yet learned the amount of funds remaining here subject to your order. I have not had

```
119. MS letter, 1: adds "there is"; Book E-1, 1745: "there is"
```

<sup>120.</sup> Book E-1, 1745: "A" overwrites "a"

<sup>121.</sup> DHC 6:44: adds "up to this date"

<sup>122.</sup> DHC 6:44: omits "that"

<sup>123.</sup> Book E-1, 1745: "\a/"

<sup>124.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "there has"; Book E-1, 1745: "there has"

<sup>125.</sup> MS letter, 1: omits "have"; Book E-1, 1745: "<have>" (LH)

<sup>126.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "and"; Book E-1, 1745: "and"

<sup>127.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "they"; Book E-1, 1745: "they"

<sup>128.</sup> MS letter, 2: "<when>"

<sup>129.</sup> MS letter, 2: replaces "his" with "is"

<sup>130.</sup> MS letter, 2: "any<thing>"

<sup>131.</sup> MS letter, 2 (pencil): "mire <news>" (US)

<sup>132.</sup> MS letter, 2: "<of the Saints>"

<sup>133.</sup> MS letter, 2: "<will>"

<sup>134.</sup> MS letter, 2:"on <on Books>"

<sup>135.</sup> Book E-1, 1745: "10p"

<sup>136.</sup> DHC 6:45: "are"

<sup>137.</sup> Book E-1, 1745: " $16\{\frac{1}{7}\}00\{\theta\}$ "

<sup>138.</sup> DHC 6:45: "demands"

<sup>139.</sup> Book E-1, 1745: "of"

<sup>140.</sup> MS letter, 2: adds "and an"

much time as yet to inquire into those matters, in consequence of the multitude of business in unloading our freight from shipboard.

The brethren that came with me wish me to say to those whom it may concern, that they are well, and will in a few days leave for their fields of labor.

I shall write to you once a month, no preventing Providence, and should be glad to have you write to me as often, and give me your advice and counsel relating to those things you in your wisdom may think beneficial to the Saints and emigration in this land.

I wish Elder Taylor would forward to me the amount of the number that will make the volume of the *Times and Seasons* complete by the first opportunity; by so doing I can sell the 200 volumes to advantage. I will try to forward to him what I can obtain for the *Times and Seasons* already here. If it should be thought wisdom to reprint the *Times and Seasons* here, I wish brother Taylor would be particular to send, so that we could obtain them, if possible. I am informed by Elder Ward that they have not received any intelligence from you<sup>141</sup> since last February.

I wish you would write me your mind concerning the printing immediately on the receipt of this sheet, so that our communication with the Saints in England may not be stopped long.

I am as ever, your humble servant in the bonds of the N[ew]. [and] E[verlasting]. C[ovenant]. REUBEN HEDLOCK.

to the first presidency & Quorum of the twelve apostles. 142

<sup>143</sup>A.M. I was at the Mansion preparing some legal papers. Joseph was sworn before Alderman Phelps at the Mansion to an affidavit concerning a suit in court. Clayton and Joseph vs Rhodes. Gave Phelps orders to take such steps as were necessary to procure arms for the Legion. <sup>144</sup>

Justin Butterfield, Esq., U.S. Attorney for Illinois, arrived this afternoon, and I spent the rest of the day in riding and chatting with him.

Council of the Quorum <sup>145</sup>met and adjourned to Sunday evening, my brother Hyrum's child being sick.

Towards night Joseph called to direct a license for an auction to be given E. Harvy and N. Sleeper for the space of 10 days for \$5.00. Granted accordingly and they were sworn to make due returns to the treasurer.

<sup>146</sup>The Quorum of the Twelve started from Philadelphia for Pittsburgh.

<sup>147</sup>Thursday, 5.—This morning I rode out with Esquire Butterfield to the farm, &c. <sup>148</sup>

In the afternoon rode to the prairie to show some brethren some land. Evening, at home, and walked up and down the streets with my scribe. Gave instructions to try those persons who were preaching, teaching, or practicing <sup>149</sup> the doctrine of plurality of wives; for according to the law, I hold the keys of this power in the last days, for there is never but one on earth at a time on whom the

<sup>141.</sup> MS letter, 2: "<from you>"

<sup>142.</sup> Preceding bolded text from MS letter, 2.

<sup>143.</sup> Source: Following four paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 115 (WR) (APR, 417), with editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>144.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 115: "<gave Phelps ... legion.>"

<sup>145.</sup> DHC 6:45: adds "[special council, see p. 39]"

<sup>146.</sup> Source: Based on WWj, vol. 4, 4 Oct. 1843 (WWj 2:315).

<sup>147.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 116 (WR) (APR, 417), with editing, elaboration, and change to first person.

<sup>148.</sup> DHC 6:46: omits "&c."

<sup>149.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 116: adds "practicing"

power and its keys are conferred—and I have constantly said no man shall have but one wife at a time, unless the Lord directs otherwise. 150

<sup>151</sup>Friday, 6.—I attended special conference **11½** [**A.M.**]; but as few people were out in consequence of the weather proving unfavorable, the organization of the conference was adjourned until to morrow [at] **10**, or the first pleasant day.

After giving notice that President Rigdon's case would be considered, &c., I walked towards home, and gave instructions to my scribe to cause all the papers relating to my land-claims in the Half Breed Tract in Iowa, to be placed in the hands of Esquire Butterfield.

<sup>152</sup>Saturday, 7.—I attended conference. <sup>153</sup>

<sup>154</sup>Sunday, 8.—Slight frost last night. Conference convened in the morning, but as it rained, adjourned till Monday, at 10 a.m.

Prayer-meeting at my house in the evening; quorum present; also in addition, sisters [Harriet]<sup>155</sup> Adams, Elizabeth Ann Whitney, my aunt Clarissa Smith, and my mother.

My brother Hyrum and his wife were blessed, ordained, and anointed. Prayer and singing.

<sup>156</sup>The Twelve arrived at Pittsburgh at 10 a.m., and again left by the steamer *Raritan*, at 11 a.m., en route for Nauvoo.

<sup>157</sup>Monday, 9.—Attended Conference, and preached a funeral sermon on the death of General James Adams; a brief synopsis of which, as reported by Dr. [Willard] Richards, will be found in the minutes below.

I here insert the conference minutes <sup>158</sup> from the *Times and Seasons*:—

### <sup>159</sup>MINUTES OF A SPECIAL CONFERENCE

Of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, <sup>160</sup>held in the city of Nauvoo, commencing on the 6th of October, 1843.

Friday, October 6, 10 o'clock, a.m.

The weather proving unfavorable, the organization of the conference was postponed until the next day at 10 o'clock, a.m.

Saturday, 10 o'clock, a.m.

Conference assembled and proceeded to business.

President Joseph Smith was called to the chair, and Gustavus Hills was chosen clerk.

<sup>150.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 116: replaces "for according to the law ...otherwise" with "on this Law. Joseph forbids it and the practice thereof. No man shall have but one wife."

<sup>151.</sup> *Source*: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 117 (WR) (*APR*, 417-18), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>152.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 118 (WR) (APR, 418).

<sup>153.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 118: adds "see minutes on case of S. Rigdon". See below.

<sup>154.</sup> *Source*: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 119 (WR) (APR, 418), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>155.</sup> Brackets this editor's.

<sup>156.</sup> Source: Based on BYj [1840-44], vol. 3, 8 Oct. 1843 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.2).

<sup>157.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1843-44], 120-21 (WR) (APR, 418-19).

<sup>158.</sup> DHC 6:47: omits remainder of sentence

<sup>159.</sup> *Source*: RDft 7:73 directs scribe to copy the following minutes for the 6-9 Oct. 1843 conference from *T&S* 4 (15 Sept. 1843): 329-32. Deleted material supplied here in bold type. Original minutes not located.

<sup>160.</sup> DHC 6:47: adds "in Special Conference"

Singing by the choir, and prayer by Elder Almon W. 161 Babbitt.

The President stated the items of business to be brought before the conference, to be. 1st. The case and standing of Elder Sidney Rigdon, Counselor to 162 the First Presidency. 2nd. The further progress of the Temple; after which, any miscellaneous business.

Elder Sidney Rigdon addressed the conference on the subject of his situation and circumstances among the Saints.

President Joseph Smith addressed the conference, inviting an expression of any charges or complaints which the conference had to make. He stated his dissatisfaction with Elder Sidney Rigdon as a counselor, not having received any material benefit from his labors of counsels since their escape from Missouri. Several complaints were then brought forward in reference to his management in the post office; a supposed correspondence and connection with John C. Bennett, with Ex-Governor Carlin, and with the Missourians, of a treacherous character; also his leaguing with dishonest persons in endeavoring to defraud the innocent.

#### [DN 7 (18 March 1857): 9-10]

President Joseph Smith related to the conference the detention of documents<sup>163</sup> from Justin<sup>164</sup> Butterfield, Esq., which was designed for the benefit of himself, (President Smith,) but were<sup>165</sup> not handed over for some three or four weeks, greatly to his disadvantage. Also, an indirect testimony from Missouri, through the mother of Orin P. Rockwell, that said Rigdon and others had given information, by letter, of President Smith's visit to Dixon, advising them to proceed to that place and arrest him there. He stated that in consequence of those, and other circumstances, and his<sup>166</sup> unprofitableness to him as a counselor, he did not wish to retain him in that station, unless those difficulties could be removed; but desired his salvation, and expressed his willingness that he should retain a place among the Saints.

Elder Almon W. 167 Babbitt suggested the propriety of limiting the complaints and proofs to circumstances that had transpired since the last conference.

President Joseph Smith replied, and showed the legality and propriety of a thorough investigation, without such limitation.

Elder Sidney Rigdon plead<sup>168</sup>, concerning the document from Justin<sup>169</sup> Butterfield, Esq., that he received it in answer to some inquiries which he <sup>170</sup>had transmitted to him<sup>171</sup>—that he <sup>172</sup>received it at a time when he was sick, and unable to examine it—did not know that it was designed for the perusal and benefit of President Joseph Smith—that he had, consequently, ordered it to be laid aside, where it remained until inquired for by Joseph Smith. He had never written to Missouri concerning the visit of Joseph Smith to Dixon, and knew of no other person having done so. That, concerning certain rumors of belligerent operations under Governor Carlin's administration, he had related them, not to alarm or disturb any one, but that he had the

```
161. T&S 4:329: omits "W."
```

<sup>162.</sup> DHC 6:47: replaces "to" with "in"

<sup>163.</sup> DHC 6:47: replaces "documents" with "a document"

<sup>164.</sup> T&S 4:330: "J."; Book E-1, 1747: "J<ustin>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>165.</sup> T&S 4:330: replaces "were" with "was"; Book E-1, 1747: "w{\ere/}" (pos. RLC); DHC 6:47: "was"

<sup>166.</sup> DHC 6:48: replaces "his" with "Elder Rigdon's"

<sup>167.</sup> T&S 4:330: omits "W."

<sup>168.</sup> DHC 6:48: "pleaded"

<sup>169.</sup> T&S 4:330: "J."

<sup>170.</sup> DHC 6:48: adds "[Rigdon]"

<sup>171.</sup> DHC 6:48: adds "[Butterfield]"

<sup>172.</sup> DHC 6:48: adds "[Rigdon]"

rumors from good authorities, and supposed them well founded. That he had never received but one communication from John C. Bennett, and that of a business character, except one addressed to him conjointly with Elder Orson Pratt, which he handed over to President Smith—that he had never written any letters to John C. Bennett.

The weather becoming inclement, conference adjourned until Sunday, 10 o'clock, a.m.

Sunday, 8th, 10 o'clock, a.m.

Conference assembled agreeably to adjournment.

<sup>173</sup>Singing by the choir, and prayer by Elder William W. Phelps.

Elder Sidney Rigdon resumed his plea of defense. He related the circumstances of his reception in the city of Quincy, after his escape from Missouri—the cause of his delay in not going to the city of Washington, on an express to which he had been appointed—and closed with a moving appeal to President Joseph Smith, concerning their former friendship, associations and sufferings; and expressed his willingness to resign his place, though with sorrowful and indescribable feelings. During this address, the sympathies of the congregation were highly excited.

Elder Almon W. Babbitt related a conversation he had had with Esq[uire]. Johnson, in which he exonerated Elder Sidney Rigdon from the charge or suspicion of having had a treacherous correspondence with ex-Governor Carlin.

President Joseph Smith arose and satisfactorily explained to the congregation the supposed treacherous correspondence with ex-Governor Carlin, which wholly removed suspicion from Elder Sidney Rigdon, and from every other person; and he expressed entire willingness to have elder Sidney Rigdon retain his station, provided he would magnify his office, and walk and conduct himself in all honesty, righteousness, and integrity; but signified his lack of confidence in his integrity and steadfastness, judging from their past intercourse.

Patriarch Hyrum Smith followed with <sup>174</sup>remarks on the attributes of mercy in God, as that by which he influences, controls and conquers—and the propriety and importance of the Saints exercising the same attribute towards their fellows; and especially towards their aged companion and fellow-servant in the cause of truth and righteousness.

Elder Almon W.<sup>175</sup> Babbitt and President William Law followed with remarks in defense of Elder Sidney Rigdon.

On motion by <sup>176</sup>William Marks, and seconded by Patriarch<sup>177</sup> Hyrum Smith, conference voted that Elder Sidney Rigdon be permitted to retain his station as counselor to the First President<sup>178</sup>.

<sup>179</sup>President Joseph Smith arose and said, "I have thrown him off my shoulders, and you have again put him on me, you may carry him, but I will not."

Singing by the choir. Prayer by president 180 William Law.

Conference adjourned for one hour.

<sup>173.</sup> T&S 4:330: adds "and opened with"

<sup>174.</sup> DHC 6:49: adds "appropriate and impressive"

<sup>175.</sup> T&S 4:330: omits "W."

<sup>176.</sup> DHC 6:49: adds "President"

<sup>177.</sup> T&S 4:330: replaces "Patriarch" with "President"

<sup>178.</sup> T&S 4:330: "Presidency"; DHC 6:49: "in the First Presidency"

<sup>179.</sup> *T&S* 4:330: omits this paragraph. A footnote in DHC 6:49 states that this paragraph "appears as [a] footnote in the Ms. History"; however, it does not appear in Book E-1, 1749, but more precisely was added by TB upside down at the bottom of RDft 7:73, sometime after this page was composed, between 20 Feb.-20 June 1855 (see MSHi Chronology), and before it was copied into E-1, between ca. 28 June-20 Aug. 1855 (see MSHi Chronology). *Source*: HGS #1, 1 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.3).

<sup>180.</sup> T&S 4:330: adds "pres't"; DHC 6:49: adds "Elder"

Sunday 3 p.m.

Conference assembled, but in consequence of the inclemency of the weather, business was postponed until Monday, 10 o'clock, a.m.

Monday, 10 o'clock, a.m.

Conference assembled, and resumed business.

Singing by the choir. Prayer by Elder A[lpheus]. Cutler.

The business pertaining to the Temple was then announced by the President as next in order.

Elder Alpheus Cutler, on the part of the Temple Committee, represented the work of the Temple to be retarded for want of team work and provisions, also of iron, steel, blasting<sup>181</sup> powder, and clothing—giving as his opinion that the walls could easily be completed next season, if these embarrassments were removed, and the brethren would come forward to sustain them in the work with the means that were in their hands.

Elder Reynolds Cahoon followed, seconding the remarks of Elder Cutler, and setting forth the importance of the Saints using their utmost exertions to fulfill the revelation concerning the Temple—earnestly exhorting the Saints, here and abroad, to roll in the necessary means into the hands of the Trustee<sup>182</sup>, that the work may advance with rapidity.

President Hyrum Smith followed with pertinent remarks on the importance of the work—the ease with which it might be advanced to its completion—that it had already become a monument for the people abroad to gaze on with astonishment. He concluded with some advice to parents to restrain their children from vice and folly, and employ them in some business of profit to themselves, to the Temple, or elsewhere.

On motion by Elder William Law, and seconded by President Hyrum Smith, conference voted that we, as a conference and individuals, will use all the means, exertions and influence in our power, to sustain the Temple Committee in advancing the work of the Temple.

President Joseph Smith presented and read to the Conference, a communication from Col. Francis M. Higbee, whose conduct had been called into question, in connection with elder Sidney Rigdon, and expressed himself satisfied that Col. Frances M. Higbee was free, even of reproach or suspicion, in that matter.

Conference adjourned for one hour.

Monday, 2 o'clock, p.m.

Conference re-assembled, and listened with profound attention, to an impressive discourse from President Joseph Smith, commemorative of the decease of James Adams, Esq., late of this city, and an honorable, worthy, useful, and esteemed member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

<sup>183</sup>All men know that they must die:<sup>184</sup> and it is important that we should understand the reasons and causes of our exposure to the vicissitudes of life, and of death; and the designs and purposes of God in our coming into the world, our sufferings here, and our departure hence.<sup>185</sup>

<sup>181.</sup> T&S 4:331: omits "blasting"

<sup>182.</sup> T&S 4:331: replaces "Trustee" with "Committee"

<sup>183.</sup> *Source*: JS's sermon is an amalgamation of *T&S* 4 (15 Sept. 1843): 331-32, and JSj [1843-44], 120-21 (WR) (*APR*, 418-19; *WJS*, 254-55). Cf. JSAd, Bx 4, fd 5, 79-80, which includes a note by GAS: "Reported By Wm C Stainer from Memory April 24[,] 1855."

<sup>184.</sup> Preceding sentence from JSj [1843-44], 120.

<sup>185.</sup> Preceding two sentences from T&S 4:331.

What is the object of our coming into existence, then dying and falling away to be here no more?<sup>186</sup> It is but reasonable to suppose that God would reveal something in reference to the matter,<sup>187</sup> and it is a subject we ought to study more than any other:—we ought to study it day and night; for the world is ignorant in reference to their true condition and relation. If we have any claim on our Heavenly Father for anything, it is for knowledge on this important subject. Could we read and comprehend all that has been written from the days of Adam, on the relation of man to God and angels <sup>188</sup> in a future state, we should know very little about it. <sup>189</sup> Reading the experience of others, or the revelation given to *them*, can never give *us* a comprehensive view of our condition and true relation to God. Knowledge of these things can only be obtained by experience through the ordinances of God set forth for that purpose. <sup>190</sup> Could you gaze into heaven five minutes, you would know more than you would<sup>191</sup> by reading all that ever was written on the subject. <sup>192</sup>

<sup>193</sup>We are only capable of comprehending that certain things exist, which we may acquire by certain fixed principles. If men would acquire salvation they have got to be subject, before they leave this world, to certain rules and principles, which were fixed by an unalterable decree before the world was.

<sup>194</sup>The disappointment of hopes and expectations at the resurrection would be indescribably dreadful.

<sup>195</sup>The organization of the spiritual and heavenly worlds, and of spiritual and heavenly beings, was agreeable to the most perfect order and harmony; their limits and bounds were fixed irrevocably, and voluntarily subscribed to in their heavenly estate<sup>196</sup> by themselves—and was<sup>197</sup> by our first parents subscribed to upon the earth; hence the importance of embracing and subscribing to principles of eternal truth by all men upon the earth that expect eternal life<sup>198</sup>.

<sup>199</sup>I assure the Saints that truth in reference to these matters, can, and may be known through the revelations of God in the way of his ordinances, and in answer to prayer. The Hebrew Church "came unto the spirits of just men made perfect, and unto an innumerable company of angels, unto God the Father of all, and to Jesus Christ, the Mediator of the new covenant." What did they learn by coming of the spirits of just men made perfect? Is it written? No; what they learned has not been, and could not have been written. What object was gained by this communication with the spirits of the just? It was the established order of the kingdom of God—the keys of power and knowledge were with them to communicate to the Saints:—hence the importance of understanding the distinction between the spirits of the just, and angels.

<sup>186.</sup> Preceding sentence from JSj [1843-44], 120.

<sup>187.</sup> First part of sentence from JSj [1843-44], 120; remainder of sentence and next two sentences from T&S 4:331.

<sup>188.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 120: adds "and the spirits of just men"

<sup>189.</sup> Preceding two sentences from JSi [1843-44], 120.

<sup>190.</sup> Preceding two sentences from T&S 4:331.

<sup>191.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 120: "you possibly <would> can know"

<sup>192.</sup> Preceding sentence from JSj [1843-44], 120.

<sup>193.</sup> This paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 120.

<sup>194.</sup> This paragraph from T&S 4:331.

<sup>195.</sup> This paragraph from T&S 4:331.

<sup>196.</sup> Book E-1, 1750: "state"

<sup>197.</sup> DHC 6:51: "were"

<sup>198.</sup> T&S 4:331: omits "by all men ... life"

<sup>199.</sup> Except for a small portion ("What did they ... No"), this paragraph from T&S 4:331.

Spirits can only be revealed in flaming fire, or glory. Angels have advanced further—their light and glory being tabernacled; and hence they appear in bodily shape. <sup>200</sup> The spirits of just men are made ministering servants to those who are sealed unto life eternal, and it is through them that the sealing power comes down. <sup>201</sup>

<sup>202</sup>Patriarch Adams is now one of <sup>203</sup> the spirits of the just men made perfect; and if revealed now must be revealed in fire; and the glory could not be endured. Jesus showed himself to his disciples, and they thought it was his spirit; and they were afraid to approach his spirit; angels have advanced higher in knowledge and power than spirits.

<sup>204</sup>Concerning brother James Adams, it should appear strange that so good and so great a man was hated. The deceased ought never to have had an enemy. But so it was; wherever light shone, it stirred up darkness. Truth and error, good and evil, cannot be reconciled. Judge Adams had some enemies, but such a man ought not to have had one. <sup>205</sup>

<sup>206</sup>I saw him first at Springfield, when on my way from Missouri to Washington; he sought me out when a stranger, took me to his home, encouraged and cheered me, and gave me money. He has been a most intimate friend. I anointed him to the patriarchal power—to receive the keys of knowledge and power, by revelation to himself. He has had revelations concerning his departure, and has gone to a more important work. When men are prepared, they are better off to go hence.<sup>207</sup> Brother Adams has gone to open up a more effectual door for the dead. The spirits of the just are exalted to a greater and more glorious work—hence they are blessed in their departure to the world of spirits. Enveloped in flaming fire, they are not far from us, and know and understand our thoughts, feelings, and motions, and are often pained therewith.

 $^{208}$ Flesh and blood cannot go there, but flesh and bones, quickened by the Spirit of God, can.

If we would be sober, and watch in fasting and prayer, God would turn away sickness from our midst.

Hasten the work in the Temple—renew your exertions to forward all the work of the last days, and walk before the Lord in soberness and righteousness. Let the elders and saints do away with lightmindedness, and be sober.

<sup>209</sup>Such is a faint outline of the discourse of President Joseph Smith, which was delivered with his usual feeling and pathos; and was listened to with the most profound and eager attention by the multitude, who hung upon his instructions, anxious to learn and pursue the path of eternal life.

After singing by the choir, and prayer by the President, conference adjourned *sine die*, with the benediction of the President.

JOSEPH SMITH, President.

#### GUSTAVUS HILLS, Clerk.

<sup>200.</sup> Preceding two sentences from T&S 4:331.

<sup>201.</sup> Preceding sentence from JSj [1843-44], 120.

<sup>202.</sup> This paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 120-21.

<sup>203.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 120: "The spirit of Patriarch Adams now is <one of>"

<sup>204.</sup> Except last sentence, this paragraph from T&S 4:331.

<sup>205.</sup> Preceding sentence from [Si [1843-44], 121.

<sup>206.</sup> Except for one sentence ("When men are prepared ... hence"), this paragraph from T&S 4:331.

<sup>207.</sup> Preceding sentence from JSj [1843-44], 121.

<sup>208.</sup> Following three paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 121.

<sup>209.</sup> Remainder of minutes from T&S 4:332.

<sup>210</sup>The missionaries to the Society Islands went on board the ship *Timoleon*, Captain Plasket, at New Bedford, and got under way. Elder Philip B. Lewis donated \$300 towards their passage and fitout. <sup>211</sup>Elder Knowlton F. Hanks' health was very poor.

<sup>210.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1843-44], 121, NRj [1843-44], 9 Oct. 1843 (transcription in vol. 8,VI.40), and N. Rogers to J. Taylor, Nauvoo, IL, 5 Jan. 1846, in T&S 6 (1 Jan. 1846): 1085. RLC inserted a note in pencil under this date in HNB: "see Rogers Journal".

<sup>211.</sup> Book E-1, 1751: adds ellipses over erasure of about six words.

# JOSEPH SMITH ON U.S. CONSTITUTION

# October-November 1843

## [DN 7 (18 March 1857): 9-10 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>Tuesday, [October] 10 [1843].—My brother Hyrum was appointed, by the voice of the Spirit, one of the Temple Committee, in place of Judge Elias Higbee, deceased.

<sup>2</sup>I spent the day in council with J. and O. C. Skinner, and the Rhodes', about the sale of land, and appointed William Clayton to buy the property in [his]<sup>3</sup> own name.

<sup>4</sup>[Willard Richards] Saw Joseph at dinner table. [He] said he would attend municipal court next morning [at] 10 o'clock.

<sup>5</sup>Wednesday, 11—I was at home this morning. In the afternoon I went with my brother Hyrum, William Law, and our ladies<sup>6</sup>, to brother John Benbow's.<sup>7</sup>

The following is from the Times and Seasons:—

<sup>8</sup>ANCIENT RUINS.—Every day adds fresh testimony to the already accumulated evidence on the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. At the time that book was translated, there was very little known about ruined cities and dilapidat ed buildings. The general presumption was, that no people possessing more intelligence than our present race of Indians had ever inhabited this continent, and the accounts given in the Book of Mormon concerning large cities and civilized people having inhabited this land, was<sup>9</sup> generally disbelieved and pronounced a humbug. Priest, since then, has thrown some light on this interesting subject. Stephens, in his "Incidents of Travels in Central America," has thrown in a flood of testimony, and from the

<sup>1.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 122 (WR) (APR, 419).

<sup>2.</sup> Source: WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 10 Oct. 1843 (NTNLF, 407). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>3.</sup> WCj [1843-44]:"my"

<sup>4.</sup> Source: From unused portion of JSj [1843-44], 122 (WR) (APR, 419).

<sup>5.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 123 (WR) (APR, 419).

<sup>6.</sup> DHC 6:53: replaces "ladies" with "wives"

<sup>7.</sup> WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 11 Oct. 1843 (*IC*, 121), reads: "P.M. at President Joseph's. He is gone to Benbows to dine &c ... Evening B[enjamin] F. Johnson came to meet Joseph and Hyrum. At about 8 W[illia]m Walker came to say Joseph and H[yrum] could not come untill morning."

<sup>8.</sup> Source: T&S 5 (1 Jan. 1844): 390-91.

<sup>9.</sup> DHC 6:53: "were"

following statements it is evident that the Book of Mormon does not give a more extensive account of large and populous cities, than those discoveries now<sup>10</sup> demonstrate to be even in existence.—Ed.

(11 From the Texas Telegraph, Oct[ober]. 11.)

We have been informed by a gentleman who has traversed a large portion of the Indian country of Northern Texas, and the country lying between Santa Fe and the Pacific, that there are vestiges of ancient cities and ruined castles or temples on the Rio Puerco, and on the Colorado of the West.

He says that on one of the branches of the Rio Puerco, a few days' travel from Santa Fe, there is an immense pile of ruins that appear to belong to an ancient temple. Portions of the walls are still standing, consisting of huge blocks of limestone regularly hewn, and laid in cement. The building occupies an extent of more than an acre. It is two or three stories high, has no roof, but contains many rooms generally of a square form, without windows, and the lower rooms are so dark and gloomy that they resemble caverns rather than the apartments of an edifice built for a human habitation.

Our informant did not give the style of architecture, but he believes it could not be erected by Spaniards or Europeans, as the stones are much worn by the rains, and indicate that the building has stood many 12 hundred years. From his description we are induced to believe that it resembles the ruins of Palenque or Otulum.

He says there are many similar ruins on the Colorado of the West, which empties into <sup>13</sup> the Californian sea. In one of the valleys of the Cordilleras traversed by this river, and about four hundred miles from its mouth, there is a large temple still standing, its walls and spires presenting scarcely any trace <sup>14</sup> of dilapidation; and were it not for the want of a roof, it might still be rendered habitable. Near it, scattered along the declivity of a mountain, are the ruins of what must have been once a large city.

The traces of a large aqueduct, part of which is, however, in the solid rock, are still visible. Neither the Indians residing in the vicinity, nor the eldest<sup>15</sup> Spanish settlers of the nearest settlements, can give any account of the origin of these buildings. They merely know that they have stood there from the earliest periods to which their traditions extend.

The antiquarian who is desirous to trace the Aztec or <sup>16</sup>Toltec races in their migrations from the northern regions of America, may find in their ancient edifices many subjects of curious speculation.

<sup>17</sup>Thursday, 12.—**Eve[ning]** Prayer-meeting in my room. We prayed for William Marks, who was sick. **A[masa].Lyman [and] John Taylor [were] absent. [Alpheus] Cutler and [Reynolds] Cahoon present.** 

<sup>18</sup>I sent [William] Clayton to Lathrop, to borrow \$50, that I might be able to redeem \$5000 worth of property, which was published to be sold today at Rhodes', but Lathrop refused: he also went

<sup>10.</sup> DHC 6:53: moves "now" to follow "even"

<sup>11.</sup> DHC 6:53: adds "Article"

<sup>12.</sup> T&S 5:391: replaces "many" with "several"; Book E-1, 1752: "several <many>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>13.</sup> DHC 6:54: "in"

<sup>14.</sup> DHC 6:54: "traces"

<sup>15.</sup> T&S 5:391, DHC 6:54: "oldest"

<sup>16.</sup> DHC 6:54: adds "the"

<sup>17.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 124 (WR) (APR, 419). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>18.</sup> Source: WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 12 Oct. 1843 (NTNLF, 407), with editing and elaboration about JS's reaction to not getting a loan.

to Eli Chase's, but was <sup>19</sup>refused by him. I was grieved that the brethren felt so penurious in their spirit, although they professed to be guided by the revelations which the Lord gives through me. On my afterwards giving a pledge that I would repay the \$50 in 48 hours, Lathrop lent the money, and enabled me to redeem the land.

I received the following from H. R. Hotchkiss:—

<sup>20</sup>New York, 27th Sept[ember]., 1843.

Rev. Jos[eph]. Smith:-

Dear Sir:—I see by the newspapers that there has been a meeting of citizens at Carthage relative to the Mormons, and that several severe resolutions have been passed condemning the conduct of the Mormons,—knowing how little I can rely upon public rumor upon such subjects, I have taken the liberty of applying directly to you for correct information and solicit as a particular favor that you will communicate at your earliest convenience the facts in the case.

Of course I feel an interest in the prosperity of Nauvoo, and an interest also in the success of the Mormon enterprise, and a deep interest in the welfare of your people, and the more so certainly, as their pecuniary interest is identified with my own. I make this frank acknowledgment, because it is always best for men of sense to talk as they mean. I should, however, be solicitous for a successful termination of your great enterprise, had I not one dollar invested in Nauvoo, because the complete triumph of energetic exertions is always gratifying to all business men.

Your obedient servant,<sup>21</sup>

HORACE R. HOTCHKISS.

<sup>22</sup>I wrote this reply:—

<sup>23</sup>Nauvoo, Ill., Oct. 12, 1843.

Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 27th ult., is at hand, soliciting information concerning the "Carthage resolutions." In answer to your very candid inquiry and <sup>24</sup>"interest" relative to our welfare, brevity will suffice. Unprincipled men and disappointed demagogues, with here and there an "untamed sucker," composed that disgraceful and disgracing, as well as mobocratic assemblage; and I feel proud to say that patriots and honest men generally frown upon such audacious proceedings, as beneath the dignity of freemen. It is to be hoped that public opinion will continue to spurn at such doings, and leave the actors to fester in their own shame.

With the smiling prospects around us at present, success seems certain, and<sup>25</sup> with the blessings of Jehovah, we shall reap the reward of virtue and goodness. I go for the good of the world; and if all honest men would do so, mean men would be scarce. You are at liberty to use this to counteract falsehoods, as you may deem proper.

Respectfully, I am your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

By W W Phelps clerk<sup>26</sup>

H R Hotchkiss New York

<sup>19.</sup> Book E-1, 1753: adds "also"

<sup>20.</sup> Source: Original letter in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 5, 73-76.

<sup>21.</sup> MS letter, 1: omits "servant"; Book E-1, 1753: "<Servt.,>" (pos. JG)

<sup>22.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 124, reads: "Towards evening gave W[illiam] W. Phelps a letter from H[orace] R. Hotchkiss to be answered." RDft 7:74: "Directed W.W. Phelps to write to Horace R. Hotchkiss in answer to his letter to me" (TB)

<sup>23.</sup> Source: Retained copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 6, 28-31 (WWP). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>24.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "ex=pression"

<sup>25.</sup> MS letter, 1: inserts "\and/" at boln

<sup>26.</sup> MS letter, 1, cancels this line in pencil.

<sup>27</sup>Friday, 13.—First severe frost at Nauvoo this season; ice on the water **twice [the] thickness of window glass**.

At home; answered letter to H[orace] R. Hotchkiss; gave [Lucien] Woodworth some instructions, [who] made arrangements to prepare provisions for the workmen in the pinery.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>29</sup>From 10 a.m. till<sup>30</sup> 3 p.m., presided in municipal court, on habeas corpus in favor of Charles<sup>31</sup> Drown; to be delivered from the custody of Samuel Waterman; the prisoner being sick, adjourned the case to the 16th.

In the afternoon trying a span of grey horses in the carriage.

Dr. Turner, a phrenologist, came in; I gratified his curiosity for about an hour, by allowing<sup>32</sup> him to examine my head.

<sup>33</sup>I was engaged settling accounts with D. S. Hollister.

<sup>34</sup>Saturday, 14.—In the morning at home, having a long conversation with a physiologist<sup>35</sup> and mesmerizer; I asked them to prove that the mind of man was seated in one part of the brain more than another.

<sup>36</sup>Sat in city council **from 11** till 1 p.m., which passed "An ordinance concerning the inspection of Flour," and appointed William E. Horner inspector of flour for the city of Nauvoo.

<sup>37</sup>P.M. at the Temple and J[oseph]'s. He desired me to try to borrow \$35.—I went out to try but did not succeed. I feel much perplexed on account of it and know not what to do.

<sup>38</sup>Sunday, 15.—Cool, calm, and cloudy<sup>39</sup>. At 11 a.m., I preached at the stand east of the Temple. The following synopsis was<sup>40</sup> reported by Dr. Willard Richards:—

<sup>41</sup>It is one of the first principles of my life, and one that I have cultivated from my child-hood, having been taught it by my father, to allow every one the liberty of conscience. I am the

<sup>27.</sup> *Source*: Following five paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 125 (WR) (*APR*, 420), with editing and elaboration. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>28.</sup> RDft 7:74: "gave instructions to <made arrangements> <the temple Committee to> prepare provisions for the workmen in the Pinery" (TB)

<sup>29.</sup> First part of this paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 125; last sentence based on Illinois vs. Charles Drown, 11, 13, and 17 Oct. 1843, NCRc, Bx 5, fd 20.

<sup>30.</sup> DHC 6:56: replaces "till" with "to"

<sup>31.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 125: replaces "Charles" with "Horace"

<sup>32.</sup> Book E-1, 1754 (pencil): "for <br/>by allowing>" (prob. LH)

<sup>33.</sup> Source: Undetermined.

<sup>34.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 126 (WR) (APR, 420), and WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 14 Oct. 1843 (IC, 121; NTNLF, 407; DMQP, 13), the latter of which reads: "A.M. at President Joseph's. He was conversing with some strangers one of whom I believe is Dr. Turner the Phrenologist and another a mesmerist. They had a pretty warm debate. Joseph said they could not prove that the mind of man was seated in one part of the brain more than another &c."

<sup>35.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 126: "phrenologist"

<sup>36.</sup> Source: First part of paragraph based on JSj [1843-44], 126 (WR) (APR, 420), with details in second part supplied from NCCP, 189 (JSn). Deleted material supplied from JSj in bold type. Cf. NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 22 (WR) (NCHCM, 186).

<sup>37.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 14 Oct. 1843 (DMQP, 13).

<sup>38.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 127 (WR) (APR, 420).

<sup>39.</sup> Book E-1, 1754: "<Cool calm and cloudy>" (TB)

<sup>40.</sup> Book E-1, 1754: "<was>" (LH)

<sup>41.</sup> *Source*: RDft 7:74 instructs scribe to "copy from Grimshaws MSS." (TB), which has not been located. A portion of an early draft in JG's handwriting is located on the backs of pp. 1-[4] of JS's 16 June 1844 sermon in JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, 105-29. It was nevertheless based on JSj [1843-44], 127-34 (WR) (*APR*, 420-22; *WJS*, 255-58).

greatest advocate of the Constitution of the United States there is on the earth. In my feelings I am always ready to die for the protection of the weak and oppressed in their just rights<sup>42</sup>; the only fault I find with the Constitution is, it is not broad enough to cover the whole ground.

<sup>43</sup>Although it provides that all men shall enjoy religious freedom, yet it does not provide the manner by which that freedom can be preserved, nor for the punishment of government officers who refuse to protect the people in their religious rights, or punish those mobs, states, or communities, who interfere with the rights of the people on account of their religion. Its sentiments are good, but it provides no means of enforcing them. It has but this one fault: under its provision<sup>44</sup> a man or a people who are able to protect themselves, can get along well enough; but those who have the misfortune to be weak or unpopular, are left to the merciless rage of popular fury.

The Constitution should contain a provision, that every officer of the government who should neglect or refuse to extend the protection guaranteed in the Constitution, should be subject to capital punishment, and then the President of the United States would not say, "Your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you"; a Governor issue exterminating orders; or judges say, "The men ought to have the protection of law, but it won't please the mob; the men must die anyhow to satisfy the clamor of the rabble; they must be hung, or Missouri be damned to all eternity." Executive writs could be issued when they ought to be, and not be made instruments of cruelty to oppress the innocent, and persecute men whose religion is unpopular.

I cannot believe in any of the creeds of the different denominations, because they all have some things in them I cannot subscribe to, though all of them have some truth. I want to come up into the presence of God, and learn all things, but the creeds set up stakes, and say, ["]hitherto shalt thou come, and no further["]; which I cannot subscribe to.

I believe the Bible as it read when it came from the pen of the original writers: ignorant translators, careless transcribers, or designing and corrupt priests have committed many errors. <sup>45</sup> As it read Gen. 6 ch. 6 v., ["]It repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth"; also Num. 23 ch. 19 v., "God is not a man that he should lie; neither the son of man that he should repent," which I do not believe; but it ought to read, "It repented *Noah* that God made man." This I believe, and then the other quotation stands fair. If any man will prove to me by one passage of holy writ, one item I believe, to be false, I will renounce and disclaim it as <sup>46</sup> far as I have <sup>47</sup> promulgated it.

The first principles of the gospel as I believe, are, FAITH, REPENTANCE, BAPTISM for the remission of sins, with the promise of the HOLY GHOST.

Look at Heb. 6 ch. 1 v. for contradictions, "Therefore leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection." If a man leaves the principles of the doctrine of Christ, how can he be saved in the principles? This is a contradiction—I don't believe it: I will render it, as it should be, "Therefore *not* leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith toward God, of the doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment."

<sup>48</sup>It is one thing to see the kingdom of God, and another thing to enter into it, we must

<sup>42.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 127: omits "I am always ... rights"

<sup>43.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 127: omits following two paragraphs

<sup>44.</sup> Book E-1, 1754: "provisions"

<sup>45.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 128: omits "ignorant translators ... errors"

<sup>46.</sup> Book E-1, 1755: omits "as"

<sup>47.</sup> DHC 6:57: omits "have"

<sup>48.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 129: adds "Resurrection of the dead and eternal judgment"

have a change of heart to see the kingdom of God, and subscribe the articles of adoption, to enter therein.

No man can receive the Holy Ghost without receiving revelations. The Holy Ghost is a revelator.

I prophesy in the name of the Lord God of Israel<sup>49</sup>, anguish and wrath, <sup>50</sup>and tribulation, and the withdrawing of the Spirit of God from the earth, await this generation, until they are visited with utter desolation. This generation is as corrupt as the generation of the Jews that crucified Christ; and if he were here today, and should preach the same doctrine he did then, they would put him to death<sup>51</sup>. I defy all the world to destroy the work of God<sup>52</sup>, and I prophesy they never will have power to kill me till my work is accomplished, and I am ready to die<sup>53</sup>.

I will now speak a little<sup>54</sup> on the economy of this city. I think there are too many merchants among you: I would like to see<sup>55</sup> more wool and raw materials, instead of manufactured goods<sup>56</sup>, and the money be brought here to pay the poor for manufacturing goods. Set our women to work, and stop their spinning street yarns, and talking about spiritual wives.

Instead of going abroad to buy goods<sup>57</sup>, lay your money<sup>58</sup> out in the country, and buy grain, cattle, flax, wool, and work it up yourselves<sup>59</sup>.

I proclaim in the name of the Lord God Almighty, that I will fellowship nothing in the  $church^{60}$  but virtue, integrity, and uprightness.

We cannot build up a city on merchandise: I would not run after the merchants. I would sow a little flax, if I had but a garden spot<sup>61</sup>, and make clothing of it<sup>62</sup>.

The temporal economy of this people should be to establish and encourage<sup>63</sup> manufactures, and not to take usury for their money. I do not want to bind the poor here to starve. Go out into the country and into the neighboring cities, and get food, and gird up your loins, and be sober. When you get food, return if you have a mind to.

Some say<sup>64</sup> it is better to give to the poor than build the Temple: the building of the Temple has sustained the poor who were driven from Missouri, and kept them from starving; and it has been the best means for this object which could be devised.

O all ye rich men of the Latter Day Saints from abroad, I would invite you to bring up some of your money, your gold, your silver and your precious things<sup>65</sup>, and give to the Temple<sup>66</sup>: we want iron, steel, spades, and quarrying and mechanical tools<sup>67</sup>.

```
49. JSj [1843-44], 129: omits "of Israel"
50. JSj [1843-44], 129: adds "& trembulity [trembling?]"
51. JSj [1843-44], 130: "why they would crucify him"
52. JSj [1843-44], 130: omits "to destroy the work of God"
53. JSj [1843-44], 130: "I prophecy they will never overthrow me till I get ready"
54. JSj [1843-44], 130: omits "I will now speak a little"
55. JSj [1843-44], 130: omits "I would like to see"
56. JSj [1843-44], 130: omits "instead of manufacture goods"
57. JSi [1843-44], 130: omits "Instead of going abroad to buy goods"
58. JSj [1843-44], 131: "send <your money>"
59. JSj [1843-44], 131: replaces "wool" with "&c." and omits "and work it up yourselves"
60. JSj [1843-44], 131: omits "in the church"
61. JSj [1843-44], 131: "garden and lot"
62. JSj [1843-44], 131: omits "and make clothing of it"
63. JSi [1843-44], 131: omits "and encourage"
64. JSj [1843-44], 132: "<some say>"
65. JSj [1843-44], 132: omits "your gold ... things"
66. JSj [1843-44], 132: "< and give to the Temple>"
67. JSj [1843-44], 132: replaces "spades ... tools" with "powders, &c."
```

It would be a good plan to get <sup>68</sup>up a forge to manufacture iron<sup>69</sup>, and bring in raw materials of every variety, and erect manufacturing establishments of all kinds, and surround the rapids with mills and machinery<sup>70</sup>.

I never stole the value of a pin's head, or a picayune in my life; and when you are hungry, don't steal. Come to me, and I will feed you.

The secret of masonry is to keep a secret. It is good economy to entertain strangers—to entertain sectarians. Come up to Nauvoo<sup>71</sup>, ye sectarian priests of the everlasting gospel, as they call it, and you shall have my pulpit all day.

Woe to ye rich men, who refuse to<sup>72</sup> give to the poor, and then come and ask me for bread. Away with all your meanness, and be liberal. We need purging, purifying and cleansing. You that have little faith in your Elders when you are sick<sup>73</sup>, get some little simple remedy in the first stages; <sup>74</sup>if you send for a doctor at all, send in the first stages.

All ye doctors who are fools, not well read, and do not understand the human constitution, stop your practice; and all ye lawyers who have no business, only as you hatch it up, would to God you would go to work, or run away.

½ past 2 closed.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>76</sup>Monday, 16.—At home nearly all day, attending to family concerns.

Went to municipal court, and adjourned hearing of the case to the 17th [at] 8 A.M.

<sup>77</sup>Tuesday, 17.—Went to municipal court **8 A.M. or 9½**: the prosecutor not appearing, court ordered that the prisoner [Charles Drown]<sup>78</sup> be discharged.

<sup>79</sup>Wednesday, 18.—Pleasant and comfortable day.

<sup>80</sup>Fifteen deaths have occurred during the past week in the city.

<sup>81</sup>Thursday, 19.—O[liver]. H. Olney married. Warm and pleasant day. The water has risen about two feet in the Mississippi, and is still rising.

<sup>82</sup>At 11 W[illiam] Walker came and said President Joseph wanted me [William Clayton] to go to Macedonia. I went immediately to see him and he requested me to go with him. I went home and got dinner and got ready. He soon came up and we started out.

About noon started for Macedonia, in company with brother William Clayton. After we had got on the road he began to tell me that E[mma]. was turned quite friendly and kind. She had been

<sup>68.</sup> Book E-1, 1756: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>69.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 133: omits "to manufacture iron"

<sup>70.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 133: omits "with mills and machinery"

<sup>71.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 133: omits "to Nauvoo"

<sup>72.</sup> JSi [1843-44], 133: omits "who refuse to"

<sup>73.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 133: omits "when you are sick"

<sup>74.</sup> Remainder of paragraph added at eoln and interlinearly in Book E-1, 1756 (JG).

<sup>75.</sup> This line appears only in JSj [1843-44], 133.

<sup>76.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 135 (WR) (APR, 422), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>77.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 136 (WR) (APR, 422), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>78.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 136: replaces "prisoner" with "Drown" (see above under 13 Oct.)

<sup>79.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 137 (WR) (APR, 422).

<sup>80.</sup> Source: Based on NN 1 (18 Oct. 1843): [99].

<sup>81.</sup> Source: This paragraph based on JSj [1843-44], 138 (WR) (APR, 422). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>82.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 19 Oct. 1843 (IC, 122; DMQP, 13). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

anointed and he also had been a[nointed]. K[ing]. He said that it was her advice that I should keep M[argaret] at home and it was also his counsel. Says he just keep her at home and brook it and if they raise trouble about it and bring you before me I will give you an awful scourging and probably cut you off from the church and then I will baptise you and set you ahead as good as ever.

[We] arrived there about sundown, and I stayed at brother B[enjamin]. F. Johnson's for the night.<sup>83</sup>
<sup>84</sup>I extract from Elder W. Woodruff's journal:—

This was one of the awful, fearful, dangerous, exciting, affecting, grand, sublime and interesting day's journey I ever took in my life. Our boat was drawn out of the canal on cars prepared to run on the railroad, to convey us over the Allegheny mountains, which is a novel scene indeed, to see a canal boat taken apart into four sections while loaded with freight and passengers, and hoisted on a railroad by inclined plains into the air 1,500 feet over high<sup>85</sup> mountains, and then descend into the valley below, in the same way, and every rod is attended with the greatest danger; and what adds dread to it<sup>86</sup>, is having careless men in attendance, who seem indifferent both to their business and the lives of men, which was apparent during this day's scene at least.

But to the detail. Horses were hitched to our cars and drew us four miles and a half; then we came to the first inclined plane which we had to rise. Two cars were fastened at the top of the plane to the same rope that ours were fastened to at the bottom. The engine was stationed in a building at the top of the plane that drew the cars up and down. When all was ready, the sign was given by raising a red flag; the engine was put in operation, and the cars started. This plane was half a mile long, and raised 180 feet.

We went up in two minutes, and I was truly thankful to reach the top; for had the rope broke, or the fastening untied, we should have rolled back to the bottom with a tremendous crash. We were then carried on to plane No. 2, which raised 125 feet in half a mile: our boat rocked badly while going up, but no accident happened.

We then continued on a level until we came to the inclined plane No. 3; this was one mile and a quarter long, and raised 320 feet, which we went up in four minutes. Before we reached the top, the safety car that was attached to our boat was flung from the track, and<sup>87</sup> dragged many rods, and flung the rope off the wheels for ten or twelve rods. I made a signal to the engineer, who stopped, and it was replaced: here again we were in danger of breaking the rope, which would have sent us back down the mountain more than a mile, or turned us over into the yawning gulf below. In either case we would have been dashed to atoms.

My hair rose on my head; but having got all things ready we proceeded on to plane No. 4, three quarters of a mile long, and ascended 265 feet. We rose this in three minutes,

<sup>83.</sup> WCj [1843-44] reads: "We arrived at Macedonia soon after sun down & went to [Almon W.] Babbits at which place I slept, but J[oseph]. went to B. F. Johnsons."

<sup>84.</sup> The following extract from WWj appeared in MSHiJS and *DN*, but was omitted in DHC 6:60. *Source*: RDft 7:74 directs scribe to copy NSB, 43-45 (LH), which was copied from WWj, vol. 4, 19 Oct. 1843 (*WWj* 2:319-22).

<sup>85.</sup> WWj: "the highest"

<sup>86.</sup> WWj: "adds dread to the [journey?] [end of page] is having careless men." WWj 2:319 supplies the missing word with "[journey]"

<sup>87.</sup> WWj: replaces "and" with "which"; Book E-1, 1757: "which \&/"

but it looked awful to be thus suspended almost in the air, with such a weight of lives and freight depending upon a knot, a twine, a rope, a pin, an engine, and care of a man; should either of which give way, all would be dashed to atoms, unless saved by a miracle.

We next continued on to plane No. 5, three quarters of a mile long, 280 feet rise. We were carried up this also in three minutes, which brought us to the summit of the Allegheny mountains.

The whole five inclined planes on our ascending the mountain are four miles in length, which raises us perpendicularly 1,170 feet, and I felt thankful to God that I was on the top of the mountain alive; but we had 88 to descend in the same way that we ascended.

We ran on the top of the mountain about three<sup>89</sup> miles, and then began to descend. We found snow on the top of the mountain<sup>90</sup>, and the weather was exceedingly cold. We had six inclined planes to descend to get to the bottom of the mountain, the whole of which was attended with equal danger and carelessness.

As we came upon the brink of one of them, the cars being drawn by horses, the men had left the breakers; the conductor, seeing the cars coming and about to run on to the horses, he hollowed for the men to break; but finding none at the breakers, and the cars approaching the inclined plane, the teamster liberated his horses as soon as possible, and they just escaped being run over, and the conductor sprang to the breaker himself, and with great exertion merely saved it from running down the plane, which would have dashed the boat to atoms. I was standing in the cars at the time. I instantly flung my cloak from my shoulders, and prepared myself for leaping out of the cars in case it should start down the plane. In either case it might have killed me; but I knew it was certain death to go down the plane; but through the mercy of God the cars<sup>91</sup> were stopped before they began to descend.

The whole distance was a constant scene of danger, and I called upon God in my heart to preserve my life. Even while on a level, we were running on the edge of precipices, hundreds of feet deep, down<sup>92</sup> which, if a wheel should break, or run off the track, the cars would surely be plunged<sup>93</sup>; which would make an end of all flesh that was on board.

We passed through one tunnel in the mountain, and when we reached the bottom of the incline planes, I felt thankful to God, and felt that we were mostly out of danger; but they put the boat together, and started it on the rail with all on board, without horse or steam, and the railroad being a little descending, it increased in speed, until it ran at a rapid rate, and was still in danger of upsetting. It ran of itself four miles, until it came to the canal, where it was to take water; and here again, to finish the day with danger, a train of cars was left in our track, and with all the power that could be exerted on the breaks, we barely missed of having a smash up at last. We finally got rolled into the water alive, with no bones broken, or lives lost, and for one I had a glad heart.

While conversing with the mate in the evening on the subject, he remarked that "we were not sensible of one half of the danger that we were in during the proceedings of that day." But I was sensible of a good deal at least. We got into the canal about dark, being 36 miles from canal to canal, in crossing the mountains. We traveled all night in the canal, which was one constant scene of locks.

<sup>88.</sup> WWj: adds "got"; Book E-1, 1757: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>89.</sup> WWj: replaces "three" with "5"

<sup>90.</sup> Book E-1, 1757: "<about three miles ... mountain,>" (JG)

<sup>91.</sup> WWj: replaces "the cars" with "they"; Book E-1, 1758: "the {\forall \text{Y}} \cars/" (US)

<sup>92.</sup> WWj: omits "down"

<sup>93.</sup> WWj: adds "down the precepiece"

<sup>94</sup>Friday, 20.—In the evening I gave instructions to B[enjamin]. F. Johnson and others, in relation to the blessings of the everlasting covenant and the sealings of the Priesthood. He said there was two seals in the Priesthood. The first was that which was placed upon a man and woman when they made the covenant and the other was the seal which allotted to them their particular mansion. After his discourse B[enjamin]. F. Johnson and his wife were united in an everlasting covenant.

95 [Willard Richards] heard that Joseph went to Ramus yesterday [and] has not returned.

Oliver H. Olney's Mormonism Exposed<sup>96</sup> were found in the streets of Preston in great numbers.

Elder John P. Greene returned from a Mission to the State of New York, with about 100 emigrants; some of them from Penn[sylvania]., who joined his company on the way.

Warm, smoky day, with strong wind; very dark evening.

<sup>97</sup>Saturday, 21.—We left Macedonia, and arrived home about 2 p.m. **Ordained Joseph Coon in** the office as he said by Hyrum's direction. Pleasant cool day.

<sup>98</sup>Sunday, 22.—Meeting at the stand; Elder Rigdon preached half-an hour on "Poor Rich Folks."

I remained at home all day, and held a prayer-meeting at my house at 2 p.m., W[illia]m Marks and wife [Rosannah] anointed<sup>99</sup>, twenty-four persons present.

Elders Young, Kimball, and Geo[rge]. A. Smith returned from their mission to the Eastern States **about 11 A.M. on steam[er] Anawan**, having, in 100 connection with Elders O[rson]. Pratt and W[ilford]. Woodruff, visited the branches in Kentucky, Ohio, Penn[sylvania]., New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Maine; held conferences, set in order the churches, collected tithings for the Temple, and subscriptions for the Nauvoo House, baptized many, and stirred up a general system of gathering among the Saints in the Eastern countries. They have been absent near 101 four months, and have accomplished a good work. I was very glad to see them, and blest 102 them in the name of the Lord. Elders Daniel Spencer and Bradford Elliot also returned from their missions, and quite a respectable number of Saints came in their company.

Pleasant cool day.

<sup>103</sup>Monday, 23.—Those of the Twelve who returned from the east yesterday, visited me through the day, and paid over the means they had received for the Temple and the Nauvoo House: I immediately

<sup>94.</sup> Source: WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 20 Oct. 1843 (IC, 122-23; NTNLF, 407-8; DMQP, 14), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>95.</sup> *Source*: Following four paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 139 (WR) (APR, 423), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>96.</sup> Oliver H. Olney, The Absurdities of Mormonism Portrayed. A Brief Sketch by Oliver H. Olney, Hancock Co., Illinois. March 3, 1843. (n.p., 1843) (Flake 5991).

<sup>97.</sup> *Source*: First sentence possibly assumed from context; remainder from JSj [1843-44], 140 (WR) (APR, 423). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>98.</sup> *Source*: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 141 (WR) (*APR*, 423), with elaboration on the returning missionaries possibly based on BYj [1840-44], vol. 3, 22 Oct. 1843 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.2). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>99.</sup> In JSj [1843-44], 141, "wife anointed" is written in shorthand with same words written fully underneath in pencil by JG.

<sup>100.</sup> Book E-1, 1758: "\hav/in\g, in/"

<sup>101.</sup> DHC 6:60: "nearly"

<sup>102.</sup> DHC 6:60: "blessed"

<sup>103.</sup> *Source*: Undetermined. This paragraph may have been partly based on entries in LL, 366-68, and TTL, 249, the latter of which lists under "Joseph Smith D[ebto]r.":"[October] | [24th] | [To] Cash from Sundrey individuals p[e]r hand [of] H[eber] C. Kimball | [blank] | 367 & 368 | 67—" (WC).

gave directions to send to St. Louis for groceries and different articles necessary for the Temple and the workmen thereon.

<sup>104</sup>This morning President Hyrum Smith, <sup>105</sup>Patriarch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints<sup>106</sup>, entered upon the duties of his office, having previously been appointed by the voice of the Spirit, to supply the place of the late Elias Higbee, deceased, as one of the Temple Committee. On his arrival at the Temple he was greeted by a hearty welcome from those engaged on the works, and the universal feeling is, that great good will result from this appointment.

<sup>107</sup>Hyrum began to act in his office as temple committee.

It is reported that O[liver]. H. Olney was married last Thursday eve[ning] to Miss [Phebe M.] Wheeler by Joseph Hadlock.

The day cloudy, with strong east wind.

<sup>108</sup>Tuesday, 24.—1 P.M. W[illiam]. W. Phelps and Col[onel]. Dunham started for Springfield to see the Governor, and endeavor to obtain from him the quota of State arms which belong to <sup>109</sup> the Legion. <sup>110</sup>

Morning<sup>111</sup>, warm and pleasant; afternoon<sup>112</sup>, wind west by north. At 4, a little rain accompanied by snow, for the first time this fall.

<sup>113</sup>A.M. at President Joseph's. Receiving Temple property from Sister Emma.

<sup>114</sup>Wednesday, 25.—**This morning cold.** Ice one-third of an inch thick on small bodies of water. **Pleasant A.M.** Cloudy and cold day<sup>115</sup>.

<sup>116</sup>In the evening settled the taxes for the Temple and Nauvoo House.

<sup>117</sup>Eleven deaths in the city reported this week.

<sup>118</sup>Friday, 27.—I was at home and received a visit from Bishop George Miller and Elder Peter Haws, who have just returned from their trip to Mississippi and Alabama<sup>119</sup>.

### Adjourned a court one week and renewed an execution.

Many emigrants have arrived in Nauvoo the last few weeks.

Prayer-meeting at my house in the evening. Bis[hop]. Whitney and wife [Elizabeth Ann]

<sup>104.</sup> Source: LL, 366 (WC).

<sup>105.</sup> Book E-1, 1759: adds erasure

<sup>106.</sup> DHC 6:61: omits "Patriarch ... Saints"

<sup>107.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 142 (WR) (APR, 423). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>108.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 143 (WR) (APR, 423), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>109.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 143: replaces "which belong to" with "for"

<sup>110.</sup> See JS's letter to Thomas Ford introducing WWP, 16 Oct. 1843, in JScSup, fd 9, 11-12 (WR).

<sup>111.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 143: replaces "Morning" with "A.M."; Book E-1, 1759: "{\Morning/}" (JG)

<sup>112.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 143: replaces "afternoon" with "P.M."; Book E-1, 1759: "{\afternoon/}" (JG)

<sup>113.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 24 Oct. 1843 (IC, 123; DMQP, 14).

<sup>114.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 144 (WR) (APR, 423-24), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>115.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 144: replaces "day" with "eve[ning]"

<sup>116.</sup> Source: Undetermined. Possibly from restricted portion of WCj, [1843-44], vol. 3.

<sup>117.</sup> Source: NN 1 (25 Oct. 1843): [103].

<sup>118.</sup> *Source*: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 146 (WR) (APR, 424), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>119.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 146: replaces "Mississippi and Alabama" with "the south"

anointed $^{120}$ . Hiram said his voice should be heard in the streets $^{121}$ , and Joseph spoke and [also] Cahoon. Warm and pleasant.

<sup>122</sup>Saturday, 28.—Cold east wind. **Some rain. Eve[ning] west wind. Dark eve[ning].** At home all day.

<sup>123</sup>Sunday, 29.—Meeting at the stand, south side of the Temple, from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. Elders B[righam]. Young and J[ohn]. Taylor preached. **Very pleasant.** Dr. [Willard] Richards called for a collection of \$8, to buy a new book in which to record History **and obtained \$300**<sup>124</sup>, which was made up. **Dr. R[obert]. D. Foster voluntarily came forward and gave \$4.50.** [He] has given .50 in the subscription making \$5.00 which is to be recorded on the book purchased. not[e] its date. <sup>125</sup>

At 9 a.m., Elders Richards, Miller and Haws ordained William C. Steffey, who was going to Texas on business, an elder<sup>126</sup>.

Two p.m. or near 4 [p.m.], before all were ready prayer-meeting in my house, 25 present, [including] Sis[ters]. [Lois] Cutler, [Thirza] Cahoon, [Phoebe] Woodworth. I gave instructions on the things of 127 the priesthood. 128 Adjourned Wednesday over Brick store.

<sup>129</sup>Monday, 30.—At 9 a.m., went to mayor's court, and adjourned it for one week; **and an execution [order was] renewed**.

Twelve noon, attended a court in the office, when the parties agreed to leave their difficulty to be settled by the arbitration of brother Flagg.

<sup>130</sup>I received \$300 from brother Spencer, and immediately paid it to Dr. [Robert D.] Foster.

# Eve[ning] ordered a warrant to arrest Moore 131 for breech of ordinance.

On account of the cold weather, most of the masons have discontinued the work on the Temple. <sup>132</sup>Tuesday, 31.—At 9 a.m., **Called at office. Retired immediately.** Mr. Moore<sup>133</sup> was brought before me for a breach of city ordinance, which was proved, and I fined him \$5.00.

I rode out with Hyrum in the carriage to the prairie, returning about 3 p.m. <sup>134</sup> Snow on the ground this morning; cold east wind, and rain all day.

<sup>120.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 146, "wife anointed" in shorthand.

<sup>121.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 146: "<said his voice ... streets>"

<sup>122.</sup> Source: Except for assumption about JS being home all day, this paragraph is from JSj [1843-44], 147 (WR) (APR, 424). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>123.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 148 (WR) (APR, 424-25), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>124.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 148: "and obtained and obtained it Dr \$3.00"

<sup>125.</sup> Such a note has not been located in any of the MS History books.

<sup>126.</sup> Book E-1, 1759, locates "an Elder" following "Steffey"; a guideline moves it to this location.

<sup>127.</sup> DHC 6:62: omits "the things of"

<sup>128.</sup> Preceding sentence in JSj [1843-44], 148, replaced with "Joseph taught". BYj [1840-44], vol. 3, 29 Oct. 1843, records: "sisters cahoon Cutler & woodworth was taken in to the order of the Priesthood."

<sup>129.</sup> Source: First, second, fourth, and fifth paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 149 (WR) (APR, 425), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>130.</sup> Source: Undetermined. Possibly from in restricted portion of WCj, [1843-44], vol. 3.

<sup>131.</sup> Name difficult to read. APR, 425, has "Morrie"

<sup>132.</sup> Source: Except for the sentence about HS, this day's entry is from JSj [1843-44], 150 (WR) (APR, 425), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>133.</sup> Name difficult to read. APR, 425, has "Moorie"

<sup>134.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 150: omits "Rode out with Hyrum ... 3 p.m." *Source*: From restricted portion of WCj, [1843-44], vol. 3 (per Dean C. Jesssee's notes in SRMH).

<sup>135</sup>Wednesday, November<sup>136</sup> 1 [1843].—In the evening there was a prayer-meeting in the Mansion, 29 present. Sis[ters]. [Mercy R.] Fielding, [Jennetta] Richards, [Leonora] Taylor, [Mary Ann] Young, [Vilate] Kimball anointed<sup>137</sup> &c.

Letter and affidavit of E[dward] Southwick Esq[ui]r[e] handed in [to] the office for the Neighbor. <sup>138</sup>

<sup>139</sup>Thursday, 2.—Sitting in council with Hyrum, B[righam]. Young, H[eber]. C. Kimball, W[illard]. Richards, J[ohn]. Taylor, William Law, and W[illiam]. Clayton, at 10 a.m., on the subject of the following letter from J[oseph]. L. Heywood:—

<sup>140</sup>Quincy, Oct[ober]. 23, 1843.

Gen. Joseph Smith:-

Dear Sir:—In a conversation with Col[onel]. Frierson, of this place, a short time since, he expressed, in very warm terms, feelings of sympathy for the wrongs yourself and brethren suffered in Missouri, as well as his sense of the vindictive feelings the authorities of that State still manifested<sup>141</sup> towards you personally.

Mr. F. has not yet had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with yourself, although he says he had the pleasure of meeting your lady at her sister's residence on Rock River. Mr. F. has been written by the Hon. B. Rhett, of S. Carolina, upon the subject of the *Persecution*, and Mr. F. thinks of all men he would be the best qualified to present a petition in our behalf—and says should such an arrangement meet your approbation, he will use his influence in favor of a petition, and says he knows of some honorable men in Missouri, whom<sup>142</sup>, he has no doubt, are anxious to wipe off the stain that rests upon them, by <sup>143</sup>some just reparation.

I submit, by permission of Mr. F., a copy of a letter he has written to a distinguished citizen of South Carolina, together with a circular put out confidentially by the friends of Mr. Calhoun of S. C., whom with my present feelings I should cheerfully support for our next President, and whom<sup>144</sup> I have no doubt would be preferred by the brethren to Mr. Van Buren.

If the plan suggested of memorializing Congress should meet your approbation, please inform me. Col[onel]. Frierson promises his aid in such an event, and says, he would go to Nauvoo and assist in arranging papers relative to such a step. Please accept my assurances of love and esteem for yourself and family, and a prayer that wisdom from on high may direct you in your deliberations.

I remain your brother in Christ, JOS. L. HEYWOOD.

<sup>135.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 151 (WR) (APR, 425), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>136.</sup> Book E-1, 1760: omits month

<sup>137.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 151: "anointed" in shorthand

<sup>138.</sup> See E. Southwick, Dixon, IL, to JS, Nauvoo, IL, 29 July 1843 (JScSup, fd 13, 32–34), published in NN 1 (8 Nov. 1843): [110]–[11]. See below in this chapter under 8 Nov. (DHC 6:67–69).

<sup>139.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 152 (WR) (APR, 425), and WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 2 Nov. 1843 (DMQP, 14). Both sources list JS, HS, BY, HCK, JT; JSj adds WC, and WCj adds WL, but neither list WR.

<sup>140.</sup> Source: Original letter in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 5, 85-88.

<sup>141.</sup> DHC 6:62: "manifest"

<sup>142.</sup> DHC 6:63: "who"

<sup>143.</sup> DHC 6:63: adds "[making]"

<sup>144.</sup> DHC 6:63: "who"

<sup>145</sup>And agreed to write a letter to the five candidates for the Presidency of the U[nited]. S[tates]., to inquire what their feelings were towards us as a people, and what their course of action would be in relation to the cruelty and oppression that we have suffered from the State of Missouri, if they were elected.

The Twelve Apostles published the following in the Times and Seasons:—

<sup>146</sup>[An Epistle of the Twelve.] <sup>147</sup>

## TO THE ELDERS AND CHURCHES ABROAD.

On<sup>148</sup> our<sup>149</sup> late mission to the Eastern States, we<sup>150</sup> discovered that the publications at Nauvoo were very little patronized by the Saints and branches, in the various<sup>151</sup> sections of the country where we<sup>152</sup> passed, while the common newspapers of the day received a liberal support by those who pretend "to hunger and thirst after righteousness." We<sup>153</sup> feel justified, therefore, in reprobating such a course, as detrimental to the general good of the whole church, that shows a lack of charity in the elders.

"Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"

Nauvoo, at present, is the seat of the First Presidency: the place of the gathering for all saints, and the great center of the world for pure religion, revelation, truth, virtue, knowledge and everything else preparatory to the coming of the Son of Man: the best news, the best people, and the best plan of salvation must be there; wherefore,

Resolved unanimously that the traveling elders are hereby instructed to use due diligence in obtaining subscribers for the *Times and Seasons*, and *Nauvoo Neighbor*, and forward the pay, by safe hands, to the publishers at Nauvoo, that the Saints and the world may receive "line upon line, and precept upon precept; here a little and there a little," together with such extracts of translations and revelations, as the Presidency of the church may direct, for the edification of the whole body of the church in righteousness.

Done in council at Nauvoo, November, 1843.

BRIGHAM YOUNG,

President of the Twelve.

WILLARD RICHARDS, Clerk.

<sup>154</sup>Friday, 3rd.—I continued in council all day.

Died at sea, Elder Knowlton F. Hanks. I copy the following letter from <sup>155</sup> Addison Pratt, one of the Pacific Island <sup>156</sup> missionaries:—

<sup>145.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 152 (WR) (APR, 425), with elaboration.

<sup>146.</sup> Source: T&S 4 (15 Oct. 1843): 360.

<sup>147.</sup> DHC 6:63: adds "An Epistle of the Twelve"

<sup>148.</sup> T&S 4:360: adds "The Twelve"; Book E-1, 1760: "The Twelve, \"O/n ..."; "O" w.o. "o"

<sup>149.</sup> T&S 4:360: replaces "our" with "their"; Book E-1, 1760: "{\our/}" (pos. LH)

<sup>150.</sup> T&S 4:360: omits "we"; Book E-1, 1760: "\we/" (pos. LH)

<sup>151.</sup> Book E-1, 1761: "{\various/}" (LH)

<sup>152.</sup> *T&S* 4:360: replaces "we" with "they"; Book E-1, 1761: "{\we/}" (pos. LH)

<sup>153.</sup> T&S 4:360: replaces "We" with "They"; Book E-1, 1761: "They <We>" (TB)

<sup>154.</sup> Source: WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 3 Nov. 1843 (NTNLF, 408; DMQP, 14).

<sup>155.</sup> DHC 6:64: replaces first part of sentence with "The following extract is from a letter of ..."

<sup>156.</sup> DHC 6:64: "Islands"

<sup>157</sup>Ship *Timoleon*, North Atlantic Ocean, Nov. 4, 1843. Lat. 20 deg. 15 min.; long. 25 deg. 19 min., west from Greenwich.

I expect ere this reaches you, brother P. B. Lewis will deliver you the letter and articles I sent you by him, with the \$8 in cash. I expect he has told you the state of brother Hanks' health when he left us. The reason I never wrote you the particulars of his health was, because he did not wish to have his friends know the worst.

I did not see him from the time I left them at Evansville, till he came to me at Winchester. At first sight of him there I saw he had failed materially, and I was bed-fellow with him; my heart often ached to hear the deep rooted cough, as it racked his whole frame. I kept a bed vessel with some fresh water in it, and what he raised from his lungs would sink in it like lumps of clay; this indicated to me that short of the immediate interposition of Divine Providence, nothing would save him from a premature grave.

On his passage from Nauvoo to New York he seemed to recruit<sup>158</sup>; but from New York to New Bedford, he, with brother Grouard, took passage in a packet: the weather was rough, and they were both sea sick; by being exposed to the sea air, together with his sea sickness, his disease took a <sup>159</sup>downward course, from which I had but little hopes of his recovery. When I met him at Winchester, the kind attention and anxious solicitude which sister Abigail and the rest of the family took in his welfare, seemed to recruit him <sup>160</sup>a little.

When we took stage for Boston, our friends in Winchester, with myself, felt fearful he would not be able to perform the journey; but the thought of meeting brothers Rogers and Grouard, the expectation of seeing some of the Twelve, and attending conference with a large collection of brethren, stimulated him to great faith, and he stood the ride far beyond my expectation. The stage was crowded inside with ladies, and we were obliged to take an outside seat; for one of that kind it was very good, much of the way I supported him in my arms, and when I thought he was getting fatigued, I would secretly place my hands upon him and raise my desire to him who is able to save and strengthen.

We stayed in Boston with sister Whitmore; her untiring kindness to him is long to be remembered. He was able to attend conference but little; he was administered to by some of the Twelve once or twice while there. I was with him continually while I stayed in Boston; I nursed him as well as I knew (as you know I am not very skillful:) I daily rubbed him with flannels, anointed him with consecrated oil in the name of the Lord, and prayed with him, and was often assisted by brother Rogers.

When I left for New Bedford, brother Rogers took charge of him; they went to Salem on business for the mission; back to Boston, and then came on to New Bedford. When I was away from him a few days, the change was more visible than when I saw him daily. I was surprised at the change, and knew at that rate he could live but a few days. I asked him particularly how he felt; he would at no time betray the least fear that he should

<sup>157.</sup> Source: T&S 5 (1 Aug. 1844): 602-5. Following letter was copied into Book E-1, 1761-66, but the last part was subsequently canceled and not printed in the *DN*. DHC 6:64 omits the entire letter and replaces it with the following bracketed note: "Under this date there is inserted in the Prophet's History a long letter from Elder Addison Pratt of the Pacific Island mission, describing in great detail the last illness, death and burial at sea of Elder Knowlton F. Hanks. Elder Hanks died of consumption; and of the death the Prophet remarks: ... "Then quotes the paragraph about Hanks that immediately follows the letter. First nineteen paragraphs appeared in *DN*; remainder of the letter supplied here from *T&S*.

<sup>158.</sup> T&S 5:602: adds "up"; Book E-1, 1761: adds erasure

<sup>159.</sup> *T&S* 5:602: adds "regular"; Book E-1, 1761: "regular"

<sup>160.</sup> T&S 5:602: adds "up"; Book E-1, 1761: adds erasure

not live, notwithstanding he closed up all his business before we left New Bedford. I believe he was determined to die as near the place of our destined mission as possible, and therefore nothing would deter him from his course.

When I saw his feeble state, and knew the privations he would naturally have to suffer by a sea voyage, I could not help speaking discouragingly to him on the subject, and told him of all the privations he would have 161 of necessity to undergo, but nothing would discourage him: I believe the reason he would never betray any fear of not living, was because if he did so, our faith for him might fail, and this was what he depended on to carry him to the last extremity. Indeed it was so, the mate of the ship (not knowing the cause) observed to me, he was the strongest constitutioned man he ever saw in his life, for he never saw a man live so long that was so reduced.

After we left New Bedford we had rough weather, and there were but two or three days we thought it prudent to take him on deck. He kept his berth the most of the time; we took the best care possible of him, daily rubbing him with flannels and anointing him in the name of the Lord. When he was afflicted with pains in any part of his system, we used to administer to him by the laying on of hands, and he never failed of receiving immediate relief; but to approach the root of the disease, we never had power, <sup>162</sup>but it <sup>163</sup> kept its regular march, reducing him from day to day, till I could clasp with my hand within one fourth of an inch the calf of his leg, making it but a little larger than my wrist, though his appetite continued good: he coughed and raised continually.

Soon after we sailed, he got so weak that if he slept too long, he would get into a profuse sweat, and we found it necessary to watch him; we accordingly divided the night into watches of three hours each, and kept it up: he continued regular till the first of November, then his cough took a different turn; it was hard for him to raise, and his lungs seemed stuffed up.

I had no fearful apprehensions of him till the 2nd, at low 12; I was called by brother Rogers to relieve him, and stand my regular watch with brother Hanks; I then had fearful apprehensions his dissolution was near at hand. At 10 o'clock, a.m., his extremities were cold, and the large drops of cold sweat covered his emaciated system. It was with great difficulty he could raise strength enough to throw off from his lungs the rattling phlegm that was continually threatening to strangle him. At that moment as I stood watching him, he made a violent struggle to throw up the obstacle, but through weakness was not able, and in the struggle he lost his breath, his eyes rolled up in his head, and I thought he had left us forever.

I flew to brother Grouard (who from unwearied attention had laid down to take a little repose,) but before he could spring to his feet, brother Hanks caught his breath again and revived a little.

Soon after some of the cabin passengers came in to see him. Dr. Winslow recommended a little wine and water; after taking that, he revived so much that he wished to be shaved and his hair combed. After this was done, I talked with him some time about his departure: his mind was clear, calm and perfectly resigned. I told him it was a great satisfaction to me that he had visited the place of my nativity, he had been in the house my father had built, was acquainted with his companion (my mother,) was acquainted with the surviving brothers and sisters of those that had gone to the world of spirits before them. He had seen the portrait of my brother Marshall; I asked him if he thought

<sup>161.</sup> Book E-1, 1762: "<have>" (pos. JG)

<sup>162.</sup> T&S 5:603: adds "to affect it"; Book E-1, 1762: "to affect it"

<sup>163.</sup> T&S 5:603: omits "it"; Book E-1, 1762: "\it/"

he should know him; he said if he looked like that, he should. I told him it was taken very correctly. I sent word by him to those I had been baptized for, and those I intended to be baptized for when I returned to Nauvoo. He then adjusted some of his temporal affairs: between 12 and 1 o'clock, p.m., he had another strangling turn; this reduced his strength; he could only speak in whispers after: between 8 and 10 he fell into a drowse. After he awoke, he whispered to me and said, "I dreamed a dream; do you wish to hear it?" I told him I did. He said, "I dreamed I went to the spirits in prison; it was an immense space; I looked to the east and to the west, and saw immense multitudes of people that looked just like people in real life. I said, can these be spirits? I was assured they were. I looked to the north and saw a stand; somebody had just been preaching there, and they were dispersing from around it. I saw no children among them. I looked to see if there were anybody that I knew, but saw none. I thought they were coming together again in a few minutes and I should be there; then I should see people I knew: I then awoke." About 11 o'clock he had another dream; he heard the last trump sound, and saw the multitude which John saw, that no man could number, small and great, stand before God, (they were small and great in capacity) for there were no children there. He awoke before he saw any farther.

As I thought it my last opportunity with him, I sat up about 6 hours; I then called brother Rogers. I laid down, and in about two hours, he called me and said, "he is dying." I heard the death rattle in his throat, and sprang up. He had placed his own hands high upon his breast, his left hand clasping his right; he died as he had lived, calm and resigned, without a struggle or an emotion.

I never saw a more pleasant corpse in my life. After we had dressed it in a neat burial robe, we wrapt it in a large winding sheet and carried it on deck. A plank was laid in the starboard gangway; on it was prepared a piece of canvass; in this we laid it, and sewed it up; to his feet was attached a bag of sand of about 60 lbs. weight.

Then the top gallant sails were furled, the courses hauled up, and the main and mizzen top-sails were hove aback; the noble ship stopped her headway, and lay in gentle motion, as if to witness the solemn scene.

The American flag was hoisted half-mast, as a signal that one of her noble countrymen had gone the way of all the earth: Then her generous crew gathered around, and with uncovered heads listened in breathless silence to a very appropriate prayer made by brother Rogers; then they gently raised the end of the plank till the corpse slid off and struck in the water feet foremost. My eyes followed him as he sank, till a white speck vanished in the blue waters below. This was in latitude 21 deg. 34 min. north, longitude 26 deg. 11 min. west from Greenwich.

Reflections.—I believe the weight of sand was sufficient to sink him below the reach of all ravenous fish, and the salt at that depth strong enough to preserve him from putrefaction, and there he will remain entire and unmolested till the morn of the first resurrection, when he will come forth.

My views from recent information are entirely changed from what they used to be respecting burying the dead at sea. From the fabulous stories I used to hear, I did suppose the sharks destroyed every corpse that was put into the ocean. But from my better judgment I know this is erroneous, for sharks are afraid and will flee from anything white in the water. And if a proper weight is attached to a corpse it will sink it so low that the compression of the water is so great that it will kill any fish to go down to it. One of these whalemen told me he was lancing a whale, and he sounded and carried the lance with him; he went to such a depth that the lance pole, which was made of dry ash timber, was as completely saturated with water as if it had been in soak for months.

Thus ended an intimacy with one who had rendered himself doubly dear to me by an intimate acquaintance. I had met but few men in my life with whom I could exchange feelings, reciprocate joys and sorrows, as we pass down the step of life more sympathetically than with brother Hanks. A few days before his death I asked him if I had at any time violated the pledge I made him before we left Nauvoo, (of standing by him as a friend?) he assured me I had not; this to me is a source of satisfaction.

Nov. 6. We are now running for the Cape de Verde Islands, and expect to be there in two or three days; we expect to touch there and send letters. We have had a remarkable passage thus far; no severe storms, nor calms, and fair winds mostly. The officers say it is the most remarkable one they ever knew, and they frankly give it as their opinion, that it is in answer to the prayers of the Mormons they have on board.

<sup>164</sup>We have thus far been treated with great kindness by officers, passengers and crew.—The captain is a frank open-hearted man, but I expect he has no bump of reverence, and has hardly seen the inside of a meeting house in his life. He has thus far given us no privilege of preaching on the Sabbath, but religious controversies are common every day with passengers and crew. The sailors are rather a wild set, but still there is some hope. Doctor Winslow is quite a gentleman, and I should think a man of skill in his profession, but rather skeptical in his religious views. He converses with us very freely on religious topics, and on the whole thinks our religion a pretty good one. His wife is a lady of refinement and taste and I think an excellent woman; is very familiar and free in conversation, they have three very pretty children, Charles is the oldest, four years old, Lizzy his sister is two years and a half old. The other is an infant. They have a large terrapin or land tortoise on board, he was brought from the Galapagos Islands in the same ship. Children if you look on the atlas I sent you by Brother Young, you will see them on the equator west of Quito, this tortoise is very docile and strong, he measures forty-four inches in circumference. In pleasant weather these two children will get on to his shell and ride him about deck; it is an odd sight, and I think it would please you. They have an Irish maid of about thirty. She is a Catholic. Mr. Lincoln and wife are the other passengers, he is a carpenter. They are Baptists, and perhaps may be Mormons yet. They are quite liberal in sentiment, and think the church ought to enjoy the gifts now as well as anciently. They were all very kind to Brother Hanks and daily sent him nice cakes, &c. As to our health, Brothers Rogers and Grouard were some sea sick at first, but now their appetites are good. As for myself I never knew what sea sickness was. When in Nauvoo, I weighed 156 pounds. At Winchester I weighed 159 pounds. At New Bedford I weighed 174, and have been on the gain ever since. Surely the Lord is with us, for we are favored at his hand. My mind has been buoyed above desponding feelings far beyond my expectations. We have a little room to ourselves and can pray, sing, read and talk when we please, and time glides away pleasantly. - As I expect the children have received the atlas from Brother B. Young ere this-I will give them some lessons on it. We expect to stop, or as sailors call it touch, at one of the Cape De Verde Islands, called the Isle of Sal, in English it would be 165 Isle of Salt. We expect to get salt there to salt fish with; then we shall touch at Bonavista, there we expect to get oranges, pine apples, raisins, figs, grapes and wine. These are in latitude 17 north, and longitude 25 west: look on the map of Africa and you will find them.

<sup>164.</sup> The remainder of the letter was copied into Book E-1, 1765-66, but subsequently canceled and not published in DN. Text here is from T&S 5:604-5.

<sup>165.</sup> Book E-1, 1765: adds "the"

From there we shall steer a south course till we make or see the Isle of Tristan de Acunha, this is in south latitude 38, west longitude 130. Then we shall steer for the Cape of Good Hope; then for the Islands of St. Pauls and Amsterdam. These are in east longitude 88, south latitude 39, here we expect to catch the fish to use our salt on; there are innumerable multitudes of them around these Islands, and the captain says they are extremely fat, and more delicious than Salmon. Here we expect to feast ourselves, as you know I am fond of fish; we expect to be there in January.

Answer the questions:—What season of the year will it be there then? Where will the sun be at noon? When the sun is just setting with us there, what time will it be with you then?

After we leave there, we shall steer for Van Diemans Island, South Cape. From there we shall make the N.W. point of New Zealand, from there to Otaheite or Tahita. When we get there, how much shall we lack of having circumnavigated the globe, and after the sun sets with you, how high will it be with us?

Nov. 9. We made the Isle of Sal this morning about 3 o'clock, by moon light; it is called low land, and so it is in comparison with the rest; but this is higher than the mountains about Winchester; and a view from the sea looks like a ridge of snow drifts, for it is very broken, and the peaks very sharp, (it is barren and waste, no vegetation on it. What few inhabitants there are yet there, live by selling salt. We are now sailing pretty close to it, and it looks pleasant to see land again, even in this rugged situation, after being deprived of the privilege for a month. We have made a mistake in the island, it is St. Nicholas's; we are now so near to a town that we can see the houses and the vessels at anchor; we expect to send a boat on shore in a few minutes. If there is a chance to send the letters from there, we will, if not, I will write some more on the way to St. Jagoes.

Nov. 10. I went on shore in the boat yesterday, the island is quite different to what it appears at first; quite fruitful; a plenty of oranges, plantains, bananas, melons, gooves, popogars, &c. &c. The inhabitants are Portuguese, about half black; there are some English among them, they are quite friendly.—The Doctor, with his little son, Charles, were with us. He is a very delicate, fine looking fellow; there were a multitude of people on the shore when we landed; they were overjoyed to see little Charles, the dark ladies took him up, hugged and kissed him, till he was frightened and began to cry, but they gave him a variety of fruit, and sweet cake to pacify him. I was quite amused at the fun. Children, when I saw this nice fruit, so plenty and cheap, I wished I could buy a basket of it and give you, but the ocean rolls between us, and how long it will continue to, the Lord only knows; but he may preserve us till we all meet again in this life, in health and strength, is the continual prayer of your unworthy father.

There is a brig, the Susan of Salem, lying here, bound to Surinam, the Captain offers to take our letters and send them from there the first opportunity; it is rather a round about way, but I think I will send them. The brig is to take a load of live cattle from this island. I don't know whether I have said anything about your writing; I wish you to write as soon you receive this; I wish to know all about the situation of the Church. You know they were threatening to drive all away when we left.—Write to Tahita, to the care of the American Consul; also to the care of Nathaniel Cary, jr., New Bedford.

ADDISON<sup>166</sup> PRATT.

<sup>167</sup>Elder Hanks is the first elder who has died at sea, while on a foreign mission; he was a faithful elder, cut off by consumption in the flower of his days. <sup>168</sup>

<sup>169</sup>Saturday, 4.—**Eve[ning].** Elders Richards and Taylor were with me at the Mansion, assisting writing letters. <sup>170</sup>

Wrote to John C. Calhoun as follows:—

<sup>171</sup>Nauvoo, Ill., Nov. 4th 1843. <sup>172</sup>

Hon. John C. Calhoun:-

Dear Sir:—As we understand you are a candidate for the Presidency at the next<sup>173</sup> election: and as the Latter Day Saints (sometimes called Mormons, who now constitute a numerous class in the school politic of this vast republic,) have been robbed of an immense amount of property, and endured nameless sufferings by the State of Missouri, and from her borders have been driven by force of arms, contrary to our national covenants; and as in vain we have sought redress by all constitutional, legal, and honorable means, in her courts, her executive councils<sup>174</sup>, and her legislative halls; and as we have petitioned Congress to take cognizance of our sufferings without effect; we have judged it wisdom to address you this communication, and solicit an immediate, specific, and candid reply to, "What will be your rule of action relative to us as a people," should fortune favor your ascension to the chief magistracy?

Most respectfully, sir, your friend,
and the friend of peace, good order,
and constitutional rights,
JOSEPH SMITH,
In behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ
of Latter Day Saints.

Hon John C. Calhoun, Fort Hill, S.C. 175

<sup>176</sup>Similar<sup>177</sup> letters were written to Gen. Lewis Cass, Hon. Richard M. Johnson, Hon. Henry Clay, and President Martin Van Buren. **[Letter] approved.** To Mr. Van Buren's letter, I added the following:

<sup>167.</sup> Source: This paragraph composed by one of the compilers, not JS as BHR claimed (DHC 6:64). It appears in TB's hand in RDft 7:77, which was composed between 20 Feb.-20 June 1855 (see RDft Chronology), under GAS's direction.

<sup>168.</sup> Book E-1, 1767, has ten blank lines and an illegible erasure in margin.

<sup>169.</sup> Source: [Sj [1843-44], 154 (WR) (APR, 425). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>170.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 154, reads: "elder Taylor & Scribe called at the Mansion and read a letter to Clay, Calhoon, Johnson, Van Buren, [and] Cass, candidates for the presidency." The letter was written by WR, who recorded on this day: "wrote letter for candidates for Presidency. ... eve saw Joseph with Taylor read letter & copied to 5 candidates for presidency." (WRj 9:53).

<sup>171.</sup> Source: RDft 7:77 directs scribe to copy "Correspondence of Gen. Joseph Smith and Hon. J. C. Calhoun," T&S 5 (1 Jan. 1844) 393-94. Rept. NN 1 (10 Jan. 1844): [146]; VOT, 21. Cf. Retained copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 6, 32, 34-35 (WR). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>172.</sup> Date appears in both T&S 5:393 and MS copy, 1.

<sup>173.</sup> MS copy, 1: replaces "next" with "ensuing"

<sup>174.</sup> MS copy, 1: "<councils>"

<sup>175.</sup> Last two lines appear in both T&S 5:394 and MS copy, 1.

<sup>176.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1843-44], 154 (WR) (APR, 425). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>177.</sup> Book E-1, 1767: "Like <Similar>" (prob. RLC)

<sup>178</sup>Also whether your views or feelings have changed since the subject matter of this communication was presented you in your then official capacity at Washington, in the year 1841, and by you treated with a coldness, indifference, and neglect, bordering on contempt.

<sup>179</sup>Elder W[ilford]. Woodruff arrived in <sup>180</sup> Nauvoo with paper for the use of the printing office.

At dinner I was taken suddenly sick; went to the door and vomited all my dinner<sup>182</sup>, dislocated my jaws<sup>183</sup>, and raised fresh blood, and had many symptoms of being poisoned.

In the evening a prayer-meeting in the hall over the store. Joseph did not dress [in robes of the priesthood], nor Emma. 184

Mr. Cole having kept a school in the hall for some time, the noise proved a nuisance to <sup>185</sup> the clerks in the History office, and I gave Dr. <sup>186</sup>Richards orders to tell Mr. Cole he must find some other room in which to teach school, as the room is needed for councils.

<sup>187</sup>Meeting at the stand; Elder Rigdon preached.

<sup>188</sup>Received a letter from Reuben Hedlock, dated Liverpool, October 16; he informs me there is a great call for preaching, and many elders are wanted throughout the British Isles; much opposition. The Saints are anxious to have the *Star* continue its publication, as 1,600 copies are circulated.

<sup>189</sup>Also received a letter from Hyrum Clark, giving a partial account of the business affairs of the emigration and publishing offices.

<sup>190</sup>Monday, 6.—Domestic affairs kept me busy in the morning, and in the afternoon listened to W[illiam]. W. Phelps giving a relation of his visit to the Governor, which amused me **from 1 to 3** o'clock.

 $[...]^{191}$ 

Dr. R[ichards]. gave Mr. Cole notice to find another room and in the eve[ning] prepared the tables to move them from the hall.

It has been very cool for some days past.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup>Sunday, 5.—Rode out with mother and others, for her health.

<sup>178.</sup> Source: Included in retained copy of letter to Henry Clay in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 6, 32 (WR).

<sup>179.</sup> Source: Based on WWj, vol. 4, 4 Nov. 1843 (WWj 2:325). See also WW's purchase of paper in Louisville on 27 Oct. (WWj 2:323).

<sup>180.</sup> DHC 6:65: replaces "in" with "at"

<sup>181.</sup> *Source*: Following four paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 155 (WR) (*APR*, 425-26), with light editing, elaboration, and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>182.</sup> JSi [1843-44], 155: "<all [his] dinner>"

<sup>183.</sup> DHC 6:65: "jaw"

<sup>184.</sup> Preceding bolded text in shorthand in JSj [1843-44], 155.

<sup>185.</sup> DHC 6:65: replaces "to" with "for"

<sup>186.</sup> DHC 6:65: adds "W."

<sup>187.</sup> Source: Based on WWj, vol. 4, 5 Nov. 1843 (WWj 2:326).

<sup>188.</sup> *Source*: R. Hedlock, Liverpool, Eng., to "Mr. Willard Richards and the first presidency & the Quorum of the twelve Apostle[s]," Nauvoo, IL, 16 Oct. 1843, in BYOF, Bx 20, fd 4, image numbers 237-47 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.37). Note also that Hedlock's letter to JS, dated 4 Oct. 1843, deals with the same topic (cf. DHC 6:44-45; chap. 2).

<sup>189.</sup> Source: H. Clark, Liverpool, Eng., to "Beloved Brethren The Twelve," Nauvoo, IL, 18 Oct. 1843, in BYOF, Bx 20, fd 4, image numbers 221-26 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.38).

<sup>190.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 156 (WR) (APR, 426), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>191.</sup> Book E-1, 1768, has five blank lines. RDft 7:78 instructs scribe to "leave a few lines enquire of W Phelps." On 15 July 1856, the revision committee noted: "Enquire of WW Phelps & fill up blank" (see vol. 7, IV.8, Notes for Books D-1 and E-1).

<sup>192</sup>Elder Erastus Snow arrived with a company from Massachusetts.

<sup>193</sup>Tuesday, 7.—**This morning Richards and others moved the tables from the hall.** Mr. Cole moved the tables back into the hall, when at **9 A.M.** Richards and Phelps<sup>194</sup> called **at the Mansion** to report that the noise in the school disturbed them in the progress of writing the History. I gave orders that Cole must look out for another place, as the History must continue, and not be disturbed, as there are but few subjects that I have felt a greater anxiety about than my History, which has been a very difficult task, on account of the death of my best clerks, and the apostasy of others, and the stealing of records by John Whitmer, Cyrus Smalling and others<sup>195</sup>. **Your reasons are good. We must have the room. Very warm and pleasant.** 

<sup>196</sup>The Quorum of the Twelve, viz., President B[righam]. Young, P[arley]. P. Pratt, O[rson]. Pratt, W[ilford]. Woodruff, J[ohn]. Taylor, Geo[rge]. A. Smith<sup>197</sup> and W[illard]. Richards assembled in the Mayor's office, and voted to raise \$500 to get paper, &c., to print the Doctrine and Covenants. Also voted that P[arley]. P. Pratt, W[ilford]. Woodruff and J[ohn]. Taylor be a committee to borrow or get the money, and that President Young go along with them.

<sup>198</sup>Wednesday, 8.—From 9 to 11 a.m., had an interview with Richards and Phelps, **clerks**, read and heard read part of my<sup>199</sup> history; then attended to settling some accounts with several individuals **who called**. P.M.<sup>200</sup>, examined a sample of fringe designed for the pulpits of the Temple. <sup>201</sup>From 2 to 3, conversed with Phelps, Lewis, John Butler and others.

The Neighbor has the following:-

<sup>202</sup>We know that statements made by the Carthage mob in their resolutions, as published in the late *Warsaw Message* were false; we also felt convinced that the parties themselves were apprized of that fact, and that it was a thing generally understood by the public, and therefore we did not trouble ourselves about it; but having the following testimonies and affidavits sent us for publication, we insert them for the information of those who may not have had opportunities of informing themselves relative to this subject.

We, the undersigned citizens of the town of Dixon, county of Lee, State of Illinois, being duly sworn according to law, depose and say, that we have seen the article entitled, "Statement of facts connected with the arrest of Joseph Smith, and his discharge therefrom," published in

<sup>192.</sup> Source: T&S 4 (1 Oct. 1843): 343. Rept. NN 1 (8 Nov. 1843): [110].

<sup>193.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 157 (WR) (APR, 426), with editing, elaboration, and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>194.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 157: "<and Phelps>"

<sup>195.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 157: omits "as the History ... and others". This is likely an editorial comment based partly on Jonathan H. Holmes, Affidavit, 7 Feb. 1843, in JSc, Bx 4, fd 8, 13-14 (transcription in vol. 8, V.8).

<sup>196.</sup> Source: QTAM [1840-44], 7 Nov. 1843 (WR) (transcription in vol. 8,VI.4). Cf. WWj, vol. 4, 7 Nov. 1843 (WWj 2:326).

<sup>197.</sup> GAS not listed in minutes.

<sup>198.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 158 (WR) (APR, 426). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>199.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 158: replaces "part of my" with "the"

<sup>200.</sup> DHC 6:67: "In the afternoon."

<sup>201.</sup> DHC 6:67: adds "and"

<sup>202.</sup> Source: RDft 7:78 instructs scribe to copy NN 1 (8 Nov. 1843): [110]-[11], which (except for first paragraph) was taken from E. Southwick, Dixon, IL, to JS, Nauvoo, IL, 29 July 1843, JScSup, fd 13, 32-34.

the *Warsaw Message* of the date of 15th of July, A.D. 1843; and have also seen an editorial article in the same number of said paper, in which it is stated that said statement of facts was furnished by E.<sup>203</sup> Southwick, one of Mr. Smith's attorneys in said case, and that we know the fact stated in said<sup>204</sup> statement, to wit, that Reynolds for a considerable length of time immediately after his arrival at Dixon, did peremptorily refuse to allow Smith a private interview with his counsel, and that said Reynolds did expressly state that no conversation could be had with Smith, by his attorneys, unless he, Reynolds, was present at such conversation.

The length of time, which such refusal to allow said private conversation continued, was, in the belief of these deponents, at least one hour: and that such private conversation was not permitted by Reynolds, until after being informed by at least two of these deponents (Messrs. Dixon and Sanger<sup>205</sup>) that such private interview must be allowed Mr. Smith, as that was a right he had guaranteed to him by law.

JOHN DIXON,
ISAAC ROBINSON,
L. P. SANGER,
J. D. McCOMSAY,
J. ALBERT HELFENSTIEN,
S. G. PATRICK,
E. SOUTHWICK.

<sup>206</sup>Sworn and subscribed to before me at Dixon, this 29th day of July, A.D. 1843.
FREDERICK R. DUTCHER,
Justice of the Peace for Lee County, Ill.

We, the undersigned, state under oath that we traveled in company with Joseph H. Reynolds, the agent of the State of Missouri, from Dixon to Nauvoo, at the time he had Joseph Smith in custody with the intention of taking him to Missouri, between the 26th of June last, and the first instant, and that the Mormons, friends of Mr. Smith, who met us on said journey, before we arrived at Nauvoo, conducted themselves, so far as we could perceive, and were able to judge, with the strictest propriety; and to our knowledge made use of no means<sup>207</sup> towards either H. D.<sup>208</sup> Wilson, or said Reynolds; but, on the contrary, several of them, and said Smith among that number, pledged themselves that said Wilson and Reynolds should be personally safe; and that said Mormons, none of them, as we could perceive, were armed, so far as was discernible; and farther<sup>209</sup>, that the <sup>210</sup>statement made in the "Old School Democrat," of the 12th inst[ant]., over the signature of T. H. Reynolds, that he and said Wilson were disarmed soon after they were arrested, on the trespass suit commenced against them by said Smith, and that their arms were not returned to them, until after the said Smith's discharge at Nauvoo, was incorrect; and in relation to this, these deponents say, that said Wilson and Reynolds were arrested on said action of trespass at Dixon on Saturday morning, the 24th of June last; that they were not disarmed by the

<sup>203.</sup> MS letter, 1, DHC 6:67: correctly read "E.", for Edward.

<sup>204.</sup> DHC 6:67: replaces "said" with "that"

<sup>205.</sup> NN 1:[110]: "Longer"

<sup>206.</sup> Dutcher's certification appears before the above names in *NN* and Book E-1, 1769, the latter of which has a guideline to indicate moving it to this location.

<sup>207.</sup> MS letter, 2: replaces "means" with "menaces"; DHC 6:68: adds "of intimidation"

<sup>208.</sup> Book E-1, 1769: "{\T./}" (pos. RLC); DHC 6:68: "T."

<sup>209.</sup> DHC 6:68: "further"

<sup>210.</sup> MS letter, 3: adds "said"

sheriff of Lee County, who had them in custody, nor by any other person, until the following day, at Paw-paw Grove, thirty-two miles distant from Dixon, and that the arms of said Wilson and Reynolds were restored to them by the said sheriff of Lee County, who had them in custody for default of bail, at their, Wilson's and Reynolds's, own request, while on the journey from Dixon to Nauvoo, before the company had arrived within at least eighty miles of Nauvoo.

J. D. MCCOMSAY, L. P. SANGER<sup>211</sup>, E. SOUTHWICK, S. G. PATRICK.

<sup>212</sup>Sworn and subscribed to before me, at Dixon, this 29th day of July, A.D. 1843.

FREDERICK R. DUTCHER,
Justice of the Peace.

#### [DN 7 (1 April 1857): 25-27]

To the Editor of the Warsaw Message:-

Gent[lemen].:—It appears from an article in your paper of the 15th of July, under the editorial head, that there is a question of veracity therein raised, between Mr. H. T. Wilson and myself, relative to the proceedings had after the late arrest by him of Joseph Smith. Now, in order that the public may no longer be deceived, in the premises, be pleased to publish, together with this note, the above affidavits, that the charge of falsehood may attach where it properly belongs.

Very respectfully yours,

E. SOUTHWICK.

Dixon, July 29, 1843.

 $[...]^{213}$ 

I wrote to the Times and Seasons:-

#### <sup>214</sup>TO THE SAINTS.

Messrs. Taylor and Woodruff:—

It has been so long since I addressed the Saints through the medium of the *Times and Seasons*, that I feel confident that a few words from my pen, by way of advice, will be well received, as well as a "waymark" to guide the "faithful" in future. I was sorry to learn, by your remarks upon the resolutions of the "Twelve," concerning your papers, which appeared not long since, that many of the Saints abroad were more apt to patronize the common newspapers of the day, than yours: for the important reason, that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints has the words of eternal life, and your paper, as it has hitherto done, must continue to publish such portions of them for the benefit of the Saints, and the salvation of mankind, as wisdom shall from time to time direct.

Freedom is a sweet blessing; men have aright to take and read what papers they please; ["]but do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?["] It certainly is no more than just to

<sup>211.</sup> NN 1:[110]: incorrectly reads "L. P. LONGED"

<sup>212.</sup> The following certification appears before the above names in NN and Book E-1, 1770, the latter of which has a guideline to indicate moving it to this location.

<sup>213.</sup> Book E-1, 1770-71, quotes T&S 4 (1 Oct. 1843): 343, but then cancels it because it had already been transcribed under 1 Oct. (cf. DHC 6:39-41; chap. 2).

<sup>214.</sup> Source: T&S 4 (1 Nov. 1843): 376.

suppose that "charity begins at home," and if so, what must such as profess to be Saints think, when they patronize the splendor of Babylon, and leave the virtue of Zion to linger for want of bread?

Beside which, if virtue is justified rather than vanity, the best of everything, calculated to happify man and dignify society will, yea, must be in Nauvoo: and as the new commandment given anciently was *to love one another*; even so, the works of the Saints, at home and abroad, will bear its own testimony; whether *they love the brethren*.

In all the world, the *Times and Seasons* is the only paper that virtually sustains, according to the forms of scripture and prophecy, "apostles, prophets, evangelists," and revelations—and what shall be said of him, that, like the "Levite," passes on the other side of the way. When we behold men who "have borne the heat and the burden of the day"; struggled<sup>215</sup> against the popular opinions of a vain world, the burlesque of a giddy throng; the vulgarity of a self-wise multitude, and the falsehoods of what may justly be termed the "civilized meanness of the age"; and not lend a helping hand? The 25th chapter of Matthew contains the simple answer.

Now, let me say once for all, like the psalmist of old, "How good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity."

"As the precious ointment upon the head that run down upon Aaron's beard, that went down to the skirts of his garments, as the dew of Hermon, that descended upon the mountains of Zion, is such unity; for there the Lord commanded the blessing, even<sup>216</sup> life for evermore!" Unity is power, and when the brethren as one man sustain the *Times and Seasons*, they sustain me, by giving a spread to the revelations, faith, works, history, and progress of the church. The brethren who conduct the paper have been appointed to that important station, because they are worthy and well qualified, and what a blessed sign of a faithful friend to God and man is it, to see the charity of a brother support his brethren, as an evidence that he means to pass from death into life?

Many of the articles which appear in the *Times and Seasons*, are extracts of revelations, translations, or are the united voice of conferences, which, like "apples of gold in baskets<sup>217</sup> of silver," are treasures more than meat for the called, chosen, and faithful among the Saints; and should be more than *drink* to those that hunger and thirst after righteousness. As Nauvoo is rising in glory and greatness, so shall I expect to see the *Times and Seasons* increase in circulation by the vigilance of the elders and saints—so as to be a herald of truth, and a standard of pure and undefiled religion. Finally, men and brethren, when you support my friends, you support me. In the bonds of the new and everlasting covenant,

I am your humble servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

<sup>215.</sup> DHC 6:69: "struggling"

<sup>216.</sup> T&S 4:377: omits "even"; Book E-1, 1772: "\even/" (pos. JG)

<sup>217.</sup> DHC 6:70: replaces "baskets" with "pictures"

4.

# JOSEPH SMITH'S APPEAL TO "GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS"

# November 1843

[DN 7 (1 April 1857): 25-27 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>Thursday, [November] 9 [1843].—10 A.M. At the office dictating letters, and signing deeds.

<sup>2</sup>The missionaries to the Pacific Islands touched at Cape de<sup>3</sup> Verde Islands, and laid in a supply of fruits of various kinds.

<sup>4</sup>Saturday, 11.<sup>5</sup>—Clear and cold. Freezing.

<sup>6</sup>A company of Saints arrived from England; the work is still prospering in that country, poverty and distress are making rapid strides, and the situation of the laboring classes is getting every day more deplorable.

<sup>7</sup>City council met. Hyrum Smith, president pro tem. Appointed<sup>8</sup> A[lbert]. P. Rockwood, assessor and collector for 1st Ward; Daniel Hendricks for 2nd Ward; Jonathan H. Hale, 3rd Ward; and H[enry]. G. Sherwood, for 4th Ward.

<sup>1.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1843-44], 159 (WR) (APR, 426), which reads: "Called at the office with a letter from Ja[me]s A[rlington] Bennet and gave instruction to have it answered." The mention of land transactions possibly based on JS to Peter Maughan, NTLB, Book B, 22, which reads: "Novr. 9th 1843[.] Deeded to Peter Maughan pt L[ot] 35 B[lock] 6 of Kimball addition commencing at the N.W. corner of s[ai]d lot thence 88 rods thence E 20 rods, thence N 28 rods thence W 20 rods" (WC); JS to James S. Holman, NLB&D, No. 285, filed 22 Dec. 1844: "285 Joseph Smith [to] James S. Holman Novr. 9th 1843 N ½ L[ot] 4 B[lock] 119 & 5½ L[ot] 3 B[lock] 121 of Nauvoo Deed [Book B] 60" (WC).

<sup>2.</sup> Source: NRj [1843-44], 9 Nov. 1843 (transcription in vol. 8,VI.40). Possibly also Addison Pratt, Ship Timoleon, North Atlantic Ocean, to [Editor?], Nauvoo, IL, in T&S 5 (1 Aug. 1843): 605. This letter copied into Book E-1, 1761-66, but part was canceled and not printed in DN, and BHR omitted what remained (see DHC 6:64; chap. 3, under 3 Nov. 1843).

<sup>3.</sup> Book E-1, 1772: "<de>" (pos. LH)

<sup>4.</sup> Source: From unused portion of [Si [1843-44], 161 (WR) (APR, 426).

<sup>5.</sup> Book E-1, 1773: "11 {\Saturday/}" (LH)

<sup>6.</sup> Source: NN 1 (15 Nov. 1843): [114].

<sup>7.</sup> Source: Based on NCCP, 190 (WR). Cf. NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 22-23 (WR) (NCHCM, 186-87).

<sup>8.</sup> DHC 6:71: omits "Appointed"

<sup>9</sup>Sunday, 12.—Prayer-meeting in the evening, in the south-east room of my old house. **R[eyn-olds]. Cahoon and wife [Thirza] anointed and Mother [Lucy Mack] Smith**<sup>10</sup>.

Clear, cold.

Monday 13.—Having received a letter from James Arlington Bennett, Esq., I copy it:

<sup>11</sup>Arlington House. Oct. 24, 1843.

Dear General:—I am happy to know that you have taken possession of your new establishment, and presume you will be eminently successful and happy in it, together with your good lady and family.

You are no doubt already aware that I have had a most interesting visit from your most excellent and worthy friend, President B. Young, with whom I have had a glorious frolic in the clear blue ocean; for most assuredly a frolic it was, without a moment's reflection or consideration.

Nothing of this kind would in the least attach me to your person or cause. I am capable of being a most *undeviating friend*, without being governed by the smallest religious influence.

As you have proved yourself to be a *philosophical divine*, you will excuse me when I say that we must leave their influence to the mass. The boldness of your plans and measures, together with their unparalleled success, so far, are calculated to throw a charm over your whole being, and to point you out as the most extraordinary man of the present age.

But my mind is of so mathematical and philosophical a cast, that the divinity of Moses makes no impression on me, and you will not be offended when I say that I rate you higher as a legislator than I do Moses, because we have you present with us for examination; whereas Moses derives his chief authority from prescription<sup>12</sup> and the lapse of time.

I cannot, however, say but you are both right, it being out of the power of man to prove you wrong. It is no mathematical problem, and can therefore get no mathematical solution. I say, therefore, go ahead, you have my good wishes. You know Mahomet had his "right hand man."

The celebrated Thomas Brown, of <sup>13</sup> New York, is now engaged in cutting your head on a beautiful cornelian stone, as your *private seal*, which will be set in gold to your order, and sent to you. It will be a gem, and just what you want. His sister is a member of your church. The expense of this seal set in gold will be about \$40, and Mr. Brown assures me that if he were not so poor a man he would present it to you free.

You can, however, accept it or not, as he can apply to it another use. I am, myself short for cash, for although I had sometime since \$2,000 paid me by the Harpers, publishers, as the first instalment on the purchase of my copyright, yet I had got so much behind during the hard times that it all went to clear up old scores. I expect \$38,000 more, however, in semi-annual payments from those gentlemen, within the limits of ten years, a large portion of which I intend to use in the State of Illinois, in the purchase and conduct of a large tract of land; and therefore should I be compelled to announce in this quarter that I have no connection with the Nauvoo Legion, you will, of course, remain silent, as I shall do it in such a way as will make all things right.

I may yet run for a high office in your State, when you would be sure of my best services in your behalf; therefore, a known connection with you would be against our mutual interest. It can be shown that a commission in the Legion was a Herald hoax, coined for the fun of it,

<sup>9.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 162 (WR) (APR, 426), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>10.</sup> In JSj [1843-44], 162: "wife anointed ... Smith" in shorthand

<sup>11.</sup> *Source*: RDft 7:79 directs scribe to copy *T&S* 4 (1 Nov. 1843): 371-72. Rept. *NN* 1 (13 Dec. 1843): [131]; *VOT*, 7-8. Cf. Original letter in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 5, 41-42.

<sup>12.</sup> *T&S* 4:372: "proscription"

<sup>13.</sup> DHC 6:72: replaces "of" with "at"

<sup>14</sup>by me, as it is not believed even now by the public. In short, I expect to be yet, through your influence, Governor of the State of Illinois.

My respects to brother[s] Young, Richards, Mrs. Emma, and all friends.

Yours most respectfully,

JA[ME]S. ARLINTON BENNETT.

Lieut.-Gen. Smith. 15

P.S.—As the office of inspector-general confers no command on me, being a mere honorary title; if, therefore, there is any gentleman in Nauvoo, who would like to fill it in a practical way, I shall with great pleasure and good-will resign it to him, by receiving advice from you to that effect. It is an office that should be filled by some scientific officer.

J. A. B.

<sup>16</sup>In the morning Bro[ther] Phelps called at the Mansion and read a letter which I had dictated to Gen[eral] James Arlington Bennet which pleased me much. Called at the office A.M. with Hyrum and heard Judge Phelps read letter to Ja[me]s A. Bennet and made some corrections.

P.M. Called again [at office] with Doct[or] Bernhisel and Clayton and read [letter] again. Afterwards called again and enquired for the Egyptian grammar.

I insert my reply:—

<sup>17</sup>Nauvoo, Illinois, Nov. 13, 1843.

Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 24th ult. has been regularly received: its contents duly appreciated, and its whole tenor candidly considered; and, according to my manner of judging all things in righteousness, I proceed to answer you; and shall leave you to meditate whether ["]mathematical problems,["] founded upon the truth of revelation, or religion as promulgated by me, or <sup>18</sup>Moses, can be solved by rules and principles existing in the systems of common knowledge.

How far you are capable of being "a most undeviating friend, without being governed by the smallest religious influence," will best be decided by your survivors, as all past experience most assuredly proves. Without controversy, that friendship, which intelligent beings would accept as sincere, must arise from love, and that love grow out of virtue, which is as much a part of religion, as light is a part of Jehovah. Hence the saying of Jesus, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for a friend<sup>19</sup>."

You observed, "as I have proven myself to be a *philosophical divine*, I must excuse you, when you say that we must leave these *influences* to the mass." The meaning of "philosophical divine" may be taken in various ways. If, as the learned world apply the term, you infer that I have achieved a victory, and been strengthened by a scientific religion, as practiced by the popular sects of the age, through the<sup>20</sup> aid of colleges, seminaries, Bible societies, missionary<sup>21</sup> boards, financial organizations, and gospel money schemes, then you are wrong; such a combination of

<sup>14.</sup> MS letter, 2: adds what appears to be "<out>"

<sup>15.</sup> This line omitted in MSHiJS, but added in MS letter, 2, and T&S 4:372.

<sup>16.</sup> Source: Following two paragraphs from unused portion of JSj [1843-44], 163 (WR) (APR, 426-27), where the first two sentences appear in reversed order, with an "x" marking placement of second sentence before the first.

<sup>17.</sup> Source: RDft 7:79 directs scribe to copy T&S 4 (1 Nov. 1843): 372-75. Rept. NN 1 (13 Dec. 1843): [131]; VOT, 8-14; New York Herald, 10 Jan. 1844. Cf. draft letter in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 6, 36-45 (WWP).

<sup>18.</sup> DHC 6:73: adds "by"

<sup>19.</sup> MS letter, 1, DHC 6:73: replace "a friend" with "his friends"

<sup>20.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<the>"

<sup>21.</sup> MS letter, 1: "mission < ary > "

men and means, shows a form of godliness without the power; for is it not written<sup>22</sup>, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise; beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the rudiments of the world, and not after the doctrines of Christ!" But if the inference is, that by more love, more light, more virtue, and more truth from the Lord, I have succeeded as a man of God, then you reason truly; though the weight of the sentiment is lost, when the "influence is left<sup>23</sup> to the mass." <sup>24</sup>Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?

Of course, you follow out the figure, and say, the boldness of my plans and measures, together with their unparalleled success, so far are calculated to throw a charm over my whole being, and to point me out as the most extraordinary man of the present age? *The boldness of my plans and measures* can readily be tested by the touchstone of all schemes, systems, projects, and *adventures*,—*truth*, for truth is a matter of fact; and the fact is, that by the power of God I translated the Book of Mormon from hieroglyphics; the knowledge of which was lost to the world; in which wonderful event I stood alone, an unlearned youth, to combat the worldly wisdom, and multiplied ignorance of eighteen centuries, with a new revelation; which, (if they would receive <sup>25</sup>the everlasting gospel) would open the eyes of more than eight hundred millions of people, and make "plain the old paths," wherein if a man walk in all the ordinances of God blameless, he shall inherit eternal life; and Jesus Christ, who was, and is, and is to come, has borne me safely over every snare and plan, laid in secret or openly, through priestly hypocrisy, sectarian prejudice, popular philosophy, executive power, or law-defying mobocracy, to destroy me.

If, then, the hand of God, in all these things that I have accomplished, towards the salvation of a priest-ridden generation, in the short space of twelve years, through the boldness of the plan of preaching the gospel, and the boldness of the means of <sup>26</sup> declaring repentance and baptism for the remission of sins; and a reception of the Holy Ghost, by laying on of the <sup>27</sup> hands, agreeably to the authority of the priesthood; and the still more bold measures of receiving direct revelation from God, through the Comforter, as promised, and by which means all holy men, from ancient times till now, have spoken and revealed the will of God to men, with the consequent "success" of the gathering of the Saints, throws any "charm" around <sup>28</sup> my being, and "points me out as the most extraordinary man of the age," it demonstrates the fact, that truth is mighty and must prevail; and that one man empowered from Jehovah, has more <sup>29</sup> influence with the children of the kingdom, than eight hundred millions led by the precepts of men. God exalts the humble, and debases the haughty.

But let me assure you<sup>30</sup> in the name of Jesus, who spake as never man spake, that the "boldness of the plans and measures," as you term them, but which should be denominated the righteousness of the cause, the truth of the system, and power of God, which "so far," has borne me and the church, (in which I glory in having the privilege of being a member,) successfully through the storm of reproach, folly, ignorance, malice, persecution, falsehood, sacerdotal wrath, newspaper satire, pamphlet libels, and the combined influence of the powers of earth and hell; I say these powers of righteousness and truth, are not the decrees or rules of an ambitious and aspiring Nimrod, Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander, Mahomet, <sup>31</sup> Bonaparte, or other great sounding

<sup>22.</sup> MS letter, 1: "for it is written"

<sup>23.</sup> MS letter, 2: "<is left>"

<sup>24.</sup> MS letter, 2: adds "rather than hazard your opinion upon matter"

<sup>25.</sup> MS letter, 2: "receive) \it)/ (the fulness of"

<sup>26.</sup> MS letter, 3: "<of the gospel the boldness of the means [of]>"

<sup>27.</sup> MS letter, 3: "<of the>"

<sup>28.</sup> MS letter, 3: apparently reads "around <over>"

<sup>29.</sup> MS letter, 3: "<more>"

<sup>30.</sup> MS letter, 3: "<you>"

<sup>31.</sup> MS letter, 4: "<<del>Mahamet,</del>>"

heroes, that dazzled forth with<sup>32</sup> a<sup>33</sup> trail of pomp and circumstances for a<sup>34</sup> little season, like <sup>35</sup>a comet, and then disappeared, leaving a wide waste where such an existence once was, with only a name; nor were<sup>36</sup> the glorious results of what you term "boldness of plans and measures," with the attendant "success," matured by the self-aggrandizing wisdom of the priests of Baal; the scribes and Pharisees of the Jews<sup>37</sup>, popes and bishops of Christendom, or pagans of Juggernaut<sup>38</sup>; nor were they<sup>39</sup> extended by the divisions and subdivisions of a Luther, or<sup>40</sup> Calvin, a Wesley, or even a Campbell, supported by a galaxy of clergymen and churchmen, of whatever name or nature, bound apart by cast-iron creeds, and <sup>41</sup>fastened to set stakes by chain-cable opinions, without revelation; nor are they the lions of the land, or the leviathans of the sea, moving among the elements, as distant chimeras to fatten the fancy of the infidel; but they are as the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, and will become a great mountain and fill the whole earth.

<sup>42</sup>Were I an Egyptian, I would exclaim Jah-oh-eh<sup>43</sup>, Enish-go-on-dosh, Flo-ees-Flosis-is-is<sup>44</sup>, (O the earth! the power of attraction, and the moon passing between her and the sun;)<sup>45</sup> a Hebrew, Haueloheem yerau<sup>46</sup>; a Greek, O theos phos esi<sup>47</sup>; a Roman, Dominus regit me; a German, Gott gebe uns das licht; a Portugee, Senhor Jesu Christo e libordade; a Frenchman, Dieu defend le droit; but as I am, I give God the glory, and say in the beautiful figure of the poet:—

"Could we with ink the ocean fill,

Was the whole earth of parchment made;
And ev'ry single stick a quill;

And every man a scribe by trade,

To write the love of God above,

Would drain the ocean dry;

Nor could the whole upon a scroll,

Be spread from sky to sky."

```
32. Book E-1, 1775: "<with>" (JG)
```

<sup>33.</sup> MS letter, 4: "<a>"

<sup>34.</sup> MS letter, 4: "<a>"

<sup>35.</sup> MS letter, 4: adds "of"

<sup>36.</sup> DHC 6:75: replaces "were" with "where"

<sup>37.</sup> MS letter, 4: "<of the Jews>"

<sup>38.</sup> MS letter, 4: "<of Christendom or pagans of J[uggernaut]>"

<sup>39.</sup> MS letter, 4: "<were they>"

<sup>40.</sup> MS letter, 4: replaces "or" with "a"

<sup>41.</sup> MS letter, 4: adds "to set stakes"

<sup>42.</sup> DHC 6:75: omits following paragraph and poem

<sup>43.</sup> MS letter, 4: "Flo-isis Floeese < Jah oh-eh>". This and next correction evidently made when JS consulted his Egyptian alphabet and grammar. Note that in the left margin of MS letter, 4, are three circles: one divided into four parts, the next into two halves, and the third filled with ink. These are the symbols for the three contrived Egyptian words in JS's alphabet and grammar for the earth, moon, and sun. Of the five degrees in Egyptian MS #1, the third degree comes closest to the translation given in the present letter: "Jah-oh-eh The earth under the government of another or the second of the fixed stars, which is called Enish-go-on-dosh or in other words the power of attra[c]tion it has with the earth. Flo-ees: The moon—signifying its revolutions, also going between, thereby forming an eclipse[.] Flos-isis: The sun in its affinity with Earth and moon—signifying their revolutions showing the power, the one has with the other" (29-30) (WWP). See Sources Cited, under BofA.

<sup>44.</sup> MS letter, 4: "Jah-oh-eh /Flo-ees-Flo-isis\"

<sup>45.</sup> MS letter, 4: omits words in parentheses

<sup>46.</sup> MS letter, 4: replaces transliteration with Hebrew characters

<sup>47.</sup> MS letter, 4: replaces transliteration with Greek characters

It seems that your mind is of such "a mathematical and philosophical <sup>48</sup>cast, that the divinity of Moses makes no impression upon you, and that I will not be offended when you say, that you rate me higher as a legislator, than you do Moses, because you have me present with you for examination"; that <sup>49</sup> "Moses derives his chief authority from prescription and the lapse of time.["] You cannot, however, say, but we are both right, it being out of the power of man to prove us wrong. ["]It is no mathematical problem, and can therefore get no mathematical solution."

Now, sir, to cut the matter short, and not dally with your learned ideas, for fashion's sake you have here given your opinion, without reserve, that revelation, the knowledge of God, prophetic vision, the truth of eternity, cannot be solved as a mathematical problem. The first question then is, what is a mathematical problem? and the natural answer is, a statement, proposition or question that can be solved, ascertained, unfolded or demonstrated by knowledge, facts or figures, for "mathematical" is an adjective derived from *mathesis*<sup>50</sup> (Gr.), meaning, in English, learning or knowledge. "Problem" is derived from *probleme* (French), or problema (Latin<sup>51</sup>, Italian or<sup>52</sup> Spanish,) and in each language means a question or proposition, whether true or false. "Solve" is derived from the Latin verb, "solvo," to explain or answer.

One thing more in order to prove the work as we proceed; it is necessary to have witnesses, two or three of whose testimonies, according to the laws or rules of God and man, are sufficient to establish any one point.

Now for the question. How much are one and one? Two. How much is one from two? One. Very well, one question, or problem is solved by figures. Now, let me ask one for facts: was there ever such a place on the earth as Egypt? Geography says yes: ancient history says yes; and the Bible says yes; so three witnesses have solved that question. Again, lived there ever such a man as Moses in Egypt? The same witnesses reply, certainly. And was he a prophet? The same witnesses, or a part, 53 have left on record, that Moses predicted in Leviticus, that if Israel broke the covenant they had made, the Lord would scatter them among the nations, till the land enjoyed her Sabbaths: and subsequently these witnesses<sup>54</sup> have testified of their captivity in Babylon, and other places, in fulfillment. But to make assurance doubly sure, Moses prays that the ground might open and swallow up Korah and his company for transgression, and it was so: and he endorses the prophecy of Balaam, which said, out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion, and shall destroy him that remaineth of the city: and <sup>55</sup>Jesus Christ, <sup>56</sup>as him that "had dominion," <sup>57</sup>about fifteen hundred years after, in accordance with this and 58 the prediction of Moses, David, Isaiah, and many others, came, saying, Moses wrote of me<sup>59</sup>, declaring the dispersion of the Jews, and the utter destruction of the "city"; and the apostles were his witnesses, unimpeached<sup>60</sup>, especially Jude, who not only endorses the facts of Moses' "divinity," but also the 61 events of Balaam, and Korah, with many others, as true.

```
48. MS letter, 5: adds "of"
```

<sup>49.</sup> MS letter, 5: inserts "\that/" at boln

<sup>50.</sup> MS letter, 5, uses Greek characters.

<sup>51.</sup> DHC 6:76: omits "Latin"

<sup>52.</sup> MS letter, 5: "and <or>"

<sup>53.</sup> MS letter, 6: "<or a part,>"

<sup>54.</sup> MS letter, 6: "<these witnesses>"

<sup>55.</sup> MS letter, 6: adds "Jude the apostle of"

<sup>56.</sup> MS letter, 6: adds "fifteen hundred years after, as"

<sup>57.</sup> MS letter, 6: adds "came"

<sup>58.</sup> MS letter, 6: "of <with this and>"

<sup>59.</sup> MS letter, 6: "<me>"

<sup>60.</sup> MS letter, 6: "<unimpeached>"

<sup>61.</sup> MS letter, 6: "<also the>"

<sup>62</sup>Besides these tangible facts, so easily proven and demonstrated by simple rules and testimony unimpeached, the art (now lost)<sup>63</sup> of embalming <sup>64</sup>human bodies, and preserving them in the catacombs of Egypt, whereby men, women and children as *mummies*, after a lapse of near three thousand five hundred years, come forth among the living, and although *dead*, the papyrus which has lived in their bosoms, unharmed<sup>65</sup>, speaks for them, in language like the sound of an earthquake: Ecce veritas! Ecce cadaveros. Behold the truth! Behold the mummies!

Oh, my dear sir, the sunken Tyre and Sidon, the melancholy dust where "the city" of <sup>66</sup> Jerusalem once was<sup>67</sup>, and the mourning of the Jews among the nations, together with such a "cloud of witnesses," if you had been as well acquainted with your God and Bible, as with your purse and pence table, the "divinity" of Moses would have dispelled the fog of five thousand years, and filled you with light; for facts, like diamonds, not only cut glass, but they are the most precious jewels on earth. The spirit of prophecy is the testimony of Jesus. <sup>68</sup>

The world at large is ever ready to credit the writings of Homer, Hesiod, Plutarch, Socrates, Pythagoras, Virgil, Josephus, Mahomet<sup>69</sup>, and an hundred others; but where, tell me where, have they left a line, a<sup>70</sup> simple method of solving the truth of the plan of eternal life<sup>71</sup>? Says the Savior, ["]If any man will do his (the Father's) will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself.["] Here then is <sup>72</sup>a method of solving the "divinity" of men by the divinity within<sup>73</sup> yourself, that as far exceeds the calculation of numbers, as the sun exceeds a candle. <sup>74</sup>Would to God that all men understood it<sup>75</sup>, and were willing to be governed by it, that when one had filled the measure of his days, he<sup>76</sup> could exclaim like Jesus, ["] *Veni mori, et reviviscere!*"

Your good wishes to "go ahead," coupled with Mahomet and "a right hand man," are rather more vain than virtuous. Why, sir, Caesar had his right hand Brutus, who was his "left hand" assassin, not, however, applying the allusion to you<sup>77</sup>.

As to the private seal you mention, if sent to me, I shall receive it with the gratitude of a servant of God, and pray that the donor may receive a reward in the resurrection of the just.

The summit of your future fame seems to be hid in the political policy of a "mathematical problem" for the chief magistracy of this State; which, I suppose might be solved by "double position," where the *errors* of the *supposition* are used to produce a true answer.

But, sir, when I leave the dignity and honor I received from heaven, to boost a man into power, through the aid of my friends, where the evil and designing, after the object has been accomplished, can lock up the clemency intended as a reciprocation for such favors; and where the wicked and unprincipled, as a matter of course, would seize the opportunity, to flintify the

```
62. This paragraph written in left margin and keyed to this location.
```

<sup>63.</sup> MS letter, 6: "<(now lost)>"

<sup>64.</sup> MS letter, 6: adds "(now lost)"

<sup>65.</sup> MS letter, 6: omits "unharmed"

<sup>66.</sup> MS letter, 6: "of | \where/ <the city of>"

<sup>67.</sup> MS letter, 6: "<one was>"

<sup>68.</sup> MS letter, 7: apparently adds "\The Spirit ... Jesus/" at eoln

<sup>69.</sup> MS letter, 7: "<Mahomet>"

<sup>70.</sup> MS letter, 7: "that \a/"

<sup>71.</sup> MS letter, 7: "<life>"

<sup>72.</sup> MS letter, 7: emends at boln "\then/ is a problem that more properly"

<sup>73.</sup> MS letter, 7: replaces "within" with "in"

<sup>74.</sup> MS letter, 7: adds "well might pass"

<sup>75.</sup> MS letter, 7: "\it/"

<sup>76.</sup> MS letter, 7: "<he>"

<sup>77.</sup> MS letter, 7 (darker ink): apparently adds "\not, however, ... you/" at eoln

hearts of the nation against me<sup>78</sup> for dabbling at a sly game in politics; verily I say, when I leave the dignity and honor of heaven, to gratify the ambition and vanity of man or men, may my power cease, like the strength of Samson, when he was shorn of his locks, while asleep in the lap of Delilah. Truly said the Savior, "cast not your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you."

Shall I who have witnessed the visions of eternity, and beheld the glories of the mansions of bliss; and the regions and the misery of the damned; shall I turn to be<sup>79</sup> a Judas? Shall I who have heard the voice of God, and communed with angels; and spake as moved by the Holy Ghost for the renewal of the everlasting covenant, and for the gathering of Israel in the last days; shall I worm myself into a political hypocrite? Shall I who hold the keys of the last kingdom; in which is the dispensation of the fullness of all things spoken by the mouths of all the holy<sup>80</sup> prophets, since the world began; under the sealing power<sup>81</sup> of the Melchizedek priesthood; shall I stoop from the sublime authority of Almighty God, to be handled as a monkey's cat-paw? and pettify myself into a clown to act the farce of political demagoguery? No, verily<sup>82</sup> no! The whole earth shall bear me witness, that I, like the towering rock in the midst of the ocean which has withstood the mighty surges of the warring waves, for centuries, *am impregnable*,<sup>83</sup> and am a faithful friend to virtue, and a fearless foe<sup>84</sup> to vice; no odds, whether the former was sold as a pearl in Asia, or hid as a gem in America; and the latter dazzles in palaces, or glimmers among the tombs.

I combat the errors of ages;  $I^{85}$  meet the violence of mobs;  $I^{86}$  cope with illegal proceedings from executive authority;  $I^{87}$  cut the Guardian knot of powers; and I solve mathematical problems of universities, WITH TRUTH, diamond truth, and God is my "right hand man."

And to close, let me say in the name of Jesus Christ to you, and to presidents, emperors, kings, queens, governors, rulers, nobles, and men in authority everywhere, do the works of righteousness, execute justice and judgment in the earth that God may bless you, and her inhabitants; and

The laurel that grows on the top of the mountain,
Shall green for your fame while the sun sheds a ray,
And the lily that blows by the side of the fountain
Will<sup>88</sup> bloom for your virtue till earth melts away.

With due consideration and respect, I have the honor to be Your most obedient servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

#### Gen. J. A. Bennett, Arlington House, N.Y.<sup>89</sup>

```
78. MS letter, 8: "<me>"
79. MS letter, 8: "<to be>"
80. MS letter, 8: "<holy>"
81. MS letter, 8: "authority <sealing power>"
82. MS letter, 8: "No, no <verily>"
83. MS letter, 8: adds "<like the towering Rock ... am impregnable>" in left margin 84. MS letter, 8: "<foe>"
85. MS letter, 8: "and <I>"
86. MS letter, 8: "and <I>"
87. MS letter, 8: "I/ and"
88. MS letter, 9: "Shall <Will>"
```

<sup>89.</sup> This line appears only in MS letter, 9, and T&S 4:375. Text from T&S.

<sup>90</sup>P.S. The court-martial <sup>91</sup> will attend to your case in the Nauvoo Legion.

J. S.

<sup>92</sup>Tuesday, 14. <sup>93</sup>—In the evening called at the office with Mr. Southwick, of Dixon, and had my letter to James Arlington Bennett read.

<sup>94</sup>[Wednesday, 15.]<sup>95</sup> **At home. 10 A.M.** Mayor's court in the office; "Erskine v[ersu]s. Pullen". —nonsuit.

P.M. at the office; suggested the idea of preparing a grammar of the Egyptian language.

Prayer-meeting at the old house; **A[lpheus]**. **Cutler and wife [Lois] anointed**<sup>96</sup>. I spoke of a petition to Congress, my letter to Bennett, and intention to write a proclamation to the kings of the earth. **Warm and foggy.** 

<sup>97</sup>Thursday, 16.—At home. 9½ Called at the office [and] held a court in case of "Averett<sup>98</sup> v[ersu]s. Bostwick". Hour [not?] <sup>99</sup> arrived. Walked up street with Hyrum a few minutes, returned and held court.

At home the remainder of the day. 100 Chilly east wind and foggy.

<sup>101</sup>Friday, 17.—**At home.** Deeded lot 4, block 135, <sup>102</sup> to Sally Phelps, wife of W. W. Phelps.

About 10 a.m. called in the office with Esq[uire]. Southwick, of Dixon.

 $^{103}$ Went into Dr. Richard's room and refreshed ourselves for about an hour [and conversed freely] $^{104}$ .

Thunder, lightning and rain last night; warm and foggy morning. Day clear and warm.

<sup>105</sup>Saturday, 18.—Rode out on horseback to the prairie, accompanied by Mr. Southwick.

<sup>106</sup>Conference of the church held at Halifax, Nova Scotia. Robert Dixon, president, Edward Cook, secretary. Two branches were represented, containing 2 elders, 1 teacher, 2 deacons, and 34 members.

<sup>107</sup>Sunday, 19.—**At Home.** Eleven a.m. to two p.m., prayer-meeting at the old house, and fasting. In the evening prayer-meeting and breaking of bread, &c.

- 90. Postscript added interlinearly in Book E-1, 1779 (JG).
- 91. MS letter, 9: "<court> Martial"
- 92. Source: JSj [1843-44], 164 (WR) (APR, 427).
- 93. Book E-1, 1779: "14" in margin
- 94. Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 165 (WR) (APR, 427), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.
  - 95. Book E-1, 1779: "15 Wednesday"
  - 96. JSj [1843-44], 165: "wife anointed" in shorthand
- 97. Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 166 (WR) (APR, 427), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.
  - 98. JSj [1843-44], 166: "Averill"
  - 99. JSj has illegible word: "♦♦t" or "♦♦♦t"
  - 100. JSj [1843-44], 166: omits "At home remainder of the day"
- 101. Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 167 (WR) (APR, 427), with light editing and elaboration. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.
- 102. Detail about lot and block not in JSj, but taken from NLB&D, No. 248, filed 17 Nov. 1843, which reads: "248 Joseph Smith [to] Sally Phelps Novr. 16th 1843 Lot 4 in B[lock] 135 City of Nauvoo deed [Book] B 28" (WC).
  - 103. This paragraph appears in RDft 7:79 and copied into Book E-1, 1779, but canceled.
  - 104. JSj [1843-44], 167: adds "and conversed freely"
  - 105. Source: JSj [1843-44], 168 (WR) (APR, 427).
  - 106. Source: Based on "Minutes of a Conference ...," T&S 5 (15 Feb. 1844): 445.
- 107. Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 169 (WR) (APR, 427). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>108</sup>Monday, 20.—Two gentlemen from Vermont put up at the Mansion. I rode round with them in the afternoon, to show them the improvements in the city. <sup>109</sup> In the evening several of the Twelve and others called to visit me: my family sung<sup>110</sup> hymns, and Elder John Taylor prayed and gave an address, to which they paid great attention, and seemed very much interested <sup>111</sup>.

<sup>112</sup>Tuesday, 21.—**10 A.M.** Council of the Twelve and others at my old house all day. Dictated to my clerk an appeal to the green mountain boys of Vermont, my native State. <sup>113</sup>

Also instructed Elders Richards, Hyde, Taylor, and Phelps to write a ["]Proclamation to the Kings <sup>114</sup>of the Earth.["]

Council in the eve[ning] in the old house [with] Richards, [Theodore] Turley, and others. The Ohio River will be froze up in a few days.—(prophecy).

<sup>115</sup>P.M. [William Clayton] went to Joseph's to ask him to come to my house and marry Marg[are]t Butterfield to her first husband. He could not come but sent Hyrum. I learned from H[yrum] that E[mma] had power to prevent my being admitted to Joseph's Lodge [i.e., Quorum of the Anointed] for the present for which I feel somewhat sorry but yet believe that innocence will finally triumph. <sup>116</sup> I stood as proxy for [Margaret's deceased husband] Edw[ar]d Lawrence.

<sup>117</sup>Wednesday, 22.—Rode out to the prairie with W. <sup>118</sup> Clayton and L[orenzo]. D. Wasson, and found Arthur Smith cutting timber on my land, without my consent, which I objected to <sup>119</sup>.

<sup>120</sup>Prayer-meeting in the evening at the old house. **B[righam] Young [was] anointed and wife [Mary Ann]**<sup>121</sup> &c.

<sup>122</sup>Five deaths in the city during the past week.

<sup>123</sup>Thursday, 23.—**10 A.M.** Met in council in the <sup>124</sup> old house **[with] Richards, Turley, &c.**; then walked down to the river to look at the stream, rocks, &c., about 11½ a.m.; suggested the idea of petitioning Congress for a grant to make a canal over the falls, or a dam to turn the water to the city, so that we might erect mills and other machinery.

<sup>125</sup>Issued a writ of habeas corpus on application of John M. Finch.

<sup>108.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 170 (WR) (APR, 427).

<sup>109.</sup> Preceding sentence omitted in JSj [1843-44], 170, which was added interlinearly in RDft 7:79 (TB).

<sup>110.</sup> DHC 6:79: "sang"

<sup>111.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 170: omits "to which they ... interested"

<sup>112.</sup> Source: Following four paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 171 (WR) (APR, 428), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>113.</sup> In JSj [1843-44], 171, preceding sentence reads: "Gave W[iliam] W. Phelps instructions to write an appeal to the citizens of Vermont."

<sup>114.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 171: adds "<&c>"

<sup>115.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 21 Nov. 1843 (IC, 123).

<sup>116.</sup> Regarding WC's being denied access to the Quorum of the Anointed, see below under 3 Dec. 1843.

<sup>117.</sup> Source: WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 22 Nov. 1843 (NTNLF, 408).

<sup>118.</sup> Book E-1, 1779: "\W./" (prob. RLC)

<sup>119.</sup> WCj [1843-44]: replaces "objected to" with "forbade him"

<sup>120.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 172 (WR) (APR, 428). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>121.</sup> In [Si [1843-44], 172: "anointed and wife" in shorthand

<sup>122.</sup> Source: Based on NN 1 (22 Nov. 1843): [119].

<sup>123.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 173 (WR) (APR, 428), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>124.</sup> Book E-1, 1779: "<the>" (pos. LH)

<sup>125.</sup> Source: Based on NMCDB, 89-90 (WR) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.5). Cf. NCRc, Bx 5, fd 21.

<sup>126</sup>Friday, 24.—Attended municipal court "on habeas corpus, J[ohn]. M. Finch, at suit of Amos Davis." Finch discharged, Davis to pay costs, it being a vexatious and malicious suit.

<sup>127</sup>The young men have established a debating society in Nauvoo to discuss topics of various descriptions.

<sup>128</sup>Saturday, 25.—Colonel Frierson, United States surveyor from Quincy, arrived in Nauvoo. In the evening the High Council sat on the case of Harrison Sagers, charged with seduction, and having stated that I had taught it was right: charge not sustained. I was present with several of the Twelve, and gave an address tending to do away with every evil, and exhorting them to practice virtue and holiness before the Lord; told them that the church had not received any permission from me to commit fornication, adultery, or any corrupt action; but my every word and action has been to the contrary. If a man commit adultery, he cannot receive the celestial kingdom of God; even if he is saved in any kingdom, it cannot be the celestial kingdom: I did think that the many examples that have been made manifest, such as John C. Bennett's and others, were sufficient to show the fallacy of such a course of conduct.

I condemned such actions in toto, and warned the people present against committing such evils, for it will surely bring a curse upon any person who commits such deeds.

After adjournment, held a council, and agreed to meet Mr. Frierson at the Mansion tomorrow morning.

<sup>129</sup>I received a letter, signed by George B. Wallace and six other elders, requesting permission for Elder John E. Page to remain in Boston the ensuing winter; also a letter from John E. Page, giving his assent to the petition, to which the Twelve Apostles wrote the following reply:—

<sup>130</sup>Nauvoo, November 25, 1843.

Elder John E. Page:-

Beloved Brother:—Your letter, dated at Boston, in connection with some one hundred and fifty of the brethren, is received, and we proceed to reply. Your letter is not before us this moment, consequently you must excuse a reference to dates, and names, which have escaped our recollection; but the subject is fresh, and the letter was read in a council of Presidents Joseph, Hyrum and the Twelve, when the word of the Lord came through Joseph the Seer, thus:—"Let my servant John E. Page take his departure *speedily* from the city of Boston, and go directly to the city of Washington, and there labor diligently in proclaiming my gospel to the inhabitants thereof; and if he is humble and faithful, lo! I will be with him, and will give him the hearts of the people that he may do them good, and build up a church unto my name in that city."

Now, brother Page, if you wish to follow counsel, and do the will of the Lord, as we believe you desire to do, call the church at Boston together, *without delay*, and read this letter to them, calling upon them to assist you<sup>131</sup> on<sup>132</sup> your mission, and go thy way speedily unto the place which is appointed unto you by the voice of the Lord, and build up a church in the city

<sup>126.</sup> Source: Based on NMCDB, 89-90 (WR) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.5). Cf. NCRc, Bx 5, fd 21.

<sup>127.</sup> Source: "Nauvoo Lyceum," NN 1 (29 Nov. 1843): [122].

<sup>128.</sup> Source: First and third paragraphs of this entry from JSj [1843-44], 175 (WR) (APR, 428), with the content of JS's address in first and second paragraphs from WWj, vol. 4, 25 Nov. 1843 (WWj 2:328), as edited in RDft 7:80 (TB). Cf. NSB, 45-46 (LH); NHCM, Book 4, 20-21 (NHCM [2005], 127; NCHCM, 478-80); JScSup, fd 14, 81-86.

<sup>129.</sup> Source: G. B. Wallace et al., Boston, MA, to JS, Nauvoo, IL, 30 Oct. 1843, JSLR, Bx 3, fd 5, 33-36 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.6).

<sup>130.</sup> Source: Retained copy of letter in BYOF, Bx 16, fd 1, item 3. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>131.</sup> MS letter, 1:"them <you>"

<sup>132.</sup> Book E-1, 1780: replaces "on" with "in"

of Washington, for it is expedient and absolutely necessary that we have a foothold in that popular city. Let your words be soft unto the people, but full of the spirit and power of the Holy Ghost. Do not challenge the sects for debate, but treat them as brethren and friends, and the God of heaven will bless you, and we will bless you in the name of the Lord Jesus, and the people will rise up and bless you, and call you a sweet messenger of peace. You will pardon us for giving you such counsel, for we feel to do it in the name of the Lord.

When you have built up<sup>133</sup> a church at Washington, so as to warrant the expense, it will be wisdom for you to send, or take your wife to Washington, so says President Joseph.

All things go on smoothly here; as to the reports circulated while we were in Boston, there is nothing of them. Brother Joseph has commenced living in his new house, and enjoys himself well. He has raised a sign entitled "Nauvoo Mansion," and has all the best company in the city. Many strangers from abroad call on him, feeling perfect liberty so to do, since he has made his house public, and it is exerting a blessed influence on the public mind.

The Temple has been progressing rapidly until the recent frosts. The walls are now above the windows of the first story, and some of the circular windows are partly laid. The brethren of the Twelve have all arrived home, are tolerably well, and their families, except sister Hyde, who has been very sick, and is yet, though at last report rather better. No prospect of any of the Twelve leaving home this winter, that we know of. Elder Snow has arrived with his company from Boston, &c.<sup>134</sup>, generally in good spirits.

The devil howls some—may be you will hear him as far as Boston, for there cannot a blackleg be guilty of any crime in Nauvoo, but somebody will lay it to the servants of God. We shall give the substance of this communication to your wife, same mail.

We remain, your brother in the new and everlasting 135 covenant, in behalf of the Quorum,

BRIGHAM YOUNG, President.

W. RICHARDS, Clerk.

<sup>136</sup>Sunday, 26.—I met with Hyrum, the Twelve, **Phelps**, and others, in council with Col[onel]. Frierson at the Mansion, concerning petitioning Congress for redress of grievances; <sup>137</sup>read to him the affidavits of Hyrum Smith, B[righam]. Young, P[arley]. P. Pratt, Lyman Wight, George W. Pitkin and Sidney Rigdon, taken before the municipal court on habeas corpus; and conversed with him thereon.

At 11 a.m., Elder O[rson]. Pratt preached in the Assembly Room.

In the evening, Elder P[arley]. P. Pratt lectured in the Mansion. Rainy, muddy day.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup>Monday, 27.—Wet day. Being quite unwell, I stayed at home.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup>Tuesday, 28.—At home. Col[onel]. Frierson wrote a memorial to Congress. Cooler.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup>Wednesday, 29.—At home. Clear and cold. Col[onel]. Frierson left for home, taking with him a copy of the Memorial, to get signers in Quincy. I here insert a copy of the

<sup>133.</sup> DHC 6:82: omits "up"

<sup>134.</sup> DHC 6:83: omits "&c."

<sup>135.</sup> Book E-1, 1781: "E<verlasting>" (prob. LH)

<sup>136.</sup> Source: Except for last part of first paragraph ("read ... thereon"), this day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 176

<sup>(</sup>WR) (APR, 428), with light editing, elaboration, and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>137.</sup> Source: Remainder of paragraph from WWj, vol. 4, 26 Nov. 1843 (WWj 2:328).

<sup>138.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 179 (WR) (APR, 428), with light editing and change to first person.

<sup>139.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 180 (WR) (APR, 428). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>140.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 181 (WR) (APR, 429).

#### <sup>141</sup>MEMORIAL.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representative of the United States, in Congress assembled:—
The memorial of the undersigned inhabitants of Hancock county, in the State of Illinois, respectfully showeth:

That they belong to the society of Latter Day Saints, commonly called Mormons, that a portion of our people commenced settling in Jackson county, Missouri, in the summer of 1831, where they purchased lands and settled upon them with the intention and expectation of becoming permanent citizens in common with others.

From a very early period after the settlement began, a very unfriendly feeling was manifested by the neighboring people, and as the society increased, this unfriendly spirit also increased until it degenerated into a cruel and unrelenting persecution, and the society was at last compelled to leave the county. An account of these unprovoked persecutions has been published to the world, yet we deem it not improper to embody a few of the most prominent items in the memorial, and lay them before your honorable body.

On the 20th of July, 1833, a mob collected at Independence, a deputation or committee from which called upon a few members of our church there, and stated to them that the store, printing office, and all mechanic shops belonging to our people must be closed forthwith, and the society leave the county immediately.

These conditions were so unexpected and so hard, that a short time was asked for, to consider on the subject before an answer could be given, which was refused; and when some of our men answered that they could not consent to comply with such propositions, the work of destruction commenced.

The printing office, a valuable two-story brick building, was destroyed by the mob, and with it much valuable property; they next went to the store for the same purpose, but one of the owners thereof, agreeing to close it, they abandoned their design.

A series of outrages was then commenced by the mob upon individual members of our society: Bishop Partridge was dragged from his house and family, where he was first partially stripped of his clothes, and then tarred and feathered from head to foot. Mr. Charles Allen was also tarred at the same time.

Three days afterwards the mob assembled in great numbers, bearing a red flag, and proclaiming that, unless the society would leave "en masse," every man of them should be killed. Being in a defenseless situation, to avoid a general massacre, a treaty was entered into and ratified, by which it was agreed that one-half of the society should leave the county by the first of January, and the remainder by the first of April following.

In October, while our people were gathering their crops and otherwise preparing to fulfil their part of the treaty, the mob again collected without any provocation, shot at some of our people, whipped others, threw down their houses, and committed many other depredations; the members of the society were for some time harassed, both day and night, their houses assailed and broken open, and their women and children insulted and abused.

The store-house of A. S. Gilbert & Company was broken open, ransacked, and some of the goods strewed in the streets. These repeated assaults so aroused the indignant feelings of our people that a small party thereof on one occasion, when wantonly abused, resisted the mob, a conflict ensued, in which one of our people, and some two or three of their assailants were killed.

<sup>141.</sup> *Source*: *MRP*, 565-68. Referred to as the "Scroll Petition", because it is fifty feet long and rolls up like a scroll. Following the four-page Memorial are the signatures of 3,419 people, beginning with Joseph Smith, Mayor, Hyrum Smith and Brigham Young, Counselors, and other city officials.

<sup>142.</sup> MRP, 565: replaces "Mr. Charles" with "A man by the name of"

This unfortunate event<sup>143</sup> raised the whole county in arms<sup>144</sup>, and we were required forthwith to surrender our arms and leave the county. Fifty-one guns were given up, which have never been returned, or paid for to this day.

Parties of the mob, from 30 to 70 in number, then scoured the county in every direction, threatening and abusing women and children, until they were forced first to take shelter in the woods and prairies at a very inclement season of the year, and finally to make their escape to Clay county, where the people permitted them to take refuge for a time.

After the society had left Jackson county, their buildings, amounting to about two hundred, were either burned or otherwise destroyed, with a great portion of their crops, as well as furniture, stock, &c., for which they have not as yet received any remuneration.

The society remained in Clay county nearly three years, when in compliance with the demands of the citizens there, it was determined to remove to that section of country, known afterwards as Caldwell county.

In order to secure our people from molestation, the members of the society bought out most of the former inhabitants of what is now Caldwell county, and also entered much of the wild land, then belonging to the United States in that section of country, fondly hoping that as we were American citizens, obeying the laws, and assisting to support the government, we would be protected in the use of homes which we had honestly purchased from the general government, and fully paid for.

Here we were permitted to enjoy peace for a season; but as our society increased in numbers, and settlements were made in Daviess and Carrol counties, unfounded jealousies sprang up among our neighbors, and the spirit of the mob was soon manifested again. The people of our church who had located themselves at De Witt, were compelled by the mob to leave the place, notwithstanding the militia were called out for their protection.

From De Witt the mob went to Daviess county, and while on their way took some of our people prisoners, and greatly abused and mistreated them. Our people had been driven by force from Jackson county; they had been compelled to leave Clay county, and sell their lands there, for which they have never been paid; they had finally settled in Caldwell county, where they had purchased and paid for nearly all the government land within its limits, in order to secure homes where they could live and worship in peace, but even here they were soon followed by the mob.

The society remained in Caldwell from 1836 until the fall of 1838, and during that time had acquired by purchase from the government, the settlers and preemptioners, almost 145 all the lands in the county of Caldwell, and a portion of those in Daviess and Carrol counties.

Those counties, when our people first commenced their settlements, were for the most part wild and uncultivated, and they had converted them into large and well improved farms, well stocked. Lands had risen in value from 10 to 25 dollars per acre, and those counties were rapidly advancing in cultivation and wealth.

In August, 1838, a riot commenced growing out of the attempt of a member of the society to vote, which resulted in creating great excitement and many scenes of lawless outrage. A large mob, under the conduct of Cornelius Gilliam, came into the vicinity of Far West, drove off our stock, and abused our people. Another party came into Caldwell county, took away our horses and cattle, burnt our houses, and ordered the inhabitants to leave their homes immediately.

By order of Brigadier-Gen[eral]. Doniphan and Col[onel]. Hinkle, a company of about sixty men, under the command of David W. Patten<sup>146</sup>, went to disperse this mob. A conflict

<sup>143.</sup> MRP, 566: replaces "event" with "affair"

<sup>144.</sup> MRP, 566: replaces "arms" with "guns"

<sup>145.</sup> Book E-1, 1783: "<almost>" (prob. RLC)

<sup>146.</sup> In MRP, 567, and Book E-1, 1783, "under the command ... Patten" appears at end of sentence, but Book

ensued, in which Captain Patten and two of his men were killed, and others wounded. A mob party from two to three hundred in number, many of whom are supposed to have come from Chariton, <sup>147</sup>fell on our people, and notwithstanding they begged for quarters, shot down and killed eighteen, as they would so many wild beasts.

They were finally compelled to fly<sup>148</sup> from those counties; and on the 11th of<sup>149</sup> October, 1838, they sought safety by that means, with their families, leaving many of their effects behind; that they had previously applied to the constituted authorities of Missouri for protection, but in vain.

The society were pursued by the mob, conflicts ensued, deaths occurred on each side, and finally a force was organized under the authority of the Governor of the State of Missouri with orders to drive us from the State, *or exterminate us*.

Abandoned and attacked by those to whom we had looked for *protection*, we determined to make no further resistance, but submit to the authorities of the State and yield to our fate, however hard it might be. Several members of the society were arrested and imprisoned on a charge of treason against the State, and the rest, amounting to above 14,000 souls, fled into the other States, principally into Illinois, where they now reside.

Your memorialists would further state, that they have heretofore petitioned your honorable body, praying redress for the injuries set forth in this memorial; but the committee to whom our petition was referred, reported, in substance, that the general government had no power in the case, and that we must look for relief to the courts and the legislature of Missouri.

In reply your memorialists would beg leave to state, that they have repeatedly appealed to the authorities of Missouri in vain, that though they are American citizens, at all times ready to obey the laws and support the institutions of the country, none of us would dare enter Missouri, for any such purpose, or for any purposes whatever.

Our property was seized by the mob or lawlessly confiscated by the State, and we were forced at the point of the bayonet to sign deeds of trust relinquishing our property, but the exterminating order of the Governor of Missouri is still in force, and we dare not return to claim our just rights; the widows and orphans of those slain, who could legally sign no deeds of trust, dare not return to claim the inheritance left them by their murdered parents.

It is true the Constitution of the United States gives to us in common with all other native or adopted citizens, the right to enter and settle in Missouri, but an executive order has been issued to exterminate us if we enter the State, and a part of the Constitution becomes a nullity, so far as we are concerned.

Had any foreign State or power committed a similar outrage upon us, we cannot for a moment doubt that the strong arm of the general government would have been stretched out to redress our wrongs, and we flatter ourselves that the same power will either redress our grievances or shield us from harm in our efforts to regain our lost property, which we fairly purchased from the general government.

Finally, your memorialists pray your honorable body to take their wrongs into consideration, receive testimony in the case, and grant such relief as by the Constitution and laws you may have power to give.

And your memorialists will ever pray, &c. 150

Nauvoo, Illinois, November 28th 1843.<sup>151</sup>

E-1 includes a guideline indicating a move to this location.

147. DHC 6:86: adds "county"

148. DHC 6:86: "flee"

149. DHC 6:86: omits "of"

150. DHC 6:88: omits "&c."

151. This line appears only in MRP, 568.

 $^{152}$ Eleven copies were also made for circulation and signature  $^{153}$ , by Thomas Bullock, one of my clerks.

<sup>154</sup>(The opinion of J[osiah]. Lamborn and J[ames]. N. McDougall, attorney general of V[ermon]t. <sup>155</sup> arrived in [Illinois state auditor W. L. D.] Ewing's Letter [of] No[vember] 30[th].) <sup>156</sup>

#### [DN 7 (8 April 1857): 33-34]

<sup>157</sup>Four p.m., a meeting of the citizens in the <sup>158</sup> Assembly Room, <sup>159</sup>when Brigham Young was chosen chairman of the meeting, and Willard Richards, clerk.

The object of the meeting was briefly explained by the clerk; followed by Judge Phelps, which was to petition Congress for redress of grievances in relation to the 160 Missouri persecutions.

Voted that the chairman appoint a committee to get the names of memorialists in this city.

The chairman appointed the assessors and collectors in their several wards.

Voted that the same committee collect means to purchase paper: Pres[iden]t. 161 S[idney]. Rigdon 162go to La Harpe, and 163 Elder H[eber]. C. Kimball to Ramus, to procure signers. 164

The chairman appointed<sup>165</sup> committees <sup>166</sup> to visit<sup>167</sup> other places.

Joseph Smith<sup>168</sup>, the mayor, made some remarks; and his <sup>169</sup>Appeal to the Green Mountain Boys was read by W[illiam]. W. Phelps, as follows<sup>170</sup>:—

<sup>171</sup>I was born in Sharon, Vermont, in 1805, where the first quarter of my life grew with the growth, and strengthened with the strength of that "first-born" State of the "United

<sup>152.</sup> Source: Probably a detail added by TB, who was the scribe for this portion of the RDft (7:80). Also, a partial MS copy of the 29 Nov. 1843 scroll petition by US, known as the "[John] Frierson copy", includes the following file notation on verso in TB's hand: "Petition to Congress for redress | Novr. 1843 | Eleven copies made per | Thomas Bullock" (UC).

<sup>153.</sup> DHC 6:88: "signatures"

<sup>154.</sup> Source: From unused portion of JSj [1843-44], 181 (WR) (APR, 429).

<sup>155.</sup> Josiah Lamborn, from Pennsylvania, was attorney general of Illinois, 1840-43, and James A. McDougal, from Albany, NY, served in the same office, 1843-46.

<sup>156.</sup> For the content of these letters, see below in this chapter.

<sup>157.</sup> Source: "Minutes of a Meeting in the assembly room to Petition Congress for redress of gr[i]evances in Missouri," 29 Nov. and 4 Dec. 1843, located in UC, and recorded on three pages of a folded sheet. Concerning the first meeting, JSj [1843-44], 181, reads: "4 P.M. A meeting of citizens at the assembly room to appoint committee to get subscribers to the memorial [to Congress] &c. Joseph present." See continuation of this meeting under 4 Dec. 1843 (DHC 6:99; chap. 5), which is recorded on the same sheet (p. [3]).

<sup>158.</sup> MS Minutes, [1]: "citizens of Nauvoo was called at The Mayors"

<sup>159.</sup> DHC 6:88: adds "[over President Smith's store]"

<sup>160.</sup> MS Minutes, [1] (pencil): "<the>"

<sup>161.</sup> MS Minutes, [1] (pencil): "\Prest./"

<sup>162.</sup> DHC 6:88: adds "to"

<sup>163.</sup> MS Minutes, [1] (pencil): omit "and"; Book E-1, 1785: "\and/" (prob. RLC)

<sup>164.</sup> MS Minutes, [1] (pencil): "<to> Ramus, <to procure signers.>"

<sup>165.</sup> MS Minutes, [1] (pencil): "\The/ chairman agreed to furnish <appointed>"

<sup>166.</sup> Book E-1, 1785: adds erasure

<sup>167.</sup> MS Minutes, [1] (pencil): "for all \to visit/"

<sup>168.</sup> MS Minutes, [1] (pencil): "\Joseph Smith/"

<sup>169.</sup> MS Minutes, [1]: add "address"

<sup>170.</sup> MS Minutes, [1] (pencil): "\as follows from voice of Truth/"

<sup>171.</sup> Source: Probably from "An Appeal to the Freemen of the State of Vermont, the 'Brave Green Mountain Boys,' and Honest Men," in VOT, 15-20.

Thirteen". From the old "French War" to the final consummation of American Independence, my fathers, heart to heart, and shoulder to shoulder, with the noble fathers of our liberty, fought and bled; and, with the most of that venerable band of patriots, they have gone to rest, bequeathing a glorious country, with all her inherent rights to millions of posterity. Like other honest citizens, I not only (when manhood came) sought my own peace, prosperity, and happiness, but also the peace, prosperity, and happiness of my friends; and, with all the rights and realm before me, and the revelations of Jesus Christ, to guide me into all truth, I had good reason<sup>172</sup> to enter into the blessings and privileges of an American citizen; the rights of a Green Mountain Boy, unmolested, and enjoy life and religion according to the most virtuous and enlightened customs, rules and etiquette of the nineteenth century. But to the disgrace of the United States, it is not so. These rights and privileges, together with a large amount of property, have been wrested from me, and thousands of my friends, by lawless mobs in Missouri, supported by executive authority; and the crime of plundering our property; and the unconstitutional and barbarous act of our expulsion; and even the inhumanity of murdering men, women, and children, have received the pass-word of "justifiable" by legislative enactments, and the horrid deeds, doleful and disgraceful as they are, have been paid for by government.

In vain have we sought for redress of grievances and a restoration to our rights in the courts and legislature of Missouri. In vain have we sought for our rights and the remuneration for our property in the halls of Congress, and at the hands of the President. The only consolation yet experienced from these highest tribunals, and mercy-seats of our bleeding country, is ["]that our cause is just, but the government has no power to redress us."

Our arms were forcibly taken from us by those Missouri marauders; and in spite of every effort to have them returned, the State of Missouri still retains them; and the United States militia law, with this fact before the government, still compels us to military duty, and for a lack of said arms the *law forces us to pay fines*; as Shakespeare would say, "thereby hangs a tale."

Several hundred thousand dollars' worth of land in Missouri, was purchased at the United States' Land Offices in that district of country; and the money without doubt, has been appropriated to strengthen the army and navy, or increase the power and glory of the nation in some other way; and notwithstanding Missouri has robbed and mobbed me and twelve or fifteen thousand innocent inhabitants, murdered hundreds, and expelled the residue, at the point of the bayonet, without law, contrary to the express language of the Constitution of the United States, and every State in the Union; and contrary to the custom and usage of civilized nations, and especially one holding up the motto, "The asylum of the oppressed"; yet the comfort we receive, to raise our wounded bodies, and invigorate our troubled spirits, on account of such immense sacrifices of life, property, patience, and right; and as an equivalent for the enormous taxes we are compelled to pay to support these functionaries in a dignified manner, after we have petitioned and plead 173 with tears, and been showed like a caravan of foreign animals, for the peculiar gratification of connoisseurs in humanity, that flare along in public life, like lamps upon lamp-posts, because they are better calculated for the schemes of the night than for the scenes of the day, is, as President Van Buren said, your cause is just, but government has no power to redress you!

No wonder, after the Pharisee's prayer, the publican smote his breast and said, "Lord, be merciful to me a sinner!["] What must the manacled nations think of freemen's rights in the land of liberty?

<sup>172.</sup> DHC 6:89: "reasons"

<sup>173.</sup> DHC 6:89: "pleaded"

<sup>174</sup>Were I a Chaldean I would exclaim: Keed nauh ta-meroon le-hoam elauhayauh dey-shemayauh veh aur'kau lau gnaubadoo, yabadoo ma-ar'gnau oomeen tehoat shemayauh allah. (Thus shall ye say unto them: The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, they shall perish from the earth, and from under these heavens.)

An Egyptian, Su-e-eh-ni; (What other persons are those?) A Grecian, Diabolos bassileuei: (The Devil reigns.) A Frenchman, Messieurs sans Dieu; (Gentlemen without God.) A Turk, Ain shems: (The fountain of light.) A German, Sie sind unferstandig; (What consummate ignorance!) A Syrian, Zaubok; (Sacrifice!) A Spaniard, Il sabio muda conscio, il nescio no; (A wise man reflects, a fool does not.) A Samaritan, Saunau! (O stranger!) An Italian, Oh tempa! Oh diffidanza! (O the times! O the difference!) A Hebrew, Ahtaugh ail raney; (Thou, God, seest me.) A Dane, Hvad tidende! (What tidings!) A Saxon, Hwæt riht; (What right!) A Swede, Hvad skilia, (What skill.) A Polander, Nav-yen-shoo bah pon na Jesu Christus; (Blessed be the name of Jesus Christ.) A Western Indian, She-mo-kah she-mo-keh the ough-ne-gah; (The white man, O the white man, he very uncertain.) A Roman, Procul, O procul este profani! (Be off, be off, ye profane!) But as I am I will only add, when the wicked rule, the people mourn.

Now, therefore, having failed in every attempt to obtain satisfaction at the tribunals, where all men seek for it, according to the rules of right; I am compelled to appeal to the honor and patriotism of my native State, to the clemency and valor of "Green Mountain Boys"; for throughout the various periods of the world, whenever a nation, kingdom, state, family or individual has received an insult, or an injury, from a superior force, (unless satisfaction was made) it has been the custom to call in the aid of friends to assist in obtaining redress. For proof we have only to refer to the recovery of Lot and his effects, by Abraham in the days of Sodom and Gomorrah; or, to turn to the relief afforded by France and Holland, for the achievement of the Independence of these United States; without bringing up the great bulk of historical facts, rules, laws, decrees, and treaties, and bible records, by which nations have been governed, to show that mutual alliance, for the general benefit of mankind to retaliate and repel foreign aggressions; to punish and prevent home wrongs, when the conservators of justice and the laws have failed to afford a remedy, are not only common and in the highest sense justifiable and wise, but they are also proper expedients to promote the enjoyment of equal rights, the pursuit of happiness, the preservation of life, and the benefit of posterity.

With all these facts before me, and a pure desire to ameliorate the condition of the poor and unfortunate among men, and if possible to entice all men from evil to good; and with firm reliance that God will reward the just, I have been stimulated to call upon my native State for a "union of all honest men"; and to appeal to the valor of the "Green Mountain Boys" by all honorable methods and means to assist me in obtaining justice from Missouri; not only for the property she has stolen and confiscated, the murders she has committed among my friends, and for our expulsion from the State, but also to humble and chastise, or abase her for the disgrace she has brought upon constitutional liberty, until she atones for her sins.

I appeal also to the fraternity of brethren, who are bound by kindred ties, to assist a brother in distress, in all cases where it can be done according to the rules of order, to extend the boon of benevolence and protection, in avenging the Lord of his enemies, as if a Solomon, a Hiram, a St. John, or a Washington raised his hands before a wondering world, and exclaimed, "My life for his!" Light, liberty and virtue forever!

I bring this appeal before my native State for the solemn reason that an injury has been done, and crimes have been committed, which a sovereign State, of the Federal compact, one of the great family of "E pluribus unum," refuses to compensate, by consent of parties, rules

<sup>174.</sup> Next two paragraphs omitted in DHC 6:90.

of law, customs of nations, or in any other way: I bring it also, because the national government has fallen short of affording the necessary relief as before stated *for want of power*, leaving a large body of her own free citizens, whose wealth went freely into her treasury for lands, and whose gold and silver for taxes, still fills the pockets of her dignitaries, "in ermine and lace," defrauded, robbed, mobbed<sup>175</sup>, plundered, ravished, driven, exiled and banished from the "independent republic of Missouri!"

And in the appeal let me say, raise your towers, pile your monuments to the skies, build your steam frigates; spread yourselves far and wide, and open the iron eyes of your bulwarks by sea and land; and let the towering church steeples, marshal the country like the "dreadful splendor" of an army with bayonets; but remember the flood of Noah, remember the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah; remember the dispersion and confusion at the tower of Babel; remember the destruction of Pharaoh and his hosts; remember the handwriting upon the wall, "Mene, mene, tekel upharsin"; remember the angel's visit to Sennacherib and the one hundred and eighty-five thousand Assyrians; remember the end of the Jews and Jerusalem; and remember the Lord Almighty will avenge the blood of his Saints that now crimsons the skirts of Missouri! Shall wisdom cry aloud, and her speech not 176 be heard?

Has the majesty of American liberty sunk into such vile servitude and oppression, that justice has fled? Has<sup>177</sup> the glory and influence of a Washington, an Adams, a Jefferson, a Lafayette, and a host of others, forever departed; and the wrath of a Cain, a Judas, and a Nero whirled forth in the heraldry of hell, to sprinkle our garments with blood; and lighten the darkness of midnight, with the blaze of our dwellings? Where is the patriotism of '76? Where is the virtue of our forefathers? and where is the sacred honor of freemen?

Must we, because we believe in the fullness of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the administration of angels, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, like the prophets and apostles of old,—must we be mobbed with impunity, be exiled from our habitations and property without remedy, murdered without mercy, and government find the weapons, and pay the vagabonds for doing the jobs, and give them the plunder into the bargain? Must we, because we believe in enjoying the constitutional privilege and right of worshiping Almighty God according to the dictates of our own consciences; and because we believe in repentance, and baptism for the remission of sins; the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands; the resurrection of the dead; the millennium; the day of judgment; and the Book of Mormon as the history of the aborigines of this continent,—must we be expelled from the institutions of our country, the rights of citizenship, and the graves of our friends and brethren, and the government lock the gate of humanity, and shut the door of redress against us? If so, farewell, freedom; adieu to personal safety; and let the red hot wrath of an offended God purify the nation of such sinks of corruption? For that realm is hurrying to ruin where vice has the power to expel virtue.

My father, who stood several times in the battles of the American Revolution, till his companions in arms had been shot dead at his feet, was forced from his home in Far West, Missouri, by those civilized or satanized savages, in the dreary season of winter, to seek a shelter in another State; and the vicissitudes and sufferings consequent to his flight brought his honored grey head to the grave, a few months after. And my youngest brother also, in the vigor and bloom of youth, from his great exposure and fatigue in endeavoring to assist his parents on their journey, (I and my brother Hyrum being in chains, in dungeons, in Missouri 178, where they tried to feed us with

<sup>175.</sup> DHC 6:91: omits "mobbed"

<sup>176.</sup> VOT, 18: "and not her speech"; Book E-1, 1788 (pencil): "not her speech \not/" (US)

<sup>177.</sup> DHC 6:91: replaces "has" with "have"

<sup>178.</sup> VOT, 19: omits "in Missouri"; Book E-1, 1788: "<in Missouri>" (LH)

human flesh) <sup>179</sup>was likewise so debilitated that he found a premature grave shortly after my father, and my mother too, though she yet lingers among us, from her extreme exposure in that dreadful tragedy, was filled with rheumatic affections and other diseases, which leaves <sup>180</sup> her no enjoyment of health. She is sinking in grief and pain, broken-hearted, from Missouri persecution.

O death! wilt thou not give to every honest man a heated dart to sting those wretches while they pollute the land? and O grave! wilt thou not open the trap door to the pit of ungodly men, that they may stumble in?

I appeal to the "Green Mountain Boys" of my native State, to rise in the majesty of virtuous freemen, and by all honorable means help bring Missouri to the bar of justice. If there is one whisper from the spirit of an Ethan<sup>181</sup> Allen, or a gleam from the shade of a Gen[eral]. Stark, let it mingle with our sense of honor, and fire our bosoms for the cause of suffering innocence, for the reputation of our disgraced country, and for the glory of God; and may all the earth bear me witness, if Missouri, blood-stained Missouri, escapes the due demerit<sup>182</sup> of her crimes, the vengeance she so justly deserves, that Vermont is a hypocrite, *a coward*, and this nation the hotbed of political demagogues!

I make this appeal to the sons of liberty of my native State, for help to frustrate the wicked designs of sinful men; I make it to hush the violence of mobs: I make it to cope with the unhallowed influence of wicked men in high places: I make it to resent the insult and injury made to an innocent, unoffending people, by a lawless ruffian State: I make it to obtain justice where law is put at defiance; I make it to wipe off the stain of blood from our nation's escutcheon: I make it to show presidents, governors, and rulers, prudence; I make it to fill honorable men with discretion: I make it to teach senators wisdom; I make it to learn 183 judges justice; I make it to point clergymen to the path of virtue; and I make it to turn the hearts of this nation to the truth and realities of pure and undefiled religion, that they may escape the perdition of ungodly men; and Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is my Great Counselor.

Wherefore, let the rich and the learned, the wise and the noble, the poor and the needy, the bond and the free, both black and white, take heed to their ways, and cleave<sup>184</sup> to the knowledge of God; and execute justice and judgment upon the earth in righteousness; and prepare to meet the judge of the quick and the dead, for the hour of his coming is nigh.

And I must go on as the herald of grace,

Till the wide-spreading conflict is over,

And burst through the curtains of tyrannic night.

Yes, I must go on to gather our race,

Till the high blazing flame of Jehovah,

Illumines the globe as a triumph of right.

As a friend of equal rights to all men, and a messenger of the everlasting gospel of Jesus Christ, I have the honor to be,

Your devoted servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

Nauvoo, Ill., December, 1843. 185

<sup>179.</sup> VOT, 19: adds "in Missouri"; Book E-1, 1788: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>180.</sup> DHC 6:92: "leave"

<sup>181.</sup> DHC 6:92: "Ethen"

<sup>182.</sup> DHC 6:92: "merit"

<sup>183.</sup> DHC 6:93: replaces "learn" with "teach"

<sup>184.</sup> DHC 6:93: "and a leave"

<sup>185.</sup> Dateline omitted in MSHiJS, but appears in VOT, 20.

<sup>186</sup>S[idney]. Rigdon spoke.

<sup>187</sup>P[arley]. P. Pratt confessed he was wrong in one thing in Missouri, that is, he left alive, and left them alive, and asked forgiveness and promised never to do so again.

<sup>188</sup>P[arley]. P. Pratt offered to deliver the President's appeal to the "Green Mountain Boys" to all the large towns in New York, if he could have a copy.

The President offered a copy, and it was voted that Elder Pratt shall have this mission granted him, and voted<sup>189</sup> in addition that he go to all the towns in Vermont.

The chairman <sup>190</sup>spoke.

The Mayor <sup>191</sup>spoke: said he rose to make a<sup>192</sup> confession, that he used all his influence to prevent the brethren from fighting when mobbed in Missouri: if I did wrong, I will not do so any more; <sup>193</sup> it was a suggestion of the head; he would never do so again; but when the mobs come upon you, kill them, I never will restrain you again, but will go and help you.

 $[...]^{194}$ 

The Chairman <sup>195</sup>spoke again, acknowledged his wrong, said he would never put his hand on brother Hosea Stout's shoulder again to hold him back when he was abused.

John Taylor spoke of Missouri, said he would never submit to such treatment again.

Mayor <sup>196</sup>spoke again: if I do not stand with those who will stand by me in the hour of trouble and danger, without faltering, I give you leave to shoot me.

 $[...]^{197}$ 

Mayor read a letter in 198 reply to one he wrote to Henry Clay.

P[arley]. P. Pratt stated that the history of the persecution was put into the hand of H[enry]. Clay. Motioned<sup>199</sup> by Joseph Smith<sup>200</sup> that every man in the meeting who could wield a pen, write an address to his mother country; <sup>201</sup>carried.

Mayor read the Memorial to Congress. The State rights doctrines are 202 what feed 203 mobs; they

<sup>186.</sup> *Source*: Continuation of "Minutes of a Meeting in the assembly room to Petition Congress for redress of gr[i]evances in Missouri," 29 Nov. and 4 Dec. 1843, located in UC. Minutes of meeting to organize getting signatures for scroll petition continue to end of entry for 29 Nov. 1843.

<sup>187.</sup> In MS Minutes, [1], this paragraph inserted at *eoln* ("P. P. Pratt ... thing") and interlinearly ("in Missouri ... again").

<sup>188.</sup> MS Minutes, [1]: add "voted"

<sup>189.</sup> MS Minutes, [1]: "<voted>"

<sup>190.</sup> DHC 6:94: adds "[Brigham Young]"

<sup>191.</sup> DHC 6:94: adds "[President Smith]"

<sup>192.</sup> MS Minutes, [2] (pencil): "<a>"

<sup>193.</sup> MS Minutes, [2]: omit "I will not ... more"; Book E-1, 1790: "<I will not ... more,>" (TB)

<sup>194.</sup> MS Minutes, [2]: add "W W Phelps spoke, when any of the missourians are sick I call upon you help melay hands on you to heal them. W Richards said he would help"; cancellation in pencil.

<sup>195.</sup> DHC 6:94: adds "[Brigham Young]"

<sup>196.</sup> DHC 6:94: adds "[President Smith]"

<sup>197.</sup> MS Minutes, [2]: add "E. Robinson. there is not a man woman or child. from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. who is a freeman."; cancellation in pencil.

<sup>198.</sup> Book E-1, 1790: "<letter in>" (JG)

<sup>199.</sup> DHC 6:95:"Moved"

<sup>200.</sup> MS Minutes, [2]: omit "by Joseph Smith"; Book E-1, 1790: "<br/>by Joseph Smith>" (LH)

<sup>201.</sup> MS Minutes, [2]: add "by J. Smith" and a guideline moving it to follow "Motioned"; Book E-1, 1790: adds ellipses over erasure of about three words

<sup>202.</sup> MS Minutes, [2] (pencil): "doctrine\s/\are/"; "are" w.o. "is"

<sup>203.</sup> MS Minutes, [2]: "feeds"

are a dead carcass<sup>204</sup>, a stink, and they shall ascend up as a stink offering in the nose of the Almighty<sup>205</sup>.

They shall be oppressed as they have oppressed us, not by Mormons, but by others in power; they shall drink a drink offering, the bitterest dregs—not from the Mormons, but from a meaner source than themselves. God shall curse them.

Adjourned till next Monday evening, early candle-light.

<sup>206</sup>[November 30.]<sup>207</sup> **At home.** At 10 a.m. rode out with Mr. Jackson. At home most of the<sup>208</sup> day. The "Appeal to the Green Mountain Boys" sent to press.

In the evening sent to the office for the appeal to the Green Mountain boys, but a part of it had gone to press and it could not be had.

Clear and cold. Severe frost, so that the<sup>209</sup> ice is on the water in the house<sup>210</sup>.

W. L. D. Ewing writes<sup>211</sup> to Major John Bills:

<sup>212</sup>The foregoing opinions constitute my reason for refusing to issue the warrants in your favor. I am not satisfied myself entirely, of the correctness of the opinions of the Att[orne]ys.-General<sup>213</sup>. If you should be dissatisfied with the decision, I would advise you to raise the question before the supreme court, which will be in session on the 2nd Monday of December. I am the more anxious that this should be done, because I wish to be satisfied whether I was correct or not in issuing warrants to you in the spring. Be pleased to advise me on the subject.

Respectfully,

W. L. D. EWING, Auditor.

Enclosing the opinion of the Attorney-General Josiah Lamborn as follows:—

<sup>214</sup>Springfield, Illinois, Nov. 30, 1843.

I have examined the claim of J. C. Bennett, as brigade-inspector of the Nauvoo Legion, and it is my opinion that the claim should be disallowed.

The Legislature, in giving authority, for the organization of a body of "independent military men" at Nauvoo, intended, no doubt that all expenses, &c., except "their proportion of public arms," should be defrayed by the city and its privileged Legion.

They occupy a novel position, disconnected from the military communities, of the whole State, and in no way subject to the regular military officers, possessing an exemption, even from subjection to the general military laws, with a law-making power invested in their own Legion. It is not reasonable to suppose that the Legislature would confer so many exclusive favors, and yet pay those who profit by this condition of things, as much as is paid to regular militia officers.

<sup>204.</sup> MS Minutes, [2]: "<a dead carcass>"

<sup>205.</sup> MS Minutes, [2]: add "<del>so long as a ♦♦♦e</del>"

<sup>206.</sup> Source: Following four paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 182 (WR) (APR, 429), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>207.</sup> Bracketed date this editor's.

<sup>208.</sup> DHC 6:95: replaces "of the" with "all"

<sup>209.</sup> Book E-1, 1791: omits "the"

<sup>210.</sup> Book E-1, 1791: "houses"

<sup>211.</sup> Book E-1, 1791 (darker ink): "{\writes/}" (RLC)

<sup>212.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSHD, Bx 2 (TB).

<sup>213.</sup> DHC 6:95: "Attorney-General"

<sup>214.</sup> Source: NN 1 (13 Dec. 1843): [129]. Cf. MS copy in JSHD Bx 2 (TB).

In the absence of any express provision by law to authorize the payment of the claim, I can see nothing from which an authority of the kind could be derived, and therefore advise accordingly.

J. LAMBORN, Att[orne]y.-General.

And copy of letter from J. N. McDougall to Gen[eral]. W. L. D. Ewing:—

<sup>215</sup>Springfield, Illinois, Nov. 30, 1843.

Gen[era]l. W. L. D. Ewing, Auditor, &c .: —

I have examined the claim of John Bills, brigade-major of the Nauvoo Legion, for services under the 53 sec[tion]. of the militia law, and have arrived at the conclusion that the Nauvoo Legion are not to be considered, as a part of the regular militia of this State, and that the general law has no further application to them than is expressly provided for in the law authorizing their organization. The law providing for the organization of the Legion, making no provision for the payment of its officers by the State. It is my opinion that the above claim ought not to be audited.

The Legion was organized by the city council, is subject to their control for the purpose of enforcing their ordinances—it is entirely independent of the general military law, may have a different organization, make laws for its own government, and seems evidently designed to sustain the municipal authorities of Nauvoo. If there are expenses to be paid, the municipality of which they form a very important element must meet them. I am with great respect, Your obedient servant,

J. N.<sup>216</sup> MCDOUGALL.

<sup>217</sup>Mr. Ewing reported to Major Bills that the returns made out (for Mr. Bills) and sent to the State Department, were the best reports <sup>218</sup>by any brigade-major in the State, and did him great credit: the refusal to pay him for his services is a mere pretext.

As the Nauvoo Charter requires that the Nauvoo Legion shall perform the same amount of duty as is now or may hereafter be required of the regular militia of the State, and shall be at the disposal of the Governor for the public defense and the execution of the laws of the State, and be entitled to their proportion of the State arms, and were it not for the prejudice against us on account of our religion—his claim would have been paid without a word of complaint.

<sup>219</sup>T[homas] Bullock commenced service as a Clerk in my office by copying memorials to Congress for redress of our grievances in Missouri.

<sup>215.</sup> Source: NN 1 (13 Dec. 1843): [129]. Cf. MS copy in JSHD, Bx 2 (TB).

<sup>216.</sup> NN 1:[129]: "I. N." Should be "J[ames]. A[lexander]. McDougall," attorney-general of the state of Illinois, 1843-46.

<sup>217.</sup> *Source*: Following two paragraphs probably the commentary of the compilers. It appears in TB's handwriting in RDft 7:81, with insertions and deletions, followed by penciled note: "ex[amine]d GAS & TB".

<sup>218.</sup> Book E-1, 1792: adds "made"

<sup>219.</sup> This paragraph added interlinearly by TB in Book E-1, 1792, but then canceled, probably because it had previously been stated above (under 29 Nov.) that "Eleven copies [of the Memorial] were also made for circulation and signature[s] by Thomas Bullock, one of my clerks" (cf. DHC 6:88).

# APPEALS TO GENERAL GOVERNMENT FOR PROTECTION

## December 1843

### [DN 7 (8 April 1857): 33-34 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>Friday, December<sup>2</sup> 1 [1843].—At home. In the evening walking out, and administering to the sick.<sup>3</sup>

At noon Dr. [Willard] Richards called on me to get a petition to Congress for an appropriation to improve the rapids, but  $\Pi^4$  standing in the bar room said it was not written.

<sup>5</sup>I continue to receive letters from elders in the different States, giving news of the progress of the work.

#### Howard Corey started for Bear Creek to get subscribers.

Clear and cold day, some ice floating in the river.

<sup>6</sup>Saturday 2.—Prayer-meeting from 1 to 6<sup>7</sup> p.m., in the Assembly Room, over the Store: O[rson]. Hyde, P[arley]. P. Pratt, W[ilford]. Woodruff, Geo[rge]. A. Smith, and O[rson]. Spencer received their endowments and further instructions in the Priesthood<sup>8</sup>; and A[lpheus]. Cutler and [Reynolds] Cahoon were all present at the meeting; about 35 persons present. Adjourned to 10 next morning.

<sup>10</sup>A conference was held at Alexander in Genesee county, N[ew]. York; 10 branches, containing 44 elders and 206 members, were represented; 2 high priests, 1 seventy, 21 elders and 1 deacon present.

<sup>1.</sup> Source: First, second, fourth, and fifth paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 183 (WR) (APR, 429), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>2.</sup> Book E-1, 1792: "\December/" (JG)

<sup>3.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 183: omits preceding sentence. Source: Undetermined.

<sup>4.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 183: "the Pres[ident]"

<sup>5.</sup> Source: Possibly based on letters reporting the growth of Mormonism in New York and Pennsylvania published in T&S 5 (1 Jan. 1844): 387-88.

<sup>6.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 184 (WR) (APR, 429). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>7.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 184: "6" overwrites "5"

<sup>8.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 184: replaces "received their endowments ... Priesthood" with "<were anointed preparatory>". WW recorded: "P P. Pratt Orson Hyde W Woodruff G A Smith & O Spencer all of us received our Anointing preparatory for further Blessings from 1 oclk to 6 PM" (WWj, vol. 4, 2 Dec. 1843; WWj 2:329).

<sup>9.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 184, has blank space for first name.

<sup>10.</sup> Source: Based on "Minutes of the general conference, held December 2d 1843," T&S 5 (1 Jan. 1844): 396-97.

<sup>11</sup>Sunday, 3.—I arrived at the Assembly Room about noon, found all present, except Hyrum and his wife; he had slipped and turned his knee joint in<sup>12</sup> backward<sup>13</sup>, and sprained the his large muscle, <sup>14</sup>and I had been ministering unto him: and Emma had been unwell during the night. After the meeting was organized, W[illiam]. W. Phelps read my "Appeal to the Green Mountain boys," which was dedicated by prayer after all had spoken upon it; we also prayed for Nathan Pratt, who was very sick, Hyrum and others. <sup>15</sup> I afterwards instructed them in the things of the priesthood. <sup>16</sup>

# <sup>17</sup>J[oseph]. was reading my [William Clayton] letter.

<sup>18</sup>Monday, 4.—At 6 in the evening I attended the adjourned meeting of citizens in the Assembly Room, which was crammed<sup>19</sup> with a select congregation; many could not get admission: there were two Missourians present.

I<sup>20</sup> made some observations at the opening of the meeting, <sup>21</sup>requested them<sup>22</sup> to be calm and cool, but let the spirit of '76 burn in their bosoms, and when occasion requires, say little, but act, and when the mob comes, mow a hole through them.

My ["]appeal to the Green Mountain boys["] was read by W. W. Phelps.

Elder Parley P. Pratt read his ["]appeal to the State of New York.["]

<sup>23</sup>My clerk W[illard]. Richards read the memorial to Congress, when the assembly unanimously<sup>24</sup> voted their approbation of the memorial; when I spoke two-and-a-half hours, relating many circumstances which transpired in Missouri, not mentioned in the memorial.

<sup>25</sup>I have already had thirty-eight vexatious lawsuits, and have paid Missouri \$150,000 for land. <sup>26</sup>

- 11. Source: JSj [1843-44], 185 (WR) (APR, 429-30).
- 12. DHC 6:98: omits "in"
- 13. Book E-1, 1792: "backwards"
- 14. DHC 6:98: adds "of his leg"
- 15. WW recorded: "President Hiram Smith injured his leg by a fall. I was quite unwell. We were both prayed for. I received a blessing" (WWj, vol. 4, 2 Dec. 1843; WWj 2:329).
- 16. Preceding sentence not in JSj [1843-44], 185, but probably based on WWj, vol. 4, 2 Dec. 1843 (*WWj* 2:329), which reads: "The latter part of the day was taken up by instructions from President Smith & remarks from others."
- 17. Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 3 Dec. 1843 (*IC*, 123; DMQP, 14). Concerning the circumstances of his writing the letter, WC recorded on the previous day: "A.M. at the Temple Office. Bro [Alpheus] Cutler called me aside & gave me to understand that [Reynolds] Cahoon was fully bent on having revenge on my head. ... I know of [no] cause except it be because I have opposed his dishonesty & told him of it. I now realise my situation more sensibly than I ever did in my life. I might have the privilege of being received into the quorum of anointing but Cahoon has got there and through private pique he is resolved to deprive me of that privilege that added to Emmas determination to be revenged sink my mind & fills me with agony, but I yet believe that innocence will finally triumph & I shall be prospered ... I wrote a long letter to J. on the subject" (WCj, 2 Dec. 1843, DMQP, 14).
- 18. Source: First, third, fourth, and part of fifth paragraphs based on JSj [1843-44], 186 (WR) (APR, 430), with light editing and rearrangement. Second, part of fifth, and sixth paragraphs from "Minutes of a Meeting in the assembly room to Petition Congress for redress of gr[i]evances in Missouri," 29 Nov. and 4 Dec. 1843, 3, located in UC. Cf. report of this meeting in NN 1 (6 Dec. 1843): [126] (WJS, 259-60). For 29 Nov. 1843 meeting, see DHC 6:88-95 (chap. 4).
  - 19. DHC 6:99: replaces "crammed" with "crowded"
  - 20. MS Minutes, [3]: replace "I" with "The mayor"
  - 21. MS Minutes, [3]: add "stating the object & its origin"
  - 22. MS Minutes, [3]: replace "them" with "the assembly"
- 23. First part of paragraph ("My clerk ... Congress") from JSj and MS Minutes; second part ("when the assembly ... memorial") from MS Minutes; third part ("when I ... hours") from JSj; and fourth part ("relating ... memorial") from MS Minutes.
  - 24. Book E-1, 1792: "<unanimously>" (JG)
- 25. This paragraph based on following from MS Minutes, [3]: "vexatious Lawsuits 38 time[s] out of my own pocket[.] Paid Missouri \$150.000 for land Borrowed \$500 gold of Judge Young at Washington."
  - 26. Cf. JS's 4 June 1839 bill of damages, which totaled \$100,000, in DHC 3:368-73 (chap. 24).

I borrowed \$500 of Judge Young in Washington, to pay the expense<sup>27</sup> of the party that accompanied me, and had to borrow of others.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>29</sup>Daniel Avery and his son were kidnapped from the neighborhood of Warsaw, by a company of Missourians, assisted by some Anti-Mormons of this county, and carried into Missouri.

<sup>30</sup>Tuesday, 5.—Mrs. Avery arrived from Bear Creek Precinct and made report her husband and son had been kidnapped by the Missourians.

Six p.m., met the Twelve, also Phelps, Clayton and Turley, in council in the office on important business.

Advised the Twelve to raise money to send to Elder Hyde, who is east, for him to get paper to print the Doctrine and Covenants, and get new type and metal for stereotyping the same.

<sup>31</sup>Evening Pres[iden]t J[oseph] sent for me [William Clayton]. He returned my letter and said I had no need to be troubled, the only reason why I was not admitted into the quorum [of the anointed] was because there is not convenience, and none were admitted only for particular purpose by Revelation. He said he had asked [Reynolds] Cahoon about me a few days ago and Cahoon said I was true blue. We walked together to Turley's and after[wards] met the twelve in council on the subject of [the] E[verlasting Covenant?]<sup>32</sup> on an extensive scale. The Twelve agreed to take hold and assist in earnest.

<sup>33</sup>Wednesday, 6.—At home, and took the following affidavit:—

On the sixth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-three, came Dellmore<sup>35</sup> Chapman before me, Joseph Smith, mayor of said city, and after being duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that on the nineteenth day of November, 1843, a man named Richardson came to one of his neighbors, living in Bear Creek precinct, in the county of Hancock, named Philander Avery, and enticed him to the Mississippi at Warsaw by false pretenses, and from thence by a company he was <sup>36</sup>forced over the river, and taken to Monticello Jail; and that on the second day of December, some of the same party and others came to the aforesaid Bear Creek and kidnapped Daniel Avery, the father of the aforesaid Philander Avery,

<sup>27.</sup> Book E-1, 1793, DHC 6:99: "expenses"

<sup>28.</sup> Cf. repayment of this loan in JSLB 2:242, 244-45 (DHC 5:266-67; chap. 14).

<sup>29.</sup> Source: Probably based on Daniel Avery's affidavit (cf. DHC 6:145-48; chap. 6).

<sup>30.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs closely follow JSj [1843-44], 187 (WR) (APR, 430). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>31.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 5 Dec. 1843 (DMQP, 14).

<sup>32.</sup> At this point, WCj has an illegible character that both D. Michael Quinn (DMQP, 15) and Andrew Ehat (Tanner and Tanner 1982, 27-28) inserted by hand into their typescripts. The character, which appears in four entries (5, 6, 7 and 8 Dec. 1843) and looks similar to a capital E, does not appear to be shorthand. For 5 Dec. entry, George D. Smith (*IC*, 123-24) transcribed it "E[verlasting Covenant?]", while in the entries for 7 and 8 Dec. he used empty brackets without explanation. It may be WC's own cipher and may have more than one meaning.

<sup>33.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1843-44], 188 (WR) (APR, 430), which includes the following summary of Chapman's affidavit: "Dellmore Chapman made affidavit that Philander Avery was decoyed from Bear Creek on 19 Nov[ember] <br/>by one Richardson &> by the Missourians. run over the Missouri River & lodged in Monticello gail [jail] & his father Daniel Avery was taken by some of the same and some 30 citizens on the 2d Dec[ember] for the same purpose & served the same way. Affidavit to be sent the Gov[ernor]."

<sup>34.</sup> Source: MS copy in UC, without appended letter of JS to Thomas Ford (TB).

<sup>35.</sup> DHC 6:100: "Delmore"

<sup>36.</sup> MS affidavit, 1 (pencil): adds "(as is reported)"

and by force of arms hurried him also across the said Mississippi river into the State of Missouri, to aforesaid jail at Monticello, Lewis county, where your said affiant verily believes they are both now incarcerated illegally and inhumanly in prison, and further report says that some of them are to come to Nauvoo next, to kidnap Nelson Turner and further your affiant saith not.

DELLMORE<sup>37</sup> CHAPMAN.<sup>38</sup>

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 6th day of December, 1843.

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor.

Upon which I wrote to "His Excellency Thomas Ford.["]

<sup>39</sup>Nauvoo, Dec[ember]. 6, 1843. <sup>40</sup>

Sir:—The enclosed affidavit is forwarded to your Excellency for instructions to know what shall be done in the premises. I shall act according to the best of my judgment constitutionally, till I receive your instructions, and in the meantime shall forward, as soon as they can be had, all the facts relative to the case, as a suitable person will go immediately to the place, and get the necessary affidavits. Send your instructions by the bearer.

Respectfully,

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SMITH, Lieut[enant].-Gen[eral]. of N[auvoo]. L[egion].

P.S. Shall any portion of the Legion be called out?

N.B.An express has just reached me that Governor Reynolds will make another demand for me. I rely on the honor of Illinois, for no writ can legally issue against me. I have suffered from their insatiable thirst for my blood long enough, and want the peace of my family to remain undisturbed.

<sup>41</sup>Wednesday, 6.—Esq[uire]. Goodwin and others, not members of the church<sup>42</sup>, petitioned the Governor not to help Missouri persecute the Saints.

<sup>43</sup>A.M. at President Joseph's. Went to see Q[uorum?] for E[verlasting Covenant?]<sup>44</sup> and was well pleased with it.

<sup>45</sup>Thursday, 7.—**At home.** At 11 a.m., a meeting of the <sup>46</sup> citizens of Nauvoo was held, the minutes of which I <sup>47</sup>extract from the *Neighbor*, as follows <sup>48</sup>:—

<sup>37.</sup> DHC 6:100: "DELMORE"

<sup>38.</sup> Book E-1, 1793, has Chapman's name after certification and a guideline indicating a move to this location.

<sup>39.</sup> Source: MS copy in UC (TB).

<sup>40.</sup> Book E-1, 1793: "<Nauvoo Decr. 6th, 1843.>" (RLC)

<sup>41.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 188 (WR) (APR, 430).

<sup>42.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 188: "<not of the church>"

<sup>43.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 6 Dec. 1843 (IC, 123).

<sup>44.</sup> This entry has two characters that resemble Q and E, which George D. Smith (*IC*, 123) deciphered as "Q[uorum?] for E[verlasting Covenant?]." See discussion above under 5 Dec. 1843.

<sup>45.</sup> Source: [Sj [1843-44], 189 (WR) (APR, 430). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>46.</sup> Book E-1, 1794: "<a meeting of the>" (RLC)

<sup>47.</sup> Book E-1, 1794: "assembled on the East side of the Temple organized by electing Alpheus Cutler President, W. Richards Secretary, and adopted the following <was held the minutes of which I>" (RLC)

<sup>48.</sup> In Book E-1, 1794, the words "extract from the Neighbor as follows" were added interlinearly in pencil but erased and then inserted at *eoln* by RLC.

<sup>49</sup>At a meeting of the citizens of Nauvoo, held near the Temple, on the 7th day of December, 1843, Alpheus Cutler was called to the chair, and Willard Richards appointed secretary<sup>50</sup>, whereupon, after the object of the meeting was stated, a committee of three, namely, W. W. Phelps, Reynolds Cahoon and Hosea Stout, were appointed to draft a preamble and resolutions, expressive of the sentiments of the people of the city of Nauvoo, relative to the repeated unlawful demands by the State of Missouri for the body of General Joseph Smith, as well as the common cruel practice of kidnapping citizens of Illinois, and forcing them across the Mississippi river, and then incarcerating them in the dungeons or prisons in<sup>51</sup> Missouri; and after a few minutes' absence they returned with the following:—

Whereas the State of Missouri, with the Governor at the head, continues to make demands upon the executive of Illinois for the body of General Joseph Smith, as we verily believe, to keep up a system of persecution against the Church of Latter Day Saints: for the purpose of justifying the said State of Missouri in her diabolical, unheard of, cruel and unconstitutional warfare against said Church of Latter Day Saints, and which she has practiced during the last twelve years, whereby many have been murdered, mobbed, and ravished, and the whole community expelled from the State.

And also to heave dust in the eyes of the nation and the world, while she, as a State, with the government to back her, continues to slip over the river to<sup>52</sup> steal the property of the Latter Day Saints, and kidnap the members of said church to glut the<sup>53</sup> vengeance, malice, revenge and avarice: and to make slaves of the said captives, or murder them; Therefore,

Resolved unanimously, as we do know that Joseph Smith is not guilty of any charge made against him by the said State of Missouri, but is a good, industrious, well-meaning, and worthy citizen of Illinois, and an officer that does faithfully and impartially administer the laws of the State, that we, as citizens of Illinois crave the protection of the constitution<sup>54</sup> and laws of the country as an aegis to shield him, the said General Joseph Smith, from such cruel persecutions, beseeching the Governor of Illinois not to issue any more writs against the said General Joseph Smith, or other Latter Day Saints (unless they are guilty,) but to let the Latter Day Saints "breathe awhile like other men," and enjoy the liberty guaranteed to every honest citizen by the magna charta of our common country.

Resolved, That as citizens of the State of Illinois, we solicit the attention of the Governor and officers generally of the State, to take some lawful means and measures to regain the citizens that have been kidnapped by the Missourians, and to prevent the said Missourians and government from committing further violence upon the citizens of Illinois.

Resolved, as the sense of this meeting, that, according to the true meaning of <sup>55</sup>law, that <sup>56</sup> those citizens of any section of country, who do not rise up as virtuous freemen, (when any portion of inhabitants congregate or combine to injure, slander or deprive another portion of their rights,) and magnify the law, to clear themselves from such unhallowed attempts to subvert order

<sup>49.</sup> *Source*: "Public Meeting," *NN* 1 (13 Dec. 1843): [129]. According to Christi Best, there is a "MS copy by TB" (SRMH).

<sup>50.</sup> Book E-1, 1794: "<Alpheus Cutler ... Secretary>" (RLC)

<sup>51.</sup> DHC 6:101: replaces "in" with "of"

<sup>52.</sup> NN 1:[129]: replaces "to" with "and"

<sup>53.</sup> DHC 6:102: replaces "the" with "her"

<sup>54.</sup> NN 1:[129], Book E-1, 1794: "constitutions"

<sup>55.</sup> DHC 6:102: adds "the"

<sup>56.</sup> DHC 6:102: omits "that"

and law, that they by their silence make themselves accessories of the crime of such unlawful assemblage, or outrageous individuals.

Resolved, unanimously, That we solicit the Governor, by all honorable means, to grant us peace, for we will have it.

ALPHEUS CUTLER, Chairman.

WILLARD RICHARDS, Secretary.

<sup>57</sup>In the afternoon Lucien Woodworth started with the papers to the Governor, also<sup>58</sup> the petition from Goodwin and others, and Dellmore<sup>59</sup> Chapman's affidavit.

The German brethren met at the Assembly Room at 6 p.m., and chose<sup>60</sup> Bishop Daniel Carn<sup>61</sup> as their presiding elder, and organized to have preaching in their native language.

Joseph at home 8 eve[ning], having visited Bro[ther] Turley and found him destitute of food. Clear and cold. 10[:]00.

<sup>62</sup>Directed copies of my Appeal to the various authorities of Vermont and the United States.

<sup>63</sup>Friday, 8.—**At home.** At 11 a.m., I went to my office and gave instructions to my clerk for the drawing of a draft of a dam on the Mississippi river **and other ordinances**, and directed that the city council be called at four this afternoon to make preparations for any invasion from Missouri.

Willard Richards and Philip B. Lewis made an affidavit **concerning kidnapping by Missourians**, which I insert:—

 $\begin{pmatrix}
64 \text{State of Illinois,} \\
\text{City of Nauvoo,}
\end{pmatrix}$  ss.

On the 8th day of December, 1843, came Willard Richards and Philip B. Lewis before me, Joseph Smith, mayor of said city, and after being duly sworn, depose and say, that they have been informed that two men have been kidnapped recently by the Missourians, in connection with some of the lawless inhabitants of the county of Hancock, and that rumors are now afloat, that it is the intention of said lawless persons in connection with the aforesaid Missourians to kidnap some of the citizens of this city, and further your affiants would state that they are of opinion to prevent difficulties of such a vexatious nature, that something should be done to secure<sup>65</sup> the peace of this city from being disturbed, and further your affiants say not.

WILLARD RICHARDS, PHILIP B. LEWIS.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 8th day of December, 1843.

W. W. PHELPS, Clerk.

<sup>57.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 189 (WR) (APR, 430-31), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>58.</sup> DHC 6:102: replaces "also" with "and"

<sup>59.</sup> DHC 6:102: "Delmore"

<sup>60.</sup> Book E-1, 1795, DHC 6:103: "choose"

<sup>61.</sup> DHC 6:103: "Garn"

<sup>62.</sup> Source: Based on WWj, vol. 4, 7 Dec. 1843 (WWj 2:330).

<sup>63.</sup> *Source*: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 190 (WR) (*APR*, 431), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type. Cf. NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 23-25 (WR) (*NCHCM*, 187-88); NCCP, 193 (TB).

<sup>64.</sup> Source: Original in UC.

<sup>65.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: "prevent <secure>"

Whereupon I issued the following notification:—

 $\begin{array}{c}
 66 \text{State of Illinois,} \\
 \text{City of Nauvoo.}
\end{array}$  [ss.] [ss.] [ss.]

To the Marshal of said city: greeting:—

Whereas complaint has been made to me upon oath, that some persons have been kidnapped by 68 the Missourians, in connection with some of the lawless inhabitants of Hancock county, and that threats have been made that some of the citizens of Nauvoo, will be kidnapped or arrested, and forcibly carried away from said city 69 without being allowed the benefit of the 70 writ of habeas corpus, according to the ordinance in such case made and provided, you will therefore take the necessary measures to have the rights 71 of the citizens of this city held sacred, and the ordinances of said city duly carried into full force and effect: To which end should you 72 judge that the peace and safety of the city require it, you are further notified to call for a suitable portion of the Nauvoo Legion to be in complete readiness to compel obedience to the ordinances of the said city.

Given under my hand and seal<sup>73</sup> this 8th day of December, 1843.

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor, (L.S.)<sup>74</sup>

<sup>75</sup>W. W. PHELPS, Clerk, M[unicipal]. C[ourt].

In consequence thereof I received from the City Marshal:—

<sup>76</sup>City of Nauvoo, December 8, 1843.

Sir:—Your order to have the ordinances<sup>77</sup> of this city fully carried into effect <sup>78</sup>will be duly attended to, but in order so to do, it will be necessary for you as mayor of the city to issue orders to Major General Wilson<sup>79</sup> Law, for a suitable portion of the Nauvoo Legion to be in readiness to *compel obedience* to said ordinances if necessary.

Respectfully, &c.,

H[ENRY]. G. SHERWOOD, City Marshal.

To<sup>80</sup> Joseph Smith, mayor.

And I issued

<sup>66.</sup> Source: MS copy in UC (WWP).

<sup>67.</sup> DHC 6:103: adds "ss."

<sup>68.</sup> MS original: "{\by/}"

<sup>69.</sup> MS original: "<away from said city>"

<sup>70.</sup> MS original: "{\the/}"

<sup>71.</sup> MS original: "{\ri/}ghts"; "{ord}[inances?]"

<sup>72.</sup> MS original: "{\shou/}ld <you>"

<sup>73.</sup> MS original (different ink): "<and Seal>"

<sup>74.</sup> MS original (different ink): "\[L.S.]/"; DHC 6:104: omits "(L.S.)"

<sup>75.</sup> MS original (pencil): adds "By"

<sup>76.</sup> Source: Original in UC (WWP; signed by Sherwood). Folder also contains copy by TB that incorporates emendations.

<sup>77.</sup> Original letter, 1: "ordinance"; TB copy, 1: "ordinances"

<sup>78.</sup> Original letter, 1: adds "to"

<sup>79.</sup> Book E-1, 1796: "W\ilson/" (US)

<sup>80.</sup> Original letter, 1: omits "To"; TB copy: adds "To"

```
81 Headquarters Nauvoo Legion,
City of Nauvoo, December 8, 1843.
```

<sup>82</sup>The marshal of this city having made a demand of me, for a suitable portion of the Nauvoo Legion to protect the rights of the citizens, and carry the ordinances of said city into full effect, you are hereby directed and required to hold in readiness such portions of the said<sup>83</sup> Nauvoo Legion, which you have the honor to command, as may be necessary to compel obedience to the ordinances of said city, and secure the peace of the citizens, and call them out, if occasion require, without further notice.

With due regard, I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SMITH, Lieut[enant].-Gen[eral]. N[auvoo]. L[egion].

Major-Gen[eral]. Wilson Law, Commanding Nauvoo Legion.

<sup>84</sup>Four p.m., attended city council which passed "An extra ordinance for the extra case of Joseph Smith and others."

<sup>85</sup>Whereas Joseph Smith has been three times arrested and three times<sup>86</sup> acquitted upon writs founded upon supposed crimes or charges preferred by the State of Missouri; which acquittals were made from investigations upon writs of habeas corpus; namely, one in the United States court for the district of Illinois; one in the circuit court of the State <sup>87</sup>of Illinois; and one in the municipal court of Nauvoo;

And whereas a *nolle prosequi* has once been entered in the courts of Missouri upon all the cases of Missouri against Joseph [Smith] and others.

And whereas there appears to be a determined resolution by the State of Missouri, to continue these unjust, illegal, and murderous demands for the body of General Joseph Smith.

And whereas it has become intolerable to be thus continually harassed and robbed of our money to defray the expenses of these prosecutions.

And whereas, according to the constitution of Illinois, "all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain inherent and indefeasible rights; among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, and of acquiring, possessing and protecting property and reputation, and of <sup>88</sup> pursuing their own happiness."

And whereas it is our bounden duty by all common means, if possible, to put a stop to such vexatious lawsuits and save expense; Therefore—

Section 1. Be it ordained by the city council of the city of Nauvoo, according to the intent and meaning of the charter for the "benefit and convenience" of Nauvoo, that hereafter, if any person or persons shall come with process, demand or requisition, founded upon the aforesaid Missouri difficulties, to arrest said Joseph Smith, he or they so offending shall be subject to be arrested by

<sup>81.</sup> Source: JScSup, fd 9, 13-14 (WWP).

<sup>82.</sup> Book E-1, 1796: adds "Sir."

<sup>83.</sup> MS order, 1: "<said>"

<sup>84.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1843-44], 190 (WR) (APR, 431). Cf. NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 23 (WR) (NCHCM, 187-88); NCCP, 193 (TB).

<sup>85.</sup> Source: NN 1 (13 Dec. 1843): [129]. Cf. JScSup, fd 13, 21-22, 24-25.

<sup>86.</sup> Book E-1, 1796 (lighter ink): "<arrested and three times>" (prob. JG)

<sup>87.</sup> Book E-1, 1796: adds ellipses over erasure of about two words

<sup>88.</sup> DHC 6:105: omits "of"

any officer of the city, with or without process, and tried by the municipal court, upon testimony, and if found guilty sentenced to imprisonment in the city prison for life, which convict or convicts can only be pardoned by the Governor, with the consent of the mayor of said city.

Section 2. And be it further ordained, that the preceding section shall apply to the case of every and all persons, that may be arrested, demanded or required upon any charge founded in the aforesaid Missouri difficulties.

Section 3. And be it further ordained, that the jury that makes the presentment, in any case above specified, shall not, nor either of them, act as jurors on the final trial; but the trial shall be conducted according to the fifth and sixth articles of the amendment to the constitution of the United States.

Passed December 8, 1843.

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor.

WILLARD RICHARDS, Recorder.

#### [DN 7 (15 April 1857): 41-42]

<sup>89</sup>The city council also passed "An ordinance to erect a dam in the Mississippi river, and for other purposes."

<sup>90</sup>Section 1. Be it ordained by the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that Joseph Smith and his successors for the term of perpetual succession, are hereby authorized and empowered to erect a dam, of suitable height to propel mills and machinery, from any point within the limits of said city and below the Nauvoo House, and in a proper direction to reach the island this side of Montrose, but not to interfere with the main channel of the Mississippi river.

Section 2. And be it further ordained that the said Joseph Smith and his successors are further authorized to erect, north of the aforesaid island, a dam, pier, or breakwater to intersect the sandbar above.

Section 3. Be it further ordained that said Joseph Smith and his successors are also authorized and have full liberty to use the said dam and water for the purpose of propelling mills and machinery, and shall be governed in their rates of toll, and rules of manufactory by ordinance of said city.

Section 4. And be it further ordained that the said Joseph Smith and his successors, are further authorized and empowered to use the space within the limits of the said dam as a harbor or basin for steamboats and other water craft<sup>91</sup>, and for which purpose they may construct docks, wharves<sup>92</sup>, and landings, and receive such fees for wharfage, as may be regulated by ordinance of said city.

Section 5. And be it further ordained that said Joseph Smith and his successors, are further authorized to build an embankment on the east side of the aforesaid island, to connect the said dam with the pier on the north, and to use the top of said dam for a public road or highway, receiving for compensation from those who cross upon it, such rates as may be allowed by ordinance of said city.

Passed December 8, 1843.

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor.

WILLARD RICHARDS, Recorder.93

<sup>89.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 190 (WR) (APR, 431). Cf. NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 23-24 (WR) (NCHCM, 187-88); NCCP, 193 (TB).

<sup>90.</sup> Source: NN 1 (13 Dec. 1843): [129].

<sup>91.</sup> NN 1:[129]: "crafts"

<sup>92.</sup> DHC 6:106:"wharfs"

<sup>93.</sup> Book E-1, 1798, has several blank lines and a penciled note: "Plan to go in here" (pos. TB). A penciled note in RDft 7:83 instructs scribe to "leave room for the plan to go in history (½ page)" (TB). Evidently the LDS

<sup>94</sup>I suggested to the council the idea of petitioning Congress, to receive the city of Nauvoo, under the protection of the United States Government, to acknowledge the Nauvoo Legion as U.S. troops, and to assist in fortifications and other purposes, and that a messenger be sent to Congress for this purpose at the expense of the city.

<sup>95</sup>Messrs. John Taylor, Orson Spencer, and Orson Pratt were appointed a committee to draft a memorial according to my suggestions.

<sup>96</sup>[William Clayton] at the Temple Office and J[oseph]'s. P.M. with J[oseph]. E[verlasting Covenant?]<sup>97</sup>.

<sup>98</sup>Saturday, 9.—At home.

Prayer-meeting in the Assembly Room. W[illiam]. W. Phelps, L[evi]. Richards, [Cornelius P.] Lot[t], and Joseph Fielding [anointed]. 99

I copy from the Neighbor:—

<sup>100</sup>At a very large<sup>101</sup> meeting of the citizens of Nauvoo, held at the corner of Main and Water streets, <sup>102</sup>Mr. Heber C. Kimball was elected chairman, and J[ohn]. M. Bernhisel appointed secretary. Mr. George A. Smith, having made a few observations, Mr. John Taylor read the preamble and resolutions of a meeting held at the Temple, on the 7th instant, also an ordinance entitled "An extra ordinance for the extra case of Joseph Smith and others," recently passed by the city council of the city of Nauvoo: likewise the fifth and sixth articles of the amendments of the Constitution of the United States; and the opinion of the attorney-general of the State of Illinois on the subject of the organization of the Nauvoo Legion, he being of the opinion that said Legion was disconnected from the military communities of the whole State, and in no way subject to the regular military officers, possessing an exemption, even from subjection to the general military laws, with a law-making power vested in their own Legion.

After some pertinent remarks by Mr. Taylor, General Joseph Smith briefly addressed the meeting; he dissented entirely from the opinion of the attorney-general, and observed that it was stated in the charter that the Legion was a part of the militia of Illinois, and that his commission declared that he (General Smith) was the Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo Legion, and of the militia of the State of Illinois, and as such it was not only his duty to enforce the city ordinances, but the laws of the State when called on by the Governor. He also stated that

historians intended to provide a sketch of the dam's dimensions as described in the city council minutes, but this was never done. RLC was hired by Mayor JS to draft plans for the proposed dam using Alanson Ripley's surveys, which were completed in Apr. 1844 (Leonard 2002, 492, 741n128).

<sup>94.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1843-44], 190 (WR) (APR, 431), and NCCP, 193 (TB). Cf. NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 23-24 (WR) (NCHCM, 188).

<sup>95.</sup> Source: Based on NCCP, 193 (TB). Cf. NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 24 (WR) (NCHCM, 188).

<sup>96.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 8 Dec. 1843 (IC, 124; DMQP, 15).

<sup>97.</sup> WCj has illegible character, possibly "E". See discussion above under 5 Dec. 1843.

<sup>98.</sup> *Source*: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 191 (WR) (APR, 431), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>99.</sup> On this day, WW recorded: "We met in counsel at the store with the quorum. Elders W[illiam] W Phelps Levi Richards & C[ornelius P.] Lott met with us. <& received their Anointing>" (WWj, vol. 4, 9 Dec. 1843; WWj 2:331).

<sup>100.</sup> Source: NN 1 (20 Dec. 1843): [135].

<sup>101.</sup> NN 1:[135]: replaces "large" with "numerous"

<sup>102.</sup> NN 1:[135]: adds "on the 9th Dec. 1843"

he had been informed that the chief magistrate of Missouri had it in contemplation to make another requisition on the Governor of Illinois for him (Joseph Smith).

The meeting then adjourned sine die.

H. C. KIMBALL, Chairman.

J. M. BERNHISEL, Sec[retary].

Received the following:—

<sup>103</sup>Nauvoo Legion, Nauvoo City, Dec[ember]. 9, 1843.

Lieut[enant].-Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith:—

In consequence of the orders I received from you "to hold in readiness a sufficient portion of the Legion, &c." To make said forces efficient, it will be necessary to supply them with munitions of war, which of course must be done at the expense of the city, you will therefore please to give orders to the commandants of cohorts on their application to you<sup>104</sup> on the city treasury for whatever amount you may think proper on the present occasion.

Most respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILSON LAW, Major-Gen[eral]. N[auvoo]. L[egion].

<sup>105</sup>Sunday, 10.—**Warm and** rainy day. I stayed at home.

A prayer-meeting held this <sup>106</sup> evening in the Assembly Room: I was not present. Brigham Young presided; several sick persons were prayed for.

<sup>107</sup>By letter from J. White, <sup>108</sup> deputy sheriff of Clark county, Missouri, I learn that Mr. Daniel Avery is in Marion County prison, without trial. The sheriff requests several men to go there as witnesses, it is evidently a trap to get some more of our people into their power. When I was in prison in Missouri, my witnesses were arrested before they got into court to testify, except one, who was kicked out of the court by an officer, Lieut[enant]. Cook, who damned him, and ordered some of his company to shoot him. After which the State's Attorney Birch turned to me tauntingly, saying, "Why the hell don't you bring on your witnesses[?]" and Judge King laughed at my discomfiture. The Saints have had enough of Missouri mob justice. <sup>109</sup>

<sup>103.</sup> Source: Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 5, 17-18.

<sup>104.</sup> MS letter, 1: "<on their application to you>"

<sup>105.</sup> Source: Except last two sentences, following two paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 192 (WR) (APR, 431), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type. Last part based on WWj, vol. 3, 10 Dec. 1843 (WWj 2:331), which reads: "In the evening I met with the quorum. Br Joseph was not present. B Young was Called to the Chair who addressed the meeting in a vary feeling manner & interesting to our minds. He reasoned Clearly that we should follow our file leader & our savior in all his law & commandments without asking any questions why they were so. He was followed by P. P. Pratt & others who expressed their minds freely. Several sick were Prayed for."

<sup>106.</sup> Book E-1, 1799: "<held this>" (LH)

<sup>107.</sup> Source: This paragraph composed by LDS historians. In RDft 7:84, it appears heavily edited in TB's handwriting. It is based on J. White's letter (see below), the account given in MS History under Nov. 1838 (cf. DHC 3:210-11; chap. 14), and Hyrum Smith's affidavit, 1 July 1843 (cf. DHC 3:418-19; chap. 24; T&S 4:253).

<sup>108.</sup> Source: J. White, Waterloo, MO, to J. D. Hunter, Montrose, IA, 10 Dec. 1843, CHL (UC; transcription in vol. 8,VI.41). For WWP's response to the letter, see DHC 6:132-33 (chap. 6).

<sup>109.</sup> Cf. DHC 3:210-11 (chap. 14).

<sup>110</sup>Monday, 11.—At home. Wrote the Gov[ernor]. with Sission A. Chase's affidavit on kidnapping. The following affidavit will show that some of the citizens of Illinois are so far fallen, and so much governed by mobocratic influence as to assist the Missouri wretches in their hellish designs:—

```
111 State of Illinois, Hancock County, [ss.] [ss.]
```

On the 11th day of December, 1843, came Sisson A. Chase before me, Aaron Johnson, a justice of the peace of said county, and after being duly sworn deposeth and saith, that the crime of kidnapping has been committed in Hancock county, and on the 2nd day of this present Dec[ember]., 1843, at the house of Schrench<sup>113</sup> Freeman, about four miles and a half south of Warsaw, in said county; your said affiant heard a man by the name of John Elliot say that he was going a shooting turkeys. When asked what he was going to shoot them with, he showed a brace of pistols and a large hickory cane: your affiant observed that he thought he could not kill turkeys with such weapons, and the said Elliot said that there was a certain cock he meant to take before night, and they would do for that. He, the said Elliot, went off, and your affiant did not see him till Sunday evening the third, when your affiant asked the said Elliot if he had caught his turkey, and he replied, yes, the one he was after, a Mormon elder. Your affiant then asked him who he was, and he said Daniel Avery. Your affiant then asked the said Elliot what had been done with said Avery? and he said we put him<sup>114</sup> on to a horse, tied his legs and guarded him to the river, from whence about ten o'clock at night, we took him into Clark county, Missouri, for stealing a horse four 115 years ago, where they would try him, and if found guilty, they would then take him into another county, where there was a jail, as 116 there was none in Clark county. On the 4th day of December, I asked him if they had writs or authority to take Mr. Avery, he replied, we all had writs. On the 5th, 117 said Elliot said he expected to get into difficulty on account of this scrape; but if any Mormon makes any business with me, I will shoot him; and further your affiant says not.

SISSON A. CHASE.

Subscribed and sworn to this 11th day of December, 1843, before me.

AARON JOHNSON, J.P.

Which I sent to the Governor, with this letter:—

<sup>118</sup>Nauvoo, Dec[ember]. 11, 1843.

Sir:—I herewith forward your Excellency another affidavit on the subject of the late kidnapping, and shall continue <sup>119</sup>the same <sup>120</sup> as they come to hand, expecting your cordial

<sup>110.</sup> Source: Bolded text from unused portion of JSj [1843-44], 193 (WR) (APR, 431). Remainder of paragraph from "Kidnapping," NN 1 (20 Dec. 1843): [134].

<sup>111.</sup> Source: NN 1 (20 Dec. 1843): [134].

<sup>112.</sup> DHC 6:109: adds "ss."

<sup>113.</sup> NN 1:[134]: "Scherench"

<sup>114.</sup> NN 1:[134]: omits "him"

<sup>115.</sup> NN 1:[134]: replaces "four" with "three"; Book E-1, 1800: "<four>" (JG)

<sup>116.</sup> NN 1:[134]: replaces "as" with "and"; Book E-1, 1800: "a{\s/}" (US)

<sup>117.</sup> NN 1:[134]: adds "he the"

<sup>118.</sup> Source: Draft in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 6, 50-51 (WWP).

<sup>119.</sup> DHC 6:109: adds "[to do]"

<sup>120.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<the same>"

co-operation in the premises, that the laws may be magnified and made honorable, and our lives held precious, <sup>121</sup>our friends saved from jeopardy, and the "captives freed."

Respectfully, I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

His Ex[cellenc]y Thomas Ford Gov. [of] Illinois Springfield Ill. 122

<sup>123</sup>At a meeting of the citizens of the 3rd Ward according to previous notice at the corner of Parley and Warsaw Streets, the object of the meeting was briefly stated by Colonel Jonathan Dunham<sup>124</sup>. Wherefore Colonel Dunham<sup>125</sup> was called to the chair and Thomas Bullock<sup>126</sup> was appointed Sec[re]t[ar]y., when after the subject of the situation of the city was taken into consideration relative to the threatening, and hostile attitudes of Missouri and mobocratic disposition of some of the citizens of this state aiding and abetting the Missourians in their diabolical practices of kidnapping peaceable citizens of this state &c. And the necessary operation of a more sure and certain order of protecting the peace and safety of the citizens of Nauvoo.

Resolved—that it be the sense of the meeting that the city council take such measures as the case may require, and cause a company to be raised of 40 men rank and file, who shall act as police, and be continually in service, according to the direction of the Mayor. And said company to be governed by ordinance of the city council.

Resolved that Col[one]l. Jonathan Dunham<sup>127</sup> be appointed to present the proceedings of this meeting to the city council on Tuesday the 12 inst.

<sup>128</sup>Nauvoo city 11th Decr. <sup>129</sup> 1843. <sup>130</sup>Adjourned sine die.

Thomas Bullock, Secretary.

Meetings were held, and <sup>131</sup>resolutions passed, in all the wards of the city, requesting the city council to raise a company of 40 men, to act as police.

<sup>132</sup>Last night two ruffians, whose names are unknown, went to the house of brother Richard Badham, a farmer living on the prairie, robbed the house of \$4.50, threatened his life, stabbed him in the abdomen, when part of his caul gushed out. Dr. J[ohn]. M. Bernhisel dressed his wounds today, and he thinks there is a prospect of his recovering.

<sup>121.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "as well as"

<sup>122.</sup> Bolded text added here from MS letter, 1.

<sup>123.</sup> Following minutes, which do not appear in *DN* or DHC, were taken from canceled portion of Book E-1, 1800. *Source*: NCRc, Bx 2, fd 2 (CD #3, images 38-39) (US).

<sup>124.</sup> MS minutes, 1:"{\Colonel <Jonathan> Dunham/}" (TB)

<sup>125.</sup> MS minutes, 1:"{\Colonel Dunham/}" (TB)

<sup>126.</sup> MS minutes, 1: "{\and Thomas Bullock/}" (TB)

<sup>127.</sup> MS minutes, 1:"{\Col. Jonathan Dunham/}" (TB)

<sup>128.</sup> MS minutes, 1: adds "dated at"

<sup>129.</sup> MS minutes, 1: "this 11th day of Dec"

<sup>130.</sup> Remainder of MS minutes in TB's hand.

<sup>131.</sup> Book E-1, 1801: adds "similar"

<sup>132.</sup> Source: NN 1 (13 Dec. 1843): [130].

<sup>133</sup>Tuesday, 12.—**At home.** In office at 9 a.m., and wrote a letter to my uncle<sup>134</sup>:—

## <sup>135</sup>City of Nauvoo Decr. 12, 1843.

President John Smith:—The<sup>136</sup> petition of a special conference at Macedonia<sup>137</sup> of last November for your appointment as Patriarch in the Church<sup>138</sup> has been received, duly considered, and is granted. You have my best wishes in your behalf, as well as my prayers, that you may fill so honorable and exalted a station with the dignity, sobriety, and grace which has hitherto characterized your conduct and communion with men, as a man of God.

Respectfully yours,

JOSEPH SMITH. 139

## By W W Phelps Clerk 140

 $^{141}$ At 10 a.m., attended city council, which passed an ordinance exempting all Church  $^{142}$  property from city tax  $^{143}$ .

In accordance with the petitions from the several wards, the council passed the following:—"An<sup>144</sup> ordinance for selecting forty policemen and for other purposes."

<sup>145</sup>Section 1. Be it ordained by the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the mayor of said city be, and he<sup>146</sup> is hereby authorized, to select and have in readiness for every emergency, forty policemen, to be at his disposal in maintaining the peace and dignity of the citizens, and enforcing the ordinances of the said city; for ferreting out thieves and bringing them to justice, and to act as daily and nightly watchmen, and be under the pay of said city.

Passed December 12, 1843.

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor.

W. RICHARDS, Recorder.

The council also passed "An ordinance for the health and convenience of Travelers and other persons<sup>147</sup>."

<sup>133.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 194 (WR) (APR, 431). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>134.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 194, reads: "directed a letter to be written [to] uncle John Smith <granting the petition of the Macedon Branch—that uncle John be ordained Patriarch>"; insertion added at bottom of page with guideline showing present location.

<sup>135.</sup> Source: Draft in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 6, 52-53 (TB). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>136.</sup> MS letter, 1 (pencil): "Your < The>" (TB)

<sup>137.</sup> MS letter, 1 (pencil): "<of Macedonia>" (TB)

<sup>138.</sup> MS letter, 1 (pencil): "<for your appointment ... Church>" (TB)

<sup>139.</sup> JS's name added by WWP in MS letter, 1.

<sup>140.</sup> This line added by WWP in MS letter, 1, but canceled in pencil.

<sup>141.</sup> Source: This paragraph based on JSj [1843-44], 194 (WR) (APR, 431), and NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 24-25 (WR) (NCHCM, 188-90).

<sup>142.</sup> Book E-1, 1801: "<all Church>" (LH)

<sup>143.</sup> Book E-1, 1801: "belonging to the Temple from <City> Taxation for city purposes" (LH). The original wording is based on the following from NCCM: "Petition of W[illia]m Clayton in behalf of Temple committee praying exemption from taxation all property belonging to the Temple. which was and pe[ti]tion granted. & A[lderman]. O[rson]. Spencer instructed to write an amendment to the ordinance."

<sup>144.</sup> Book E-1, 1801: "\An/" (US)

<sup>145.</sup> Source: NN 1 (13 Dec. 1843): [130]. Cf. NCCP, 193 (TB).

<sup>146.</sup> DHC 6:110: omits "he"

<sup>147.</sup> Book E-1, 1801: inserts "\and other persons/" at eoln (prob. LH)

<sup>148</sup>Section 1. Be it ordained by the city council of the city of <sup>149</sup> Nauvoo, that the mayor of the city be, and is hereby authorized to sell, or give spirits, of any quantity, as <sup>150</sup> he in his wisdom shall judge to be for the health, and comfort or convenience of such travelers, or other persons, as shall visit his house from time to time.

Passed December 12, 1843.

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor.

WILLARD RICHARDS, Recorder.

<sup>151</sup>Wednesday, 13.—At home.

I insert an editorial from the *Neighbor*.—

### <sup>152</sup>PUBLIC MEETING.

It will be seen in another column that a public meeting was held in this place for the purpose of providing some remedy for the repeated aggressions of the State of Missouri, since which time an ordinance has been passed by the city council to carry into effect that object, and to prevent the citizens of this place from being any longer imposed upon by the continued illegal proceedings of the State and citizens of Missouri.

We think that it is high time that something should be done to screen ourselves from the continued aggressions of this 153 meddling, troublesome, bloodthirsty herd; and we know of no means that will be more efficient and lawful, than the one adopted.

We have done good for evil long enough, in all conscience, we think that we have ful-filled the scriptures every whit. They have smitten us on the one cheek, and we have turned the other, and they have smote<sup>154</sup> that also.

We have also fulfilled the law, and more than fulfilled it: and for sake of peace when we knew that we had violated no law, nor in anywise subjected ourselves to persecutions, we have endured the wrong patiently, without offering violence or in anywise injuring the heartless wretches who could be trusted with such a dishonorable document.

Those vagabonds have been suffered to prowl at large, and boast of their inglorious deeds, in our midst, and no man has injured them or said why do you so[?]

The time, however, is now gone by for this mode of proceeding, and those vagabonds must keep within their own borders, and let peaceable citizens alone or receive the due merit<sup>155</sup> of their crimes. We think that this ordinance passed by the city council is wise, judicious and well-timed, and is well calculated to protect peaceable citizens in their rights, and to prevent those lawless vagabonds from interfering with the rights of peaceable citizens.

To those unacquainted with our relationship to Missouri, and the accumulated wrongs, and repeated aggressions that we have received from the hands of that State, our language may appear harsh and ill timed; but those who are in possession of those facts know better. Their merciless, unrelenting, inhuman prosecutions and persecutions, from the time of our first settlement in that State until the present, have been wholly and entirely unprovoked, and without the shadow of law.

Joseph Smith has been suffered to be taken, time and again by them; we say suffered,

<sup>148.</sup> Source: NN 1 (13 Dec. 1843): [130]. Cf. NCR, Bx 1, fd 16.

<sup>149.</sup> DHC 6:111: omits "the city of"

<sup>150.</sup> Book E-1, 1801: "\as/" (prob. LH)

<sup>151.</sup> Source: [Sj [1843-44], 195 (WR) (APR, 431).

<sup>152.</sup> Source: NN 1 (13 Dec. 1843): [130].

<sup>153.</sup> DHC 6:111: replaces "this" with "the"

<sup>154.</sup> DHC 6:111: "smitten"

<sup>155.</sup> NN 1:[130]: "demerit"

because he could not be legally and constitutionally taken. Joseph Smith never committed the crimes of which he is charged: he is an innocent man.

But allowing their false, diabolical accusations to be true, what then?—Does it follow that he is continually to be followed for the same offense? verily no. The Constitution of the United States expressly says, "nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be *twice* put in jeopardy of life, or limb." And yet we find that the State of Missouri has put Joseph Smith in jeopardy no less than four, or five times. He was tried once by a military tribunal in Missouri, and sentenced to be shot. He was afterwards tried by a pretended civil (mobocratic) court, and since then he has been several times apprehended, tried, and acquitted for the same offense, in this State, by Missouri requisitions.

Is he still illegally and unconstitutionally to be held in abeyance by these miscreants[?] or shall we as freeborn American citizens assert our rights, put the law in force upon those lawless, prowling vagabonds, and say that he shall be free[?]

Shall we suffer our pockets to be picked through the influence of these scoundrels eternally, by defending ourselves against vexatious lawsuits[?] or shall we take a more summary way, and by a legal course punish the aggressors, proclaim our freedom, and shield ourselves under the broad folds of the Constitution[?] The latter is the course for us to pursue.

The ordinance passed by the city council will secure this object, and we are glad to find that the opinion of J. Lamborn, attorney general, and J. N. 156 McDougall, correspond so much with our own, "That the Nauvoo Legion is an independent military organization, and is by law expressly required to sustain the municipal laws of Nauvoo 157."

What are we to say about these kidnappers who infest our borders, and carry away our citizens? those infernals in human shape.

The whole European world has been engaged in a warfare against those who traffic in human blood. Negotiations have been made, treaties entered into, and fleets have been sent out through the combined efforts of the nations to put a stop to this inhuman traffic; but what would those nations think, if they were told the fact, that in America, Republican America, the boasted cradle of liberty, and land of freedom, that those dealers in human flesh and blood, Negro dealers and drivers, are allowed with impunity to steal white men, and those sons of liberty can obtain no redress.

Great God, has it come to this, that freeborn American citizens must be kidnapped by Negro drivers! What are our authorities doing? Why are not these wretches brought to justice? We have heard that one or two of the citizens of Illinois have been engaged in assisting these wretches. We shall try to find out who they are, and their whereabouts, and make them known, and then if they are not brought to condign punishment, we shall say that justice has fled from Illinois.

<sup>160</sup>Springfield, Dec[ember]. 12, 1843.

Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith:—

Sir:—I have received your favor of the 6th instant, together with the proceedings of a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup>Thursday, 14.—At home.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup>Philander Avery arrived in Nauvoo, having made his escape from his kidnappers in Missouri. I received the following milk-and-water letter from Governor Ford:—

<sup>156.</sup> NN 1:[130]: "I. N." Should be "J[ames]. A[lexander]"

<sup>157.</sup> In NN 1:[130], last part of preceding sentence reads: "and seems evidently designed to sustain the Municipal authorities of Nauvoo", which more accurately represents McDougall's words (cf. DHC 6:96; chap. 4).

<sup>158.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 196 (WR) (APR, 432).

<sup>159.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 195 (WR) (APR, 431-32), under 13 Dec. 1843.

<sup>160.</sup> Source: JSLR, Bx 3, fd 5, 13-16.

public meeting of the citizens of Nauvoo, on the subject of the late kidnapping by the people of Missouri and others, of two citizens of this State.

You request to know if any portion of the Legion shall be called out. My answer is, no. The militia cannot be called out, except in the cases specified by me in my letter to Governor Reynolds, dated in the month of August last; in which I took the ground that the militia can only be called out to repel an invasion, suppress an insurrection, or on some extreme emergency; and not to suppress, prevent, or punish individual crimes. I still am of the opinion that the ground assumed by me on that occasion, is the true one. The prevention and punishment of individual offenses have been confided by the constitution and laws of this State, to the judicial power and not to the executive.

If a citizen of the State has been kidnapped, or if property has been stolen from this State, and carried<sup>161</sup> to the State of Missouri, those who have done either, are guilty of an indictable offense. But the constitution and the laws have provided no means whereby either the person or property taken away, can be returned, except by an appeal to the laws of Missouri. The Governor has no legal right to demand the return of either. The only power I would have would be simply this: If any of the guilty persons should be charged with larceny or kidnapping by indictment or affidavit duly certified, and with having fled to Missouri; then I would have the power, and it would become my duty to make a demand upon the Governor of Missouri, for the surrender of the fugitives to be tried by the courts of this State. I am fully satisfied that in ordinary cases this is all the power I would possess. It would be simply a power to be exercised in aid of the judicial power. Any other powers to be exercised by the Governor would be to make him a dictator and a despot. It is true that an extraordinary case might arise, in which the inhabitants of one State might arise in warlike and hostile array against those of another. In which case a state of war would exist, and then only could I interfere.

I would advise your citizens to be strictly peaceable towards the people of Missouri. You ought to be aware that in every country individuals are liable to be visited with wrong which the law is slow to redress, and *some of which are never redressed in this world*. This fact, however, has never been held to be a justification for violence, not warranted by law.

If any of the people of Nauvoo should invade Missouri for the purpose of rescuing persons there in jail, the consequence would be that indictments would be presented against them, and demands made upon me for their arrest and surrender, which demands I would be <sup>162</sup> compelled to obey, and thus they would be harassed by interminable demands and prosecutions: and very likely it would lead to a species of border warfare which would be exceedingly annoying to a peaceable city: and if you could be placed in the wrong, might lead to exceedingly unpleasant consequences with reference both to law and public opinion.

You inform me that you are informed that Gov[ernor]. Reynolds is about to make a new demand for you; and you implore my protection from what you term this renewed persecution. In the month of August last, I was furnished by your friends with a very large amount of affidavits and evidence, said to be intended to show cause why no further writs should be issued against you. As they are very voluminous.

I have not yet read them, and probably never will, unless a new demand should be made; in which case they will receive a careful perusal, and you may rest assured that no steps will be taken by me but such as the constitution and laws may require.

I am very respectfully, &c.,
THOMAS FORD.

<sup>161.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<& carried>"

<sup>162.</sup> MS letter, 2 (pencil): inserts "\be/" at eoln

163 It appears from this letter that Governor Ford has never taken pains to examine the evidences placed in his hands, "and probably never will," in relation to the Missouri writs; and evidently as little pains to examine the Constitution of the United States, or even reflect upon the ordinary principles of human rights; to suppose that a State, after having by a union of executive, judicial, and military powers, exterminated 15,000 of its innocent inhabitants who were not even charged with any crime; robbing them of all they possessed on earth, murdering hundreds 164 of men, women, and children; and expelling all the others from the State among strangers in mid-winter; destitute of everything upon the face of the earth that could possibly have a tendency to make life desirable, should be constitutionally entitled to demand back from banishment, persons who have thus suffered its absolute decrees of exile to satiate a yet unsatiated thirst for human blood and cruel 165 torture; oh! reason, where art thou fled? oh! humanity, where hast thou hidden thyself? Patriots of '76, has your blood been spilt in vain? that in 1843 the executive of a great republican State, can coolly say, "I have not yet read them, and probably never will." Is liberty only a name? is protection of person and property fled from free America? Let those answer who can.

<sup>166</sup>Friday, 15.—I awoke this morning in good health, but was soon suddenly seized with a great dryness of the mouth and throat, sickness of the stomach, and vomited freely; my wife waited on me, assisted by my scribe, Dr. Willard Richards, and his brother Levi, who administered to me herbs and mild drinks. I was never prostrated so low in so short a time before, but by evening was considerably revived.

Very warm for the season.

<sup>167</sup>Saturday, 16.—This morning<sup>168</sup> I felt considerably better; arose at 10, and sat all day in the city council which was held in my house for my accommodation.

The mayor, aldermen, and councilors signed officially the Memorial to Congress for redress of losses and grievances in Missouri. While discussing the petition to Congress, I prophesied by virtue of the holy priesthood vested in me, and in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, that if Congress will not hear our petition, and grant us protection, they shall be broken up as a government, <sup>169</sup>and God shall damn them, and there shall nothing be left of them, not even a grease spot.

<sup>170</sup>I informed the council, that it was my wish they should ask the privilege of calling on government for the U[nited]. S[tates]. troops to protect us in our privileges, which is not unconstitutional, but lays<sup>171</sup> in the breast of Congress.

<sup>172</sup>Heber C. Kimball was duly elected city auctioneer, in place of Charles Warner, removed.

The council passed "An ordinance regulating Merchants and Grocers"; also "An ordinance concerning the landing of Steamers," and Jonathan Dunham was appointed wharf-master for one year. 173

<sup>163.</sup> *Source*: This paragraph probably composed by compilers. It appears with editing in RDft 7:84, written by TB about 20 Feb.-20 June 1855 (see RDft Chronology).

<sup>164.</sup> DHC 6:115: replaces "hundreds" with "scores"

<sup>165.</sup> DHC 6:115: omits "cruel"

<sup>166.</sup> Source: This day's entry closely follows JSj [1843-44], 197 (WR) (APR, 432).

<sup>167.</sup> Source: This day's entry based on JSj [1843-44], 198 (WR) (APR, 432), and NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 25-27 (WR) (NCHCM, 190-92), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type. Cf. NCCP, 194-97 (WR); NN 1 (20 Dec. 1843): [135].

<sup>168.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 198: "<this morning>"

<sup>169.</sup> Remainder of paragraph omitted with ellipses in DHC 6:116.

<sup>170.</sup> This paragraph recording JS's response to an exchange with Orson Pratt is from NCCM, 25.

<sup>171.</sup> DHC 6:116: "lies"

<sup>172.</sup> The appointment of Kimball in place of Warner not mentioned in JSj, but is based on NCCM, 26.

<sup>173.</sup> The appointment of Jonathan Dunham is not mentioned in JSj, but is based on NCCM, 27.

<sup>174</sup>Heber C. Kimball and Geo[rge]. A. Smith were appointed a committee to wait on Mr. Davidson Hibbard, and solicit from him a block of land whereon to erect a city prison.

After council conversed with some of the Twelve, brother Turley and others, till 8 p.m. Prayer meeting in the evening.

Warm, foggy, and muddy day.

<sup>175</sup>Sunday, 17.—At home till 4 p.m.; attended prayer meeting at the Assembly Room; Samuel Harrison Smith admitted. <sup>176</sup> Returned home at 7.

River clear of ice as far up as the Stone Tavern.

Mr. King Follet, one of the constables of Hancock county, started with ten men this afternoon to arrest John Elliott, for kidnapping Daniel Avery, upon a warrant granted by Aaron Johnson, Esq., J.P.

<sup>177</sup>Monday, 18.—After dinner, Constable Follet returned with John Elliott, a schoolmaster, when an examination was had before Esq. Johnson<sup>178</sup> in the Assembly Room. Elliott was found guilty of kidnapping Avery, and bound over in the sum of \$3,000 to the circuit court of Carthage for trial. I endeavored to have the court reduce those bonds, as Mr. Elliott was comparatively a stranger in Nauvoo, but did not succeed.<sup>179</sup>

During the investigation, testimony appeared to show that Elliott had threatened my life, and for this I made affidavit and brought him to trial before Robert D. Foster, J.P. 180, immediately after he had received the sentence of Esq. Johnson. I extract from 181 the *Neighbor*:—

<sup>182</sup>The prisoner was <sup>183</sup>brought forward, and the court <sup>184</sup>said it was his privilege to plead for a change of venue, by paying the costs; but as the costs were not forthcoming, the court proceeded.

Mr. Styles then read the "Act to regulate the apprehension of offenders and for other purposes," p. 219, r.s. The act sets forth that the use of threatening language is sufficient to criminate individuals; this we are prepared to prove.

Sisson Chase sworn.

The testimony was similar to that before delivered <sup>185</sup>with the following additional items: I did ask him if he had authority. In the morning he said that he would not care about shooting some of the Mormons. In conversation <sup>186</sup>with him he carried the idea that a conspiracy

<sup>174.</sup> This paragraph omitted in JSj is based on NCCM, 27.

<sup>175.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 199 (WR) (APR, 432), with light editing and change to first person. On King Follett, see WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 18 Dec. 1843 (NTNLF, 408).

<sup>176.</sup> On this day, WW recorded: "I met with the quorum. Br Samuel Smith met with us. <Received his first anointing.> President Joseph Smith met with us also. We received good instruction" (WWj, vol. 4, 17 Dec. 1843; WWj 2:331).

<sup>177.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 200 (WR) (APR, 432-33).

<sup>178.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 200: "<before Aaron Johnson>"

<sup>179.</sup> Preceding sentence omitted in JSj, but is based on "Kidnapping," NN 1 (20 Dec. 1843): [134], which reads: "Mr. Smith observed that the gentleman was a stranger—that he might not be able to get bail, suggested the propriety of the bond being reduced. The court however thought that in consequence of the enormity of the crime, that the bond was not more than sufficient to cause the prisoner to appear on the day of trial, and therefore could not mitigate it."

<sup>180.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 200: "<before R. D. Foster J.P.>"

<sup>181.</sup> DHC 6:117: adds "the proceedings, in part, from"

<sup>182.</sup> Source: "Kidnapping," NN 1 (20 Dec. 1843): [134]-[35]. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>183.</sup> NN 1:[134]: adds "again"

<sup>184.</sup> NN 1:[134]: adds "adjourned for one hour. The court"

<sup>185.</sup> DHC 6:118: adds "[in Chase affidavit see p. 109]"

<sup>186.</sup> NN 1:[135]: adds "I had"

was formed against Joseph Smith and others, and that some of them would be shot. These conversations were had at different times. He thought Mr. Smith was a bad character. He thought they ought to be taken. Ques[tion].: Who? Joseph Smith, and some others.

I told him he had been taken, but had been acquitted. He did not thank the Governor for that. He carried the idea that there was a conspiracy against his life, and said we have a plan in operation that will pop him over.

Question by court. Do you know how long Mr. Elliot has been in the county? No. By counsel for prisoner. Did you hear him state that he himself would do anything? I heard him state nothing further than I have mentioned.

Mr. Markham and Mr. Elliott sworn.

By the court: Is your residence, Mr. Elliott, in this county? Yes.

King Folet sworn.

I have head of the things stated but not from him.

Messrs. Marr and Styles, attorneys, resident in Nauvoo, made some thrilling remarks pertaining to the outrageous proceedings of Missouri. The diabolical conduct of those wretches who could be engaged in destroying and kidnapping their fellow men was portrayed in glowing colors.

Judge Phelps and General Smith then followed on the same subject, their language was thrillingly eloquent and powerful: if ever inhumanity and deeds of blood were depicted in their true colors, it was on that occasion; their thoughts flashed as 187 fire, and they spake in "words that burned." We never saw the character of General Smith so clearly developed, for while he abhorred and depicted the fiendish crime that the culprit stood charged with in its true colors, he pitied the poor wretch that then stood before him, and with feelings of commiseration, benevolence and philanthropy, withdrew his charge, wished if it was in the power of the court that the culprit might be forgiven, promised to pay all the charges, and invited him and those of his friends who came along 188, to come to his house and they should he taken care of. It would be superfluous for us to attempt to give even a faint outline of the remarks made by the abovenamed gentlemen, we hope to have at least a synopsis of their speeches for publication, which we are sure would be highly interesting to our readers, upon the whole, although a painful, yet it was an interesting occasion, and will long be remembered, and unless Mr. Elliott's heart, and those of his friends, were made of adamant, it must have made an indelible impression on their minds, and almost made them hate themselves. 189

I received from Aaron Johnson, Esq., the following demand:—

<sup>190</sup>City of Nauvoo, Dec[ember]. 18, 1843.

Sir:—I have been informed that a writ issued by me for the <sup>191</sup>body of Levi Williams, for kidnapping Daniel Avery, will be resisted by an armed force. Therefore, according to the provision of the charter, I wish you to order me a detachment of the Nauvoo Legion, say 100 men to enforce the law of the State and bring the said Williams to justice.

AARON JOHNSON, J.P.

<sup>187.</sup> Book E-1, 1806 (darker ink): "{\as/}"

<sup>188.</sup> DHC 6:118: adds "with him"

<sup>189.</sup> Concerning JS's remarks, JSj [1843-44], 201 (WR) (APR, 433), includes the following insertion written in the spaces between five lines of previously written text: "before closing my speech I withdrew the action & told the court I would forgive Elliot & the 2 men who followed him from 4½ miles below Warsaw [with the intent of recapturing him] and take them home [and] give them supper and lodging and breakfast and see that they were protected & the court discharged Elliot."

<sup>190.</sup> Source: Copy in JScSup, fd 7, 41-42 (WR).

<sup>191.</sup> MS copy, 1: adds "purpose"

Which demand I complied with by writing to Major-General Wilson Law:—

<sup>192</sup>City of Nauvoo, Dec. 18, 1843.

Sir:—You will detach 100 men under the direction of Aaron Johnson, a justice of the peace, for the purpose of assisting the constable in executing the law of the State in taking Levi Williams, who is charged with kidnapping Daniel Avery.

Yours, JOSEPH SMITH, Lieut.-Gen., N[auvoo]. L[egion]. 193

TO<sup>194</sup> MAJOR-GEN. WILSON LAW, Commanding Nauvoo Legion.

<sup>195</sup>Who<sup>196</sup> detached Col[onel]. Stephen Markham, with 100 men for that purpose.

About 10 p.m., two young men arrived as express, stating that a mob was collecting at Warsaw, also at Col[onel]. Levi Williams' house; and messengers had gone to the mob in Missouri to reinforce their number there.

Dr. Richards made the following affidavit:—

```
<sup>197</sup>State of Illinois, City of Nauvoo, December 18, 1843.
```

Personally appeared Willard Richards before me, Joseph Smith, mayor of said city, and upon his oath deposeth and saith that from information he has received, he verily believes that the peace of said city is in danger from a mobocratic assemblage at Warsaw, and a force collected under the command of Col[onel]. Levi<sup>198</sup> Williams in the lower part of the county, and runners having been sent to Missouri to excite the Missourians to join the mobbers in this county, for the purpose of making a descent on said city, or disturbing its peaceable inhabitants, and further your deponent saith not.

WILLARD RICHARDS.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 18th December, 1843.

W. W. PHELPS, Clerk of the Mayor's Court.

Whereupon I wrote to Major-Gen[eral]. Wilson Law:—

<sup>199</sup>City of Nauvoo, Dec. 18, 1843.

Sir:—I am credibly informed that a warlike force is collecting at or near Warsaw, for the purpose of some violent move towards this city, or some of the inhabitants thereof, you will therefore order out such a portion of the Nauvoo Legion as may be necessary to repel any such

<sup>192.</sup> Source: Copy in JScSup, fd 7, 41-42 (WR).

<sup>193.</sup> MS copy, 1: replaces "Lieut.-Gen. N.L." with "Mayor"; Book E-1, 1806 (darker ink): "{ $\Lieut.$  Gen. N.L./}" (JG)

<sup>194.</sup> MS copy, 1, Book E-1, 1806: omit "TO"

<sup>195.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from [Si [1843-44], 201 (WR) (APR, 433).

<sup>196.</sup> DHC 6:119: replaces "Who" with "Gen. Wilson"

<sup>197.</sup> Source: Original in UC (WR, WWP).

<sup>198.</sup> MS affidavit, 1 (pencil): "<Levi>"

<sup>199.</sup> Source: MS copy in UC (WR).

mobocratic or hostile design of the said<sup>200</sup> unlawful force, and also as may be sufficient to secure the peace of the citizens according to law.

Yours,
JOSEPH SMITH, Lieut.-Gen.
N[auvoo]. L[egion].<sup>201</sup>

Major-Gen. Wilson Law, Commanding Nauvoo Legion.

<sup>202</sup>I returned home to rest about one o'clock in the morning of the 19th.

<sup>203</sup>Tuesday, 19.—At home. About 9 a.m., a part of the company who went with Hosea Stout returned, and stated that they went within two miles of Col[onel]. Williams', when they were informed that a body of men armed with rifles, &c., were collected at his house, and he judged it prudent to return for weapons and help: also that bro[ther]. Chester Loveland told them that he had seen 30 armed men following Constable King Follett, some miles on his way when he had Elliott in custody.

Esq. Johnson immediately wrote to Loveland to have him come to Nauvoo, and make affidavit of the warlike movements of the mob, that he might send to the Governor.

<sup>204</sup>I directed my clerks to make copies of the affidavits respecting the kidnapping of the Averys to send to Gov[ernor]. Ford, that he might be left without excuse, although he may probably not read them.

Elder William Martindale writes from Washington, Wayne co[unty]., I[ow]a.:—

<sup>205</sup>Dec[ember]. 22, 1843.

### Mr. John Hatfield,

Sir: \* \* \* But I must hasten to give you an account of a singular phenomenon was seen in this neighborhood on the night of the 19th inst. It was reported that a panther had been seen at the Logan deadening (you know the place) and on the evening of the 19th. Jesse Fox, William and Lorenzo Fox, David Bale, James Wilson, and William Cole, with some others repaid to the place to see if they could discover and kill the monster; but failing in this they retired to the house of Solomon Mendenhall, at which place they stayed a short time: while there they discovered a ball rising from the east in an oblique line, and as it ascended it moved towards the west with great rapidity until it was high in the heavens, leaving a streak of light behind it, which, to the natural eye, had the appearance of being thirty or forty feet in length. This light remained stationary for about one minute; both ends then coming round formed a figure 8, which figure also retained its position for the same space of time; it then was transformed into a figure of 6, which also remained for about a minute; it then was formed into a cipher or 0, which remained for about three minutes. The figures put together made 1860 in

<sup>200.</sup> DHC 6:120: replaces "said" with "same"

<sup>201.</sup> MS copy: replaces "Lieut. Gen. N.L." with "Mayor"; Book E-1, 1807: "{\Lieut. Gen. N.L./}" (JG)

<sup>202.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 202 (WR) (APR, 433).

<sup>203.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph closely follow JSj [1843-44], 203 (WR) (APR, 433-34).

<sup>204.</sup> Source: This paragraph probably composed by compilers. It was inserted interlinearly by JG in RDft 7:86. The taking of affidavits is mentioned in JSj [1843-44], 204-5 (WR) (APR, 434), under 19-20 Dec., and WRj 9:55 mentions his participation for the same dates. On 1 Jan. 1844, TB copied OH's 28 Dec. 1843 affidavit and made a list of affidavits that were "copied for Governor" on the back (JSc, Bx 4, fd 11, 1-2). On 30 Dec., WWP wrote a cover letter to Ford (see DHC 6:153; chap. 6).

<sup>205.</sup> Source: RDft 7:87 directs scribe to copy "Remarkable Phenomenon," T&S 5 (15 Jan. 1844): 413-14. Deleted material supplied here in bold type. Cf. NN 1 (10 Jan. 1844): [146].

large figures, in the heavens. The phenomenon was indeed singular, and has been a matter of great speculation with us.

# Respectfully yours, &c., WILLIAM MARTINDALE.

<sup>206</sup>At 1 p.m., I was present when the Legion paraded near the Temple, were inspected by the officers and instructed to prepare themselves with arms and ammunition, and to hold themselves in readiness for a moment's notice. Brother Henry Boley was shot severely under the arm by the accidental discharge of his gun. **Clear and cold.** 

Amos S. Chase made the following affidavit:—

 $\left. \begin{array}{c} ^{207}\text{State of Illinois,} \\ \text{City of Nauvoo,} \end{array} \right\} \quad \text{ss.}$ 

On the 19th day of December, 1843, came Amos S. Chase before me, Joseph Smith, mayor of said city; and after being duly sworn deposeth and saith, that on the 18th day of December, 1843, he was about four miles below Warsaw, in Hancock county, shortly after the constable arrested John Elliott for being concerned in kidnapping Daniel Avery, not long since, and saw the men of the neighborhood gathering with arms, to retake the said John Elliott: and when asked what they would do if the Governor did not sanction such an unlawful course, several of them replied, "Damn the Governor! if he opens his head we will punch a hole through him!! He dare not open his head! We will serve him the same sauce we will the Mormons." The said mob then went to Warsaw, where your affiant saw them with their arms, and further your affiant saith not.

AMOS S. CHASE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 19th day of December, 1843.

W. W. PHELPS, Clerk M[unicipal]. C[ourt].

<sup>208</sup>Wednesday, 20.—At home in good health and spirits<sup>209</sup>, counseling and attending to business in general. **Clear and cool.** 

The clerk of the municipal court took the following affidavits:—

<sup>210</sup>State of Illinois, City of Nauvoo, ss.

On the 20th day of December, 1843, personally appeared before me, Willard Richards, clerk of the municipal court of said city. Philander Avery, of Bear Creek precinct, in said county, and after<sup>211</sup> being duly sworn deposeth and saith, that on the 19th day of November, 1843, at

<sup>206.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 204 (WR) (APR, 434), mentions the Legion on parade, but the source of JS's instructions and accident with Boley is unknown. Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type.

<sup>207.</sup> Source: Copy in UC (TB). This affidavit is recorded on same page as Philander Avery's given below. JSj [1843-44], 204 (WR) (APR, 434), mentions taking Chase's affidavit.

<sup>208.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 205 (WR) (APR, 434), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>209.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 205: "in tolerable health and good spirits"

<sup>210.</sup> Source: Copy in UC (TB). This affidavit is written on same page as Amos S. Chase's given above. JSj [1843-44], 205 (WR) (APR, 434), mentions taking Avery's affidavit.

<sup>211.</sup> Book E-1, 1809 (pencil): inserts "<after>" in margin (JG)

his house, in the precinct aforesaid, Ebenezer Richardson, of Lee county, Territory of Iowa, by false pretenses, persuaded your affiant to accompany said Richardson to the Mississippi river at Warsaw, where your affiant was seized by one Joseph C. McCoy, of Clark county, Missouri, in connection with the said Richardson, and about one dozen of other individuals, whose names are unknown to your affiant, and by them forced across said Mississippi river, where they bound your affiant, and Mark Childs swore that your affiant had stolen said McCoy's horse and colt, and that his father Daniel Avery had secreted said horse and colt, and said Richardson threatened your affiant with death or seven years' imprisonment, in order to persuade him to make false statements, and testify that his father, Daniel Avery, had stolen said McCoy's horse and colt, which statements your affiant made, and swore to the same, while in duress, with a bowie-knife presented to intimidate. And your affiant further saith that the testimony he gave concerning his father's guilt was extorted from him through fear, while in duress, and said testimony was absolutely false, and your affiant fully believes that his father is innocent of the crime of stealing said McCoy's horse and colt, and farther<sup>212</sup> your deponent saith not.

PHILANDER AVERY.

Subscribed and sworn to before me; in testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court at Nauvoo aforesaid, this 20th day of December, A.D. 1843.

[L.S.] WILLARD RICHARDS,

Clerk of the Municipal Court of the City of Nauvoo.

<sup>213</sup>State of Illinois, Hancock County, ss.

On the 20th day of December, 1843, personally appeared before me Aaron Johnson a justice of the Peace in and for said county, Andrew H.<sup>214</sup> Hamilton, and James B. Hamilton of Bear creek precinct, in said county, and after<sup>215</sup> being duly sworn depose and say that on the evening of the second day of December, 1843, at Vernon Doty's mill, in said precinct Colonel Levi Williams of said Hancock county, as principal, and his son<sup>216</sup> John Williams, with<sup>217</sup> William Middleton of the county of Clark, and State of Missouri, Capt[ain]. McCoy of the<sup>218</sup> said county of Clark and State of Missouri, John Fox of Green Plains precinct, and about a dozen other men armed with pistols, dirks and Bowie knives, came forcibly upon Daniel Avery at said Doty's mill and seized and bound him; the said Avery told them to stand off; they said they had a writ; he observed he would not resist legal authority; they said they would take said Avery to Warsaw and there try him; the said Avery replied, "I understand you; you will take me to Warsaw and there<sup>219</sup> pass me over the river to Missouri." Some of said gang then shouted "lay hold of him, God damn<sup>220</sup> him, lay hold of him: there's no use<sup>221</sup> of parleying"; at which Colonel Levi

<sup>212.</sup> DHC 6:122: "further"

<sup>213.</sup> Book E-1, 1809, has note in pencil in margin: "Printed as in original document" (prob. RLC). *Source*: Copy in UC (TB). Appears on back of sheet containing the affidavits of Amos S. Chase and Philander Avery. JSj [1843-44], 205 (WR) (APR, 434), mentions taking of the Hamiltons' affidavit.

<sup>214.</sup> MS affidavit, 2: replaces "H." with "M."

<sup>215.</sup> MS affidavit, 2: omits "after"; Book E-1, 1809: adds "<after>" in pencil in margin, with insertion point also marked in pencil.

<sup>216.</sup> MS affidavit, 2, Book E-1, 1809: omit "and" and move "his son" to follow "John Williams"

<sup>217.</sup> MS affidavit, 2, Book E-1, 1809: omit "with"

<sup>218.</sup> Book E-1, 1809: omits "the"

<sup>219.</sup> MS affidavit, 2: replaces "there" with "then"

<sup>220.</sup> DHC 6:123:"G-d d-n"

<sup>221.</sup> Book E-1, 1809: "{\use/}" (US)

Williams with a large Bowie-knife in his hand, and others then forced the said Daniel Avery to submit, telling him (without a writ) that his life would be taken if he did not submit. They then tied him with silk handkerchiefs; Colonel Levi Williams and another person then led the said Daniel Avery away, and as they passed your affiants within the distance of about four rods; the said Daniel Avery cried out to one of your said affiants, "Tell my friends where I am gone." Col[onel]. Williams told said Avery to hold his peace for it was of no use; William Middleton then got a horse and after tying him upon said horse as sworn to before, by another witness, they then conveyed him to Missouri without a writ or trial, as your affiants verily believe, and further they<sup>222</sup> say not.

ANDREW M. HAMILTON, JAMES B. HAMILTON.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of December 1843, before me.

AARON<sup>223</sup> JOHNSON, J.P.

<sup>222.</sup> MS affidavit, 2: replaces "they" with "your affiants"; Book E-1, 1809: "{\they/}" (JG)

<sup>223.</sup> Book E-1, 1809: "A."

## NAUVOO CITY COUNCIL MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS

## December 1843

## [DN 7 (15 April 1857): 41-42 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>Thursday, [December] 21 [1843].—About 1 o'clock in the morning I was alarmed by the firing of a gun, got up, and went down to the river bank to see the guard, and inquire the cause of it; to my surprise they had not heard it, although I felt sure it was fired in Montrose; the morning proved it to be correct, some rowdies in Montrose had been firing in the night.

<sup>2</sup>Called on Bro[ther William W.] Phelps before sunrise and told him an alarm gun had been fired, but I believed nothing serious. Took the key and went into the office. A few citizens assembled but <sup>3</sup>all was peace.

At noon met with the city council, which voted that Councilor<sup>4</sup> O[rson]. Pratt present the Memorial and Ordinance to Congress<sup>5</sup>, and remained till 2 P.M.

Passed "An ordinance to prevent unlawful search or seizure of person or property by foreign <sup>6</sup>process in the city of Nauvoo."

<sup>7</sup>We insert the following obituary of Nathan Pratt from the pen of his Father, as a Sample of what thousands of women and children have suffered, through the wicked persecutions of the brutal savages of Missouri.

<sup>1.</sup> Source: CS, 1. JSj [1843-44], 206 (WR) (APR, 434), also mentions this event: "Called on Bro[ther] Phelps before Sunrise and told him an alarm gun had been fired, but I believed nothing serious."

<sup>2.</sup> *Source*: Following three paragraphs based on JSj [1843-44], 206 (WR) (*APR*, 434), with editing and elaboration. Deleted material supplied here in bold type. Cf. NCCP, 197 (WR); NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 29 (*NCHCM*, 192-95); and *NN* 1 (27 Dec. 1843): [139].

<sup>3.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 206: "Bro Cairns had returned home and"

<sup>4.</sup> Book E-1, 1809: "{\Councilor/}" (pos. LH)

<sup>5.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 206: "Read Memorial to congress for Territorial powers &c. < Appointed O[rson. Pratt delegate to convey it.>"

<sup>6.</sup> DHC 6:124: adds "[i.e. outside]"

<sup>7.</sup> The following introduction and biography of Nathan Pratt was canceled in Book E-1, 1809-11, and not published in *DN*. A note in margin in pencil reads: "If published in T&S not to publish again[.] BY." This proved true. *Source*: *T&S* 5 (15 Jan. 1843): 414-15. Text here supplied from *T&S*.

#### BIOGRAPHY OF NATHAN PRATT.

Died in this place, on the 21st December last,<sup>8</sup> Nathan Pratt, Son of Parley P. Pratt, aged five and <sup>9</sup>half years.

As his life has been rather extraordinary, perhaps the following sketch may be worthy of publication.

He was born in Caldwell Co. Missouri, A.D. 1838. The honored place of his birth, was not a stable, like his Redeemer's of old, but a small house belonging to Mr. Isaac Alred.

At the age of two weeks, he was removed into a new house, without a floor, door, window, or chimney. This being soon demolished by the rage of persecution, he removed nine miles, to the town of Far West, being then six weeks old.

Here he lived in a house nine feet square, built of logs; but even here, the rage of his enemies soon searched him out, and when he was three months old, his father was torn from him and confined in a Missouri dungeon, leaving him<sup>10</sup> and his mother, who lay sick of a fever, exposed to the wrath of a band of savage murderers, who at that time over-ran and ravaged the whole town: they fired several rifle balls into the house, and scores of them were afterwards picked up in the door yard.

Soon after this, he came with his mother and spent much of the winter in prison with his father, where he some times served as a shield, to guard his bosom from the threatened violence of the angry guards.

At the age of nine months, the exterminating order of the modern Nero, (L. 11 W. Boggs,) was so far enforced as to banish him and his mother from the state at the point of the bayonet: leaving his father still in prison.

They fled to Quincy, Illinois, a distance of two hundred miles; where they lived till the following July, without the assistance of a husband or father.

On the grand national Anniversary of American independence, the glorious 4th of July, his father being instructed and warned, by an Angel of the Lord, in a vision of the night, burst his chains, threw open his prison doors, and emerged forth from his prison: and after wandering for near a week, night and day, almost without food, he avoided all pursuit and arrived at the residence of his family: thus closes the first twelve months of the events connected with the life of Nathan Pratt.

The second campaign opens with a removal from Quincy to Nauvoo, a distance of 50 miles, where he and his parents took up their residence, in a small log cabin, consisting of one room, already occupied by another family.

After a stay of about one month, he started on a mission to England, in company with his father and mother. The first part of this journey was performed in about four weeks by land distance 600 miles. This brought them to Detroit, from thence they journeyed by water to New York, about 800 miles distant. Here he took up winter quarters, and thus closed the second year of our young hero.

The third opens with a journey to the State of Maine and a return to New York; making twelve hundred miles travel. In September following he sailed with his parents for England. After a long and tedious passage they landed safe in Liverpool: he resided in England, and visited most of the principal towns.

<sup>8.</sup> Book E-1, 1809: replaces "on the 21st December last" with ellipses over erasure

<sup>9.</sup> Book E-1, 1809: adds "a"

<sup>10.</sup> Book E-1, 1810: "<and confined in ... him>" (RLC)

<sup>11.</sup> Book E-1, 1810: "L\ilburn/" (US)

In October 1842, he sailed for New Orleans, where he arrived in safety, after a voyage of ten weeks. From thence he sailed up the Mississippi, as far as Chester, Illinois, where he again took up his winter quarters. In April following he arrived at Nauvoo, having been absent about three years and six months, during which he had traveled near twenty thousand miles.

From this time he attended school, and was rapidly advancing in knowledge, when falling from the stairs of his father's new building into the cellar, he broke his thigh.

This accident confined him for several weeks, but recovering, he continued his studies till he was seized with his last illness which was very severe until his death.

He has often requested singing and prayer, and dealt with great delight on the lines of Wesley which commence as follows:

"The morning flowers display their sweets, And gay, their silken leaves unfold."

He has often while in perfect health enquired of his mother if he should die, and concerning death, and the resurrection, and whether, if he died he should see Sister Harrington and other friends who were dead. He has often solicited the laying on of hands and prayer when sick and has many times been healed.

He has had the gift to discern both good and evil spirits, who sometimes visited him; and on one occasion a kind angel ministered to him, and told him things for his comfort and instruction.

He has fought the good fight and finished his course, and now rests in paradise.

He died an infant, but he can say with Paul, "in prisons oft, in stripes more abundant, in tribulations, in persecutions, in perils by sea and land, in perils among robbers, and among false brethren, and in travels more abundant."

His remarkable life of little more than five years, has won him thousands of friends, and acquaintances, both in Europe and America in whose memory he will long live. While his faith, and his sufferings for Christ's sake and the Gospel's will be had as a sweet memorial through all succeeding ages.

<sup>12</sup>Heber C. Kimball resigned his office as city auctioneer, and Charles Warner was re-elected.

John P. Greene was duly elected city marshal, in the room of Henry G. Sherwood, who expects to leave soon.

I gave instructions to the marshal and policemen to see that all carrion is removed out of the city; and all houses kept in order, to stop the boys when fighting in the streets, and prevent children from floating off on the ice, and correct anything out of order, like fathers; and I offered to build the city jail, if it was left to my dictation; which the council authorized me to do.

## [DN 7 (22 April 1857): 49-51]

I insert the Memorial from the City Council to the Congress of the United States, for redress of grievances, and protection from further persecution; which was signed by them<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>12.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs based on NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 29-30 (WR) (NCHCM, 195). Cf. JSj [1843-44], 206 (WR) (APR, 434); NN 1 (27 Dec. 1843): [139]; and NCCP, 197-98 (WR).

<sup>13.</sup> Book E-1, 1811: adds "four copies having been made by my clerk Thomas Bullock for that purpose"

<sup>14</sup>To the Honorable Senators and Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

We, the undersigned, members of the city council of the city of Nauvoo, citizens of Hancock county, Illinois, and exiles from the State of Missouri, being in council assembled, unanimously and respectfully, for ourselves, and in behalf of many thousands of other exiles, memorialize the Honorable Senators and Representatives of our nation upon the subject of the unparalleled persecutions and cruelties, inflicted upon us and upon our constituents by the constituted authorities of the State of Missouri, and likewise upon the subject of the present unfortunate circumstances in which we are placed in the land of our exile. As a history of the Missouri outrages, has been extensively published, both in this country and in Europe, it is deemed unnecessary to particularize all of the wrongs and grievances, inflicted upon us, in this memorial. As there is an abundance of well-attested documents to which your honorable body can at any time refer; hence we only embody the following important items for your consideration.

First, your memorialists, as freeborn citizens of this great republic, relying with the utmost confidence upon the sacred "articles of the Constitution," by which the several States are bound together, and considering ourselves entitled to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens in what State soever we desired to locate ourselves; commenced a settlement in the county of Jackson, on the western frontiers of the State of Missouri, in the summer of 1831.

There we purchased lands from the Government, erected several hundred houses, made extensive improvements, and shortly the wild and lonely prairies and stately forests were converted into well cultivated and fruitful fields. There we expected to spend our days in the enjoyment of all the rights and liberties bequeathed to us by the sufferings and blood of our noble ancestors. But, alas! our expectations were vain.

Two years had scarcely elapsed before we were unlawfully and unconstitutionally assaulted by an organized mob, consisting of the highest officers in the county, both civil and military, who openly and boldly avowed their determinations<sup>15</sup> in a written circular to drive us from said county.

As a specimen of their treasonable and cruel designs, your honorable body are referred to said circular of which the following is but a short extract; namely, "We, the undersigned citizens of Jackson county, believing that an important crisis is at hand as regards our civil society, in consequence of a pretended religious sect of people that have settled and are still settling in our county, styling themselves Mormons, and intending as we do to rid our society 'peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must;' and believing as we do that the arm of the civil law does not afford us a guarantee, or at least a sufficient one against the evils which are now inflicted upon us, and seem to be increasing by the said religious sect, deem it expedient and of the highest importance to form ourselves into a company for the better and easier accomplishment of our purpose."

This document was closed in the following words:—"We, therefore, agree, that after timely warning and receiving an adequate compensation for what little property they cannot take with them, they refuse to leave us in peace as they found us, we agree to use such means

<sup>14.</sup> Source: RDft 7:87 directs scribe to "see TBs copy" (TB). Folder in UC includes following four times: (1) Rough Draft (US). 9pp. Contains first part of Memorial to Preamble of Nauvoo Charter on two folded sheets and a single sheet containing a rewrite of first page. Includes editing and insertions in margins; unsigned and undated. (2) Revision Draft (WWP). 5pp. Consists of two single sheets and a half sheet containing a rewrite of the Preamble to the Nauvoo Charter included at the end of the preceding draft and adds first four sections to Nauvoo city ordinance, with TB inserting the third. (3) Fair copy of complete Memorial (TB). 18pp. Booklet of folded sheets; partly damaged on outside. Wording indicates that this is the source used by compilers of MSHiJS. Includes penciled notation: "to copy three copies made for Joseph 10 to 16 Jany. [1844]" (TB). (4) Fair copy of Nauvoo City Charter (TB). 10pp. Booklet of folded sheets. A photocopy of the Memorial sent to Congress, now in Library of Congress, Washington, DC, is located in JSc, Bx 4, fd 3, 1-19 (TB). This document (LOC copy) has been compared against the following published text.

<sup>15.</sup> DHC 6:125: "determination"

as may be sufficient to remove them, and to that end we each pledge to each other our bodily powers, our lives, fortunes and sacred honors."

To this unconstitutional document were attached the names of nearly every officer in the county, together with the names of hundreds of others.

It was by this band of murderers that your memorialists in the year 1833 were plundered of their property and robbed of their peaceable homes. It was by them that their fields were laid waste, their houses burned, and their men, women and children, to the amount <sup>16</sup> of about twelve hundred persons, banished as exiles from the county, while others were cruelly murdered by their hands.

Second. After our expulsion from Jackson county, we settled in Clay county on the opposite side of the Missouri river, where we purchased lands both from the old settlers and from the <sup>17</sup>land office, but soon we were again violently threatened by mobs, and obliged to leave our homes and seek out a new location.

Third. Our next settlement was in Caldwell county, where we purchased the most of the land in said county, besides 18 a part of the lands in Daviess and Carroll counties. These counties were almost entirely in a wild and uncultivated state, but by the persevering industry of our citizens large and extensive farms were opened in every direction, well stocked with numerous flocks and herds. We also commenced settlements in several other counties of the State, and once more confidently hoped to enjoy the hard-earned fruits of our labor unmolested.

But our hopes were soon blasted. The cruel and murderous spirit which first began to manifest itself in the constituted authorities and inhabitants of Jackson county, and afterwards in Clay and the surrounding counties, receiving no check either from the civil or military power of the State, had in the meantime taken courage and boldly and fearlessly spread its contaminating and treasonable influence into every department of the government of said State, Lieut[enant].-Gov[ernor]. Boggs, a resident of Jackson county, who acted a conspicuous part in our expulsion from said county, instead of being tried for treason and rebellion against the constitution, and suffering the just penalty of his crimes, was actually elected Governor and placed in the executive chair.

Thus the inhabitants of the State were greatly encouraged to renew with redoubled fury their unlawful attacks upon our defense-settlements<sup>19</sup>, men, women, and children were driven <sup>20</sup>in every direction before their merciless persecutors, robbed of their possessions, their property, their provisions and their all; cast forth upon the bleak snowy prairies, houseless and unprotected; many sunk<sup>21</sup> down and expired under their accumulated sufferings, while others, after enduring hunger and the severities of the season, suffering all but death; arrived in Caldwell county, to which place they were driven from all the surrounding counties only to witness a still more heart-rending scene.

In vain had we appealed to the constituted authorities of Missouri for protection and redress of our former grievances. In vain we now stretched out our hands and appealed as the citizens of this great republic to the sympathies, to the justice and magnanimity of those in power. In vain we implored again and again at the feet of Governor Boggs, our former persecutor, <sup>22</sup>aid and protection against the ravages and murders now inflicted upon our defenseless

<sup>16.</sup> LOC copy, 3: replaces "amount" with "number"

<sup>17.</sup> DHC 6:126: adds "[U.S.]"

<sup>18.</sup> DHC 6:126: "beside"

<sup>19.</sup> DHC 6:127: "defenseless settlements"

<sup>20.</sup> DHC 6:127: adds "away"

<sup>21.</sup> DHC 6:127: "sank"

<sup>22.</sup> DHC 6:127: adds "for"

and unoffending citizens. The cry of American citizens already twice driven and deprived of Liberty, could not penetrate their adamantine hearts.

The Governor, instead of sending us aid, issued a proclamation for our EXTERMINATION and BANISHMENT, ordered out the forces of the State, placed them under the command of General Clark, who to execute these exterminating orders, marched several thousand troops into our settlements in Caldwell county, where, unrestrained by fear of law or justice, and urged on by the highest authority of the State, they laid waste our fields of corn, shot down our cattle and hogs for sport, burned our dwellings, inhumanly butchered some 18 or 20 defenseless citizens, dragged from their hiding-places little children, and placing the muzzles of their guns to their heads, shot them <sup>23</sup>with the most horrid oaths and imprecations.

An aged hero and patriot of the revolution, who served under General Washington, while in the act of pleading for quarters<sup>24</sup>, was cruelly murdered and hewed in pieces with an old corn cutter, and in addition to all these savage acts of barbarity, they forcibly dragged virtuous and inoffensive females from their dwellings, bound them upon benches used for public worship, where they in great numbers ravished them in the most brutal manner.

Some fifty or sixty of the citizens were thrust into prisons and dungeons, where, bound in chains, they were fed on human flesh, while their families and some fifteen thousand others, were, at the point of the bayonet, forcibly expelled from the State.

In the meantime, to pay the expenses of these horrid outrages, they confiscated our property, and robbed us of all our possessions.

Before our final expulsion, with a faint and lingering hope we petitioned the State legislature then in session. Unwilling to believe that the virtue and patriotism of the venerable fathers of the revolution had fled from the bosoms of their illustrious descendants. Unwilling to believe that American citizens could appeal in vain for a restoration of liberty cruelly wrested from them by cruel tyrants. But in the language of our noble ancestors, "our repeated petitions were only answered by repeated injuries."

The legislature, instead of hearing the cries of 15,000 suffering, bleeding, unoffending citizens, sanctioned and sealed the unconstitutional acts of the Governor and his troops, by appropriating 200,000 dollars to defray the expenses of exterminating us from the State. No friendly arm was stretched out to protect us. The last ray of hope for redress in that State was now entirely extinguished. We saw no other alternative but to bow down our necks, and wear the cruel yoke of oppression, and quietly and submissively suffer ourselves to be banished as exiles from our possessions, our property and our sacred homes, or otherwise see our wives and children coldly butchered and murdered<sup>25</sup> by tyrants in power.

Fourth. Our next permanent settlement was in the land of our exile, the State of Illinois, in the spring of 1839, but even here we are not secure from our relentless persecutor, the State of Missouri. Not satisfied in having drenched her soil in the blood of innocence, and expelling us from her borders, she pursues her unfortunate victims into banishment, seizing upon and kidnapping them in their defenseless moments, dragging them across the Mississippi river, upon their inhospitable shores, where <sup>26</sup> they are tortured, whipped, immured in dungeons, and finally hung <sup>27</sup>by the neck without any legal process what ever.

We have memorialized the former executive of this State, Governor Carlin, upon these

<sup>23.</sup> DHC 6:127: adds "[such acts being accompanied]"

<sup>24.</sup> DHC 6:127: "quarter"

<sup>25.</sup> LOC copy, 5: "murdered and butchered"

<sup>26.</sup> DHC 6:128: replaces "where" with "there"

<sup>27.</sup> DHC 6:128: adds "[as a means of torture, but not unto death]"

lawless outrages committed upon our citizens, but he rendered us no protection. Missouri, receiving no check in her murderous career, continues her depredations. Again and again kidnapping our citizens and robbing us of our property. While others, who fortunately survived the execution of her bloody edicts, are again and again demanded by the executive of that State on pretense of some crime said to have been committed by them during the exterminating expedition against our people.

As an instance, Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith, one of your memorialists, has been three times demanded, tried and acquitted by the courts of this State, upon investigation under writs of habeas corpus once by the United States Court for the district of Illinois, again by the circuit court of the State of Illinois, and lastly by the municipal court of the city of Nauvoo, when at the same time a *nolle prosequi* had been entered by the courts of Missouri, upon all the cases of that State against Joseph Smith and others.

Thus the said Joseph Smith has been several times tried for the same alleged offense, put in jeopardy of life and limb contrary to the fifth article of the amendments to the Constitution of the<sup>28</sup> United States, and thus we have been continually harassed and robbed of our money to defray the expenses of these vexatious prosecutions. And what at the present time seems to be still more alarming, is, the hostility manifested by some of the authorities and citizens of this State, <sup>29</sup>conventions have been called, inflammatory speeches made, and many unlawful and unconstitutional resolutions adopted, to deprive us of our rights, our liberties, and the peaceable enjoyment of our possessions.

From the present hostile aspect and from bitter experience in the State of Missouri, it is greatly feared lest the barbarous scenes acted in that State will be reacted in this. If Missouri goes unpunished, others will be greatly encouraged to follow her murderous examples.

The afflictions of your memorialists have already been overwhelming, too much for humanity, too much for American citizens to endure without complaint. We have groaned under the iron hand of tyranny and oppression these many years. We have been robbed of our property to the amount of two millions of dollars. We have been hunted as wild beasts of the forest. We have seen our aged fathers who fought in the revolution and our innocent children alike slaughtered by our persecutors. We have seen the fair daughters of American citizens insulted and abused in the most inhuman manner, and finally we have seen fifteen thousand souls, men, women and children, driven by force of arms during the severities of the winter from their sacred homes and firesides to a land of strangers<sup>30</sup>, penniless and unprotected.

Under all these afflicting circumstances, we imploringly stretch forth our hands towards the highest councils of our nation, and humbly appeal to the illustrious senators and representatives of a great and free people for redress and protection.

Hear, O hear the petitioning voice of many thousands of American citizens, who now groan in exile on Columbia's free soil. Hear, O hear, the weeping and bitter lamentations of widows and orphans, whose husbands and fathers have been cruelly martyred in the land where the proud eagle exulting floats<sup>31</sup>. Let it not be recorded in the archives of the nations, that Columbia's exiles sought protection and redress at your hands, but sought it in vain. It is in your power to save us, our wives, and our children from a repetition of the bloodthirsty scenes of Missouri, and greatly relieve the fears of a persecuted and injured people, by ordaining for their protection the following ordinance, namely:—

<sup>28.</sup> LOC copy, 6: "these"

<sup>29.</sup> DHC 6:129: adds "[Illinois]"

<sup>30.</sup> DHC 6:129: moves "to a land of strangers" to end of sentence

<sup>31.</sup> DHC 6:130: replaces "floats" with "soars"

#### AN ORDINANCE

For the protection of the people styled the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, residing on the western borders of the State of Illinois.

### <sup>32</sup>PREAMBLE.

Whereas the State of Missouri, at sundry times, has unconstitutionally deprived a certain portion of her citizens (called Mormons) of their rights, property, lands, and even of their lives:

And whereas in the years 1838 and 1839, the said State of Missouri did illegally and inhumanly exile and banish for ever from her limits and jurisdiction, all the said citizens (called Mormons) that remained alive, with impunity<sup>33</sup>.

And whereas, <sup>34</sup>after being hospitably received by the citizens of Illinois, the said State of Illinois did grant, enact<sup>35</sup> and charter for the benefit and convenience of the said exiled Mormons, as follows<sup>36</sup>:—

<sup>37</sup>(See *Deseret News*, Vol. 4, page 127, No. 35, Nov. 9, 1854.)

<sup>38</sup>By the 2nd Section of an act passed January 27, 1841 it is thus enacted "Section 2. Any citizen of Hancock County, may, by voluntary enrollment, attach himself to the Nauvoo Legion, with all the privileges which appertain to that Independent Military Body".

32. In US Draft, 8, the Preamble reads: "Whereas many thousands of the people Styled 'The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints' have been forcibly expelled from the state of Missouri with great loss of life and property by the authorities of said state and are now living in exile in the state of Illinois where also they are unlawfully and unconsti=tutionally threatened with expulsion by some of the authorities and citizens of that state

And whereas The Legislature of said state have granted unto the citizens of the city of Nauvoo in Hancock County (the populations of which <chiefly> consists of the aforesaid injured people) certain chartered rights and privileges for their peace and protection in which they have power to make their own laws both civil and military not being invited by the statutes of the state not by the general military law only as expressly provided for in the law authorizing their organization but expressly limited by the constitution of that state and of the United States

And whereas they as injured American citizens have app=ealed to Congress imploring as also to enact some ordinance for their further protection & safety to <and thus> prevent a repetition of the injuries inflicted upon them in Missouri.

Therefore Be it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled".

This was marked with a penciled "X" at the beginning and end for replacement by WWP's rewrite that appears below.

- 33. DHC 6:130: moves "with impunity" to follow "Missouri"
- 34. WWP draft: adds "the said exiled Mormons"
- 35. LOC copy, 8: "did enact, grant"
- 36. Book E-1, 1816: replaces "as follows" with "[eoe of about two words] the following city charter". When it was decided to cancel the charter (see next note), the following words were inserted in the margin and keyed to this location with an "x", but not published in *DN*: "<entitled: "An act to Incorporate the city of Nauvoo.">" (RLC).
- 37. The Nauvoo city charter, dated 16 Dec. 1840, was copied into Book E-1, 1816-21, but then canceled and the following notice of its previous publication in *DN* inserted (see previous footnote). DHC 6:130 reads: "[Here in the original document is inserted the city charter of Nauvoo already published, Vol. IV, pp. 239-249. [chap. 13]]."
- 38. This paragraph, which is an addendum to the charter of the Nauvoo Legion that did not appear in the previous printing (cf. DHC 4:239-49; chap. 13), appears in TB copy, 16, LOC copy, 15, and Book E-1, 1821, but was canceled in Book E-1 along with the Nauvoo charter and not published in *DN* and DHC. *Source*: *T&S* 2 (15 Feb. 1841):320; Cf. DHC 4:295 (chap. 15).

<sup>39</sup>And whereas, by the 10th article of the Constitution of the United States<sup>40</sup> as amended: "Art. 10. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people"; and whereas, according to the fourth article and section second, "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States": and whereas, according to the second paragraph of the third section of said Constitution<sup>41</sup>, "The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make the needful rules and regulations respecting territory"; and whereas the said Congress has the power to protect each State against invasion and insurrection: and whereas most of the inhabitants of the city of Nauvoo are exiles from the State of Missouri: and whereas the most of the lands owned in the State of Missouri were purchased from the United States, and patented by the United States to the amount of more than \$200,000 worth; and whereas the United States are bound to clear the title and protect it; and whereas the said exiles or expelled Mormons have lost in property and damages about two millions of dollars; and whereas the said State of Missouri continues her ravages, persecutions and plunderings, by kidnapping said exiles from Illinois, and by other depredations.

Now, therefore, to show the fatherly care of the United States; to ratify the said charter; to protect the said exiles from mob violence, and shield them in their rights:—

<sup>42</sup>Section 1. Be it ordained by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that all the rights, powers, privileges and immunities belonging to Territories, and not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, are hereby granted and secured to the inhabitants of the city of Nauvoo, in addition to the spirit, letter, meaning and provisions of the afore-mentioned charter, or act of incorporation from the State of Illinois, until the State of Missouri restores to those exiled citizens, the lands, rights, privileges, property, and damage for all losses.

Section 2. And be it further ordained, in order to effect the object and further intention of this ordinance, and for the peace, security, happiness, convenience, benefit, and prosperity of the said city of Nauvoo, and for the common weal, and honor of our country; that the mayor of Nauvoo be, and he is hereby empowered, by this consent of the President of the United States, whenever the actual necessity of the case, and the public safety shall require it, to call to his aid a sufficient number of United States forces, in connection with the Nauvoo Legion, to repel the invasion of mobs, keep the public peace, and protect the innocent from the unhallowed ravages of lawless banditti that escape justice on the western frontier; and also to preserve the power and dignity of the Union.

<sup>43</sup>Section 3. And be it further ordained that the officers of the United States army are hereby required to obey the requisitions of this ordinance.

<sup>39.</sup> Source: The remainder of the Memorial is the Nauvoo city council's addendum. After the city council had "signed offi=cially a Memorial to Congress, petitioning for redress of griev=ances vs. Missouri" on 16 Dec. 1843 (WR; NCCP, 194), the Memorial was read and revisions were recommended, primarily by WWP on constitutional matters. At this time, it was "Moved by Coun[selo]r [Brigham] Young. 2d and carried that Coun[selo]r Phelps be added to the committe[e], and the memorial refered back to the committee for revision" (WR; NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 26; NCHCM, 190-91). On 21 Dec., "An ordinance was reported by the committee to memori=a[l]ize Congress. Read & accept Report accepted. ... C[ounselor]. [Orson] Pratt purposed an additional Section to the ordinance requesting the US. Troops to obey the orders of the Mayor in case of insurrection" (WR; NCCM, 28; NCHCM, 193). One of the items in the folder in UC (item 2) is WWP's five-page Revision Draft (WWP), which consists of two single sheets and a half sheet containing a rewrite of the Preamble to the Nauvoo Charter and the first four sections to Nauvoo city ordinance of 21 Dec. 1843, with TB inserting the third and renumbering.

<sup>40.</sup> Revision Draft, [1]: "<of the US>"

<sup>41.</sup> Revision Draft, [1]: "<of said Constitution>"

<sup>42.</sup> Revision Draft, [2], contains a copy of sections 1 and 2, which were canceled and recopied on pp. [3]-[4].

<sup>43.</sup> At this point in Revision Draft, [4], TB overwrites "3" with "4" and inserts a symbol of a cross with a dot in each quadrant, which is keyed to an addendum at the bottom of the page containing the text of section 3 that follows.

Section 4. And be it further ordained, that for all services rendered in quelling mobs, and preserving the public peace, the said Nauvoo Legion shall be under the same regulations, rules, and laws of pay as the troops of the United States.

<sup>44</sup>City of Nauvoo, Illinois, December 21, 1843.

HYRUM SMITH,
JOHN TAYLOR,
ORSON PRATT,
W. W. PHELPS,
HEBER C. KIMBALL,
BENJAMIN WARRINGTON,
DANIEL SPENCER,
BRIGHAM YOUNG,
ORSON HYDE,

Councilors;

ORSON SPENCER, DANIEL H. WELLS, GEO. W. HARRIS, SAM[UE]L. BENNETT, GEO. A. SMITH,<sup>45</sup>

Aldermen;

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor; WILLARD RICHARDS, Recorder; JOHN P. GREENE, Marshal.

 $[\dots]^{46}$   $[\dots]^{47}$ 

<sup>48</sup>Two letters came into the post-office from the sheriff of Clark county, Missouri; from them<sup>49</sup> it appears that that State wishes to continue the old game of seizing witnesses and making prisoners of them, to cover up her mobocracy and kidnapping under legal form. The following answer was written<sup>50</sup>:—

<sup>51</sup>City of Nauvoo, Ill., Dec. 21, 1843.

Sir:—Two letters were put into my hands this morning relative to the witnesses of

<sup>44.</sup> Remainder of document not in Revision Draft.

<sup>45.</sup> DHC 6:132 rearranges last three names: SLB, GAS, GWH

<sup>46.</sup> At this point in Book E-1, 1822, RLC copied the following from RDft 7:87: "I insert the Memorial that was signed by the Inhabitants of Hancock County generally" (TB). Then, RLC began copying the document, which reads the same as the "Preamble" to the Nauvoo city ordinance calling for protection of its inhabitants against "kidnapping" by Missouri officials (cf. DHC 6:130; this chap.). After copying three paragraphs, RLC canceled them and left the bottom fourth of the page blank.

<sup>47.</sup> At this point, Book E-1, 1823-25, includes a second copy of the Memorial to the U.S. Congress by the inhabitants of Hancock County that previously appeared under 29 Nov. 1843 (cf. DHC 6:84-88; chap. 4), which was canceled when the duplication was discovered.

<sup>48.</sup> Source: These two letters have not been located.

<sup>49.</sup> Book E-1, 1826: "<from them>" (LH)

<sup>50.</sup> Book E-1, 1826: adds erasure of about three words

<sup>51.</sup> Source: Original in UC. See also J. White to J. D. Hunter, 10 Dec. 1843 (DHC 6:108; chap. 5; transcription in vol. 8, VI.41).

Mr. Avery's innocence as to being accessory to horse stealing some <sup>52</sup>four years since. In the first place, Mr. Avery was abducted from this State without process, contrary to law; in the second place the principal for felony, by the law of <sup>53</sup> Missouri, should be indicted within three years, &c. Again, the revised statutes of Missouri have a wise provision in such cases as Mr. Avery's. If Mr. Avery, therefore <sup>54</sup>, will sue out a commission, according to the law concerning depositions, (R. S., page 219 to 222) directed to Alderman Geo. W. Harris, an acting justice of the peace for the city of Nauvoo, and county of Hancock, the necessary testimony to establish Mr. Avery's innocence will be taken according to law, and forwarded to the proper officer in due time.

```
J. White, Esq., Dep. Sheriff, Clark co., Waterloo, Mo.

Respectfully, &c.,
W. W. PHELPS.
```

P.S. You will have the politeness to show this to Mr. Avery.

<sup>55</sup>In the evening I was visited by several strangers, and had considerable conversation with them. **J[oshua?]. Holman and E[lbridge]. Tuftes left papers for history. Very warm and pleasant.** 

<sup>56</sup>Friday, 22.—At home at 9 o'clock, a.m., while reading a magazine to my children, **Bro[ther]** Phelps came in and gave me the common morning salutation, and I said, "God be with you" and he said "Amen".

A little after 12, went into the store-room occupied by Butler and Lewis, and commenced a conversation with Dr. John F. Charles to convince him that mobocracy is not justifiable; and that I did not deal in politics.

### Near evening went to the printing office after my papers.

David Holman, living about 2 miles from Ramus, went out in the evening with his family visiting. About 10 o'clock he discovered his house on fire. The neighbors had inquired how long he would be gone; a man rode to Carthage. A company went up, secured the provisions to themselves, and fired the house

Warm and pleasant weather.

<sup>57</sup>Saturday, 23.—At home counseling the brethren who called on me; and attending to my domestic duties, making preparations for a Christmas dinner party.

Prayer meeting in the Assembly Room [with] Isaac Morley and wife [Lucy], O[rson] Pratt, Sister [Permelia] Lot, Fanny Murray, Sister [Phoebe] Woodruff, Geo[rge] A. Smith's wife [Bathsheba], Sister O[rson]. Spencer [Catherine], [and] Sister [Sally] Phelps [were anointed].<sup>58</sup>

<sup>59</sup>Sunday, 24.—At home; received a visit from Mr. Richardson, one of the men who assisted

<sup>52.</sup> MS letter, 1:"three or"

<sup>53.</sup> MS letter, 1: "in <by the law of>" (pos.TB)

<sup>54.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<therefore>"

<sup>55.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 206 (WR) (APR, 434). Deleted material supplied here in bold type

<sup>56.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 207 (WR) (APR, 434-35), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>57.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 208 (WR) (APR, 435). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>58.</sup> On this day, WW recorded: "I met with the quorum through the day. Mrs Woodruff & several other sisters were present. Br & sister Morley &c. <O Pratt Sister Lot Fanny M[urray] P.W. Woodruff Bathsheba W. Smith Sister O. Spencer Sister Phelps received their Anointing.>" (WWj, vol. 3, 23 Dec. 1843; WWj 2:332).

<sup>59.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 209 (WR) (APR, 435), with editing and elaboration.

in kidnapping Avery; he manifested some repentance and sorrow for his part in that transaction, and promised to use what influence he had with the Missourians to have Avery set at liberty.

<sup>60</sup>Monday, 25.—This morning about 1 o'clock, I was aroused by an English sister, Lettice Rushton, widow of Richard Rushton, senior, (who ten years ago lost her sight) accompanied by three of her sons, with their wives, and her two daughters with their husbands, and several of her neighbors, singing, "Mortals, awake, with angels join," &c., which caused a thrill of pleasure to run through my soul. All of my family and boarders arose to hear the serenade, and I felt to thank my Heavenly Father for their visit, and blessed them in the name of the Lord. They also visited my brother Hyrum, who was awakened from his sleep; he arose and went out of doors<sup>61</sup>. He shook hands with, and blessed each one of them in the name of the Lord, and said that he thought at first that a cohort of angels had come to visit him; it was such heavenly music to him.

<sup>62</sup>At home all day. About noon gave counsel to some brethren who called on me from Morley Settlement, and told them to keep law on their side, and they would come out well enough.

At two o'clock, about 50 couples sat down at my table to dine; while I was eating, my scribe called, requesting me to solemnize the marriage of his brother, Dr. Levi Richards, and Sarah Griffiths; but as I could not leave, I referred him to Pres[iden]t. B[righam]. Young, who married them.

A large party supped at my house, and spent the evening in music, dancing, &c., in a most cheerful and friendly manner<sup>63</sup>. During the festivities, a man with his hair long, and falling over his shoulders, and apparently drunk, came in, and acted like a Missourian. I requested the captain of the police to put him out of doors, a scuffle ensued, and I had an opportunity to look him full in the face, when to my great surprise and joy untold, I discovered it was my long-tried, warm, but cruelly persecuted friend<sup>64</sup>, Orrin Porter Rockwell, just arrived from nearly a year's imprisonment, without conviction in Missouri.

The following is his statement of his experience and sufferings by that accursed<sup>65</sup> people:—

<sup>66</sup>I, Orrin Porter<sup>67</sup> Rockwell, was on my way from New Jersey to Nauvoo; and while at St. Louis, on the 4th March, 1843, was arrested by a Mr. Fox, on oath of Elias Parker, who swore

<sup>60.</sup> Source: This paragraph appears as an addendum in RDft MS #7, written by TB on a one-third sheet marked "88a", which was created after TB composed p. 88 between 20 Feb.-20 June 1855 (see RDft Chronology), and before RLC copied it into Book E-1, 1826-27, between ca. 28 June-20 Aug. 1855 (see MSHi Chronology). TB was close to the Rushton family, having emigrated to Nauvoo on the same ship and presided over the Mormon emigrants with Richard Rushton (see DHC 5:299, 415; chaps. 16 and 21).

<sup>61.</sup> Book E-1, 1826: adds "to them"

<sup>62.</sup> *Source*: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 210-11 (WR) (*APR*, 435-36), with light editing and elaboration. See announcement for dinner party in *NN* 1 (13 Dec. 1843): [130].

<sup>63.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 210: "<in a most cheerful and friendly manner>"

<sup>64.</sup> Book E-1, 1827: "{\but cruelly persecuted friend/}" (JG)

<sup>65.</sup> DHC 6:135: omits "accursed"

<sup>66.</sup> The first part of Rockwell's account (to first sentence of nineteenth paragraph) appears in Book E-1, 1827-28, in the hand of RLC, with two paragraphs (7th and 8th) inserted interlinearly in TB's hand. The second part appears in very compressed lines, which TB entered at the top third and left margin of Book E-1, 1829. *Source*: Original for first part (MS pp. 1-4) not found; second part is written on three pages presently located in RDft MS #7, between pp. 88 and 89, and numbered 5-7 (TB). Apparently, sometime between 13 June-20 Aug. 1855 (see MSHi Chronology), RLC copied the first part of Rockwell's account into Book E-1, 1827-28, and left space at the top of p. 1829 in anticipation of more. RDft 7:88 instructs scribe to "copy" Rockwell's statement, but has a penciled note underneath: "not yet finished" (pos. TB). On 16 Oct. 1855, CHOj mentions GAS and TB "engaged with Orren P. Rockwell drawing up his statement of imprisonment in Missouri all day" (18:168). The same source indicates that on 22 Oct. TB spent the day "inserting" Rockwell's statement in MSHiJS (18:175).

<sup>67.</sup> Book E-1, 1827: "P\orter/" (pos. TB)

I was the O. P. Rockwell advertised in the papers, as having attempted to assassinate Lilburn<sup>68</sup> W. Boggs, and was taken<sup>69</sup> before a magistrate in St. Louis.

I was then put into the St. Louis County<sup>70</sup> Jail, and kept two days with a pair of iron hobbles on my ankles. About midnight was taken into the stage coach in charge of Fox, and started for Jefferson city: there were nine passengers, two of them women. I sat on the middle seat; one of the men behind me commenced gouging me in the back. I spoke to him, and told him that it was dark, and I could not see him, but that<sup>71</sup> he was no gentleman: one of the ladies whispered to him, and he ceased the operation.

The next night the driver being drunk, run against a tree, and broke the king bolt; and not knowing what to do, ironed as I was, I crawled into the boot, and found an extra bolt, and in the dark fixed the coach, got it off the tree, and we started on; soon after ran against a bank, and could not move. I was asleep at the time, but the bustle awake me, when I told them if they would take off my irons I would get off and drive, as the driver was too drunk to manage the horses; they refused<sup>72</sup>. I, however, got hold of the lines, and by the help of other passengers lifting at the wheels, got it righted, and I drove to the next stand, near the Osage river<sup>73</sup>: the roads were very bad, and the load heavy, so we got along slowly.

There was an officer of the U.S. army in the coach. We were<sup>74</sup> two days and two nights from St. Louis<sup>75</sup>, in reaching Jefferson city, where I was lodged in the jail two days and two nights. The U.S. officer went on.

Started on for Independence, still in charge of Fox; at Boonville overtook the U.S. officer. We three were all that were in the coach all the way from Boonville<sup>76</sup> to Independence. Sheriff Reynolds told me afterwards that when he looked into the stage, he took me for the guard and the officer for the prisoner, for he looked like the guilty one.

Was about four days going to Independence; arrived there just at night; a large crowd gathered around, making many remarks; some were for hanging me at once. I was then placed in the jail, in two or three days, underwent a sham trial before a justice of the peace; the court house was crowded, and the men were armed with hickory clubs. They set on boys from 10 to 12 years of age to kick and punch<sup>77</sup> me, which they did repeatedly. While in court Fox was the main witness introduced, and he swore falsely.

<sup>78</sup>Fox swore that I had stated to him that I had not been in the county for five years. I informed the court that Fox swore falsely, in proof thereof, that the people of Independence knew that I had traveled through Independence several times during that time, for the people were all well aware of my having visited this place, which fact alone should satisfy them<sup>79</sup> that Fox was swearing for money, which I afterwards learned that he obtained and divided with Parker<sup>80</sup>.

The magistrate committed me to prison for my safe preservation, as he was afraid the

```
68. Book E-1, 1827: "L\ilburn/" (pos. TB)
```

<sup>69.</sup> Book E-1, 1827: "<and was taken>" (JG)

<sup>70.</sup> Book E-1, 1827: "<the St. Louis County>" (TB)

<sup>71.</sup> Book E-1, 1827: "<that>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>72.</sup> Book E-1, 1827: "{\refused/}" (pos. TB)

<sup>73.</sup> Book E-1, 1827: "<near the Osage River>" (TB)

<sup>74.</sup> Book E-1, 1827 (pencil): "was <we were>" (LH)

<sup>75.</sup> Book E-1, 1827: "<from St. Louis>" (TB)

<sup>76.</sup> Book E-1, 1827: "<from Boonville>" (TB)

<sup>77.</sup> Book E-1, 1827 (darker ink): "{\punch/}" (RLC)

<sup>78.</sup> This and next paragraph added interlinearly in Book E-1, 1827 (TB).

<sup>79.</sup> OPR Note: "should have been <be> satisfactory to them"

<sup>80.</sup> OPR Note: "which I learned that he obtained & which was afterwards divided between him & Parker"

people would kill me, but he could find no crime against me: this I was told by the officer who conveyed me to prison.

I was re-committed to jail, still wearing the iron hobbles, and<sup>81</sup> was kept in the upper part in the day-time, and in the dungeon at night with a little dirty straw for a bed, without any bedding<sup>82</sup>, no fire, and very cold weather, for eighteen days I was not free from shaking with cold. I then got permission to buy 1½ bushels of charcoal, which I put into an old kettle and kept a little fire; when that was gone, I could not obtain any more.

After I was arrested at St. Louis, I was visited by Joseph Wood an apostate Mormon, who professed to be a lawyer; he was accompanied by Mr. Blanerhasset, who told me that everything I had would be taken from me, and proposed to take charge, keep and return to me any property I might have with me. I let him have a pair of pistols, a Bowie knife and watch, which he never returned to me.

After the weather got a little warmer, they furnished me <sup>83</sup>a few old newspapers to read. A family lived at the corner of the jail: the women once in a while used to send out a little Negro girl with a small basket of victuals. She handed up to the grate a big Missouri whip-stock with a piece of twine, which I tied to the pole and drew up the basket, and let it down again.

I made a pin-hook and tied to the twine, and baited with a chunk of corn-dodger hard enough to knock a negro down with, and stuck it out of <sup>84</sup> the grated window, and fished for pukes; when passers-by came along, they would stop and gawk at me awhile and pass on.

A preacher who had a <sup>85</sup>family of girls, lived on <sup>86</sup> the opposite side of the street <sup>87</sup>. The girls would watch and laugh at them, and call out and ask me if I got any bites; I replied no, but some glorious nibbles.

Numbers were put into the jail with me at different times, and taken out again. One of them, who was charged with a fraudulent issue of U.S. Treasury notes<sup>88</sup>, was allowed to have his saddle-bags with him. They contained some fire-steels, gun-flints, and articles of Indian trade. I sawed the irons nearly <sup>89</sup>off with one of the fire-steels; he got the negro girl<sup>90</sup> to get him a knife and I finished cutting the fetters with it; he would frequently call for a good supper and pay for it, which was allowed him, but not allowed me. He was very anxious to escape, and urged me to undertake it with him; he ordered a good supper, and he ate very hearty<sup>91</sup>. I would not eat, telling him that he could not run if he ate so much. Nearly dusk, as the jailer came in to get the dishes, we sprang to the door, and I locked him in, and threw the key into the garden. In coming down stairs we met the jailer's wife; I told her that her husband was unharmed, I had only locked him up.<sup>92</sup> We had a board fence to climb over, which was about 12 feet high: I climbed it, and ran about 20 rods, when he called me to come back and help him over, which I did; if I had not, I should have escaped. The pure air had so great an effect upon me, that I gave out and

```
81. Book E-1, 1827: "<and>" (pos. TB)
```

<sup>82.</sup> Book E-1, 1828: "<without any bedding>" (TB)

<sup>83.</sup> DHC 6:136: adds "with"

<sup>84.</sup> Book E-1, 1828: "<of>" (JG)

<sup>85.</sup> Book E-1, 1828: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>86.</sup> Book E-1, 1828:"{\on/}" (TB)

<sup>87.</sup> Book E-1, 1828: "{\side of the street/}" (TB)

<sup>88.</sup> Book E-1, 1828: "accused of forgery <charged with a fraudulent issue of U.S. Treasure Notes>" (TB)

<sup>89.</sup> Book E-1, 1828: adds erasure

<sup>90.</sup> Book E-1, 1828: "{\girl/}" (pos. TB)

<sup>91.</sup> DHC 6:137: "heartily"

<sup>92.</sup> Book E-1, 1828 (darker ink): "<I had only locked him up.>" (TB)

slacked my pace; the populace of the place came up, and I told them to run, they would soon catch him, and that I had given out and could not run; they soon returned with him: I fell into the crowd and walked back to the jail yard.

Sheriff J. H.<sup>93</sup> Reynolds laid his hand upon my shoulder, he being the first to approach me; asked where the key was, I told him in the garden.

Smallwood Nowlin was the first who proposed to hang me on the spot, <sup>94</sup>when Reynolds gave me a push towards the crowd, and said, "there he is, God damn<sup>95</sup> him, <sup>96</sup> do what you damn please with him." Nowlin's son in-law (by marrying one of his Mulatto wenches,) a Mexican stepped up to me to lay hold of me<sup>97</sup>, when I told him to stand off or I would mash his face; he stepped back.

I then walked up stairs into the jail; was followed by Reynolds and others until the room and stairs were full. Reynolds asked me what I had cut my irons off with; I went to the saddle-bags and handed him the knife and fire-steel; while feeling for them I got hold of a piece of buckskin that had some three or four pounds of <sup>98</sup> bullets tied up in it, which I intended to use in mashing in the head of any one that should attempt to put a rope on my neck. A rope was passed along over the heads of the people into the room to a bald-headed man. About this time pistols could be heard cocking in every part of the room, and bowie-knives were produced as if for fight. In a few minutes the room was clear of all but three or four persons.

I was then put into the dungeon, my feet ironed together, my right hand to my left foot, so close that I could not half straighten myself. The irons, when put on my wrists, were so small that they would hardly go on, and swelled them; but $^{99}$  in eighteen days I could slip them up and $^{100}$  turn them around my arm at the elbow. I was fed on cold $^{101}$  corndodger and meat of the poorest description; and if I did not eat it all up, it was returned the $^{102}$  next time.

About a month after the court sat, my irons were taken off, and I was so weak that I had to be led to the courtroom <sup>103</sup>by the officer. <sup>104</sup>I was notified that a bill was found against me for breaking jail, and that the grand jury had failed to <sup>105</sup> find a bill against me on the charge of shooting Boggs, <sup>106</sup>as charged in the advertisement offering a reward for my apprehension.

<sup>107</sup>I was taken into court, and was asked by the judge <sup>108</sup>if I had any counsel; I told him

```
93. Book E-1, 1828: "<J. H.>" (JG)
```

<sup>94.</sup> Book E-1, 1828: adds ellipses over erasure of about three words

<sup>95.</sup> DHC 6:137: "G-d d-n"

<sup>96.</sup> Book E-1, 1828: "<God damn him,>" (TB)

<sup>97.</sup> Book E-1, 1828: "{\lay hold of me/} [eoe of about two words]" (TB)

<sup>98.</sup> Book E-1, 1828, "{\pounds/} <of>" (TB)

<sup>99.</sup> Book E-1, 1828: "<and swelled them, but>" (TB)

<sup>100.</sup> Book E-1, 1828: "<slip them up and>" (TB)

<sup>101.</sup> Book E-1, 1828: "<cold>" (TB)

<sup>102.</sup> Book E-1, 1828: "<the>" (TB)

<sup>103.</sup> Remainder of paragraph added at *eoln* ("by the officer ... breaking") and interlinearly ("jail ... apprehension") at bottom of Book E-1, 1828 (TB). It was copied from a three-page addendum to Rockwell's account (numbered 5-7) in TB's handwriting located between pp. 88-89 of RDft #7 (OPR, 5-7).

<sup>104.</sup> At this point, OPR, 5, adds: "<see 2a>". This refers to a slip of paper in TB's handwriting also located between pp. 88-89 in RDft #7 (OPR Note), which contains the following sentence.

<sup>105.</sup> OPR Note: "found that they could not <failed to>"

<sup>106.</sup> OPR Note: adds "as the"

<sup>107.</sup> The remainder of Rockwell's account is written in compressed lines across the top and sideways in the left margin of Book E-1, 1829 (TB). It was copied from the last three pages (numbered 5-7) of Rockwell's interview with GAS and TB, written in TB's hand, and now located between pp. 88-89 of RDft #7 (OPR).

<sup>108.</sup> OPR, 5: adds "<Austin A. King>"

I had not <sup>109</sup>. He asked if I had any means to employ a counsel; I answered <sup>110</sup>I had none with me that I could control.

He then said, here are a number of counselors; if I was acquainted with any of them, I could take my choice: I told him <sup>111</sup>I would make choice of Mr. Doniphan, who arose and made a speech, saying he was crowded with business, but that here are plenty of young lawyers who could plead for me as well as he could. <sup>112</sup>The judge heard his plea, and then told me he did not consider that a sufficient excuse, and <sup>113</sup> I could consider Mr. Doniphan my counsel.

I was then ordered back to jail, and ironed again in the same way. <sup>114</sup>Mr. Doniphan asked for and obtained <sup>115</sup> a change of venue to Clay county, which is <sup>116</sup> in another district.

<sup>117</sup>When the officers came to Independence jail for me, they requested me to get ready in a hurry, as they feared the <sup>118</sup>mob would kill me. I told them I wanted to put on a clean shirt, if it cost me my life, as I had not been permitted to enjoy the luxury of a change of linen since I had boarded at the expense of Jackson county: while I was changing my shirt, the officers <sup>119</sup>several times <sup>120</sup>told me to hurry, or the mob would be on me and kill me.

When I got ready to start the officers furnished me a very hard-trotting horse, with a miserable poor saddle, tied my feet under the horse with ropes, and my hands behind my back, and <sup>121</sup>started off at a good round trot, in charge of two officers. In a short time a strange gentleman fell into our company, who was<sup>122</sup> also on horseback; it was six miles to the ferry, where we could cross<sup>123</sup> the Missouri river; when we got there, we saw<sup>124</sup> the boat land<sup>125</sup> on the opposite side, when several men got off the boat and took a course to the woods, through which the road ran. The boat returned,<sup>126</sup> this stranger asked<sup>127</sup>, "where are those men going[?]" and was answered, "they are going to the woods to hew timber."

<sup>128</sup>We then crossed, and took our way for Liberty. When we left<sup>129</sup> the boat, we saw no signs of people, nor heard any sound of axes. After traveling some two or three miles, the woods became dense and brushy; we heard the crackling of brush and the noise of men traveling through it. The officers and the stranger appeared frightened and urged speed, keeping close watch. We came to an opening in the woods, when<sup>130</sup> the noise of crackling of brush ceased:

```
109. OPR, 5: "no\t/"; "t" w.o. "ne"
110. DHC 6:138: adds "that"
111. OPR, 5: adds "if I was allowed my choice"
112. OPR, 5: adds "&"
113. OPR, 5: "<he did not consider that sufficient excuse &>"
114. OPR, 5: adds "My Counsel"
115. OPR, 5:"<& obtained>"
116. OPR, 5: "<which is>"
117. OPR, 5: adds "in a short time I was remanded to Clay Co"
118. OPR, 5: adds "Independence"
119. OPR, 5: adds "eame <in>"
120. OPR, 5: adds "&"
121. OPR, 5: adds "when"
122. OPR, 5:"<who was>"
123. OPR, 5: "<could> crossed"
124. OPR, 5: "<we saw>"
125. OPR, 5: "had just landed"
126. Book E-1, 1829: "<the Boat returned,>" (TB)
127. OPR, 5: "a question was asked <the Boat returned, this stranger asked>"
128. OPR, 5: adds "the Boat returned"
129. OPR, 5: "on going from <when we left>"
130. OPR, 5: "& <when>"
```

we traveled safely to Liberty, where <sup>131</sup> this stranger told his friends, that he overheard several <sup>132</sup> men in Independence planning <sup>133</sup> to waylay me in the thick timber on the Missouri bottom, at the place where we heard the noises, but his being in company <sup>134</sup> counteracted their plot. I was then lodged in Liberty jail. In a few days afterwards I learned that the men who went into the brush told it, that they went into the woods according to agreement to waylay me, but when they saw this stranger it frustrated their plans.

In about ten days, on pretext of informality in the papers, I was remanded back to Independence jail; it was rumored that I was again going to be waylaid; when the two officers from Clay county<sup>135</sup> took me by a different road, and so I escaped the second time.

When I was put in Independence<sup>136</sup> jail, I was again ironed hand and foot, and put in the dungeon,<sup>137</sup> in which condition I remained about<sup>138</sup> two <sup>139</sup>months<sup>140</sup>. During this time Joseph H. Reynolds, the sheriff,<sup>141</sup> told me he was going to arrest Joseph Smith, and they had received letters from Nauvoo which satisfied them that Joseph Smith had unlimited confidence in me, that I was capable of toling<sup>142</sup> him in a carriage or on horseback anywhere that I pleased<sup>143</sup>; and if I would only<sup>144</sup> tole<sup>145</sup> him out by riding or any other way, so that they could apprehend him, I might please myself whether I stayed in Illinois or came back to Missouri, they would protect me, and any pile<sup>146</sup> that I would name, the citizens of Jackson county<sup>147</sup> would donate, <sup>148</sup>club together and raise<sup>149</sup>, and that I should never suffer for want afterwards; "you only deliver Jo[e]<sup>150</sup> Smith into our hands, and name your pile." I replied, "I will see you all damned first, and then I won't."

About the time that Joseph was arrested by Reynolds at Dixon, I knowing<sup>151</sup> that they were after him, and <sup>152</sup>no means under heaven of giving him any information, my anxiety became so intense upon the subject, knowing their determination to kill him, <sup>153</sup>that my flesh

```
131. OPR, 5: "& \w/here"

132. OPR, 5: "the <several>"

133. OPR, 5: "plotting <in Independence planing>"

134. OPR, 5: "he was there to <his being in company>"

135. OPR, 5: "<two> officers <from Clay County>"

136. OPR, 5: "<Independence>"

137. OPR, 5: "<& put in the dungeon,>"

138. OPR, 5 (pencil): "between <about>"

139. OPR, 5: adds "and three"

140. OPR, 5: adds "mostly alone"
```

141. OPR, 5: "when papers were made out anew <br/> <br/>during this time a wealthy citizen < Sherif<br/>> of Jackson-County<br/> < Joseph H> Reynolds /the Sheriff\ had"

```
142. DHC 6:139: "toting"
```

143. OPR, 5: "<& they had received letters from Nauvoo <saying which satisfied them that Joseph Smith had unlimited confidence in me> that I was capable of tolling Joseph /him\ in a carriage, or on horseback any where that I pleased>"

```
144. OPR, 5:"/only\"
145. DHC 6:139:"tote"
146. OPR, 6: "amount <pile>"
147. Book E-1, 1829 (pencil):"<county>" (JG)
148. OPR, 6: adds "or"
149. OPR, 6: "<& raise>"
150. OPR, 6: "Joseph"
151. DHC 6:139: "knew"
152. DHC 6:139: adds "[yet had]"
153. OPR, 6: adds "without mercy"
```

twitched on my bones; I could not help it, twitch it would. While undergoing this sensation, <sup>154</sup> I heard a dove<sup>155</sup> light<sup>156</sup> on the window in the upper room of the jail, and commence cooing, and then went off. In a short time he came back to the window, where a <sup>157</sup>pane was broken; he crept through between the bars of iron, which were about 2½ inches apart.

I saw it fly<sup>158</sup> round the trap-door several times; it did not alight, but<sup>159</sup> continued cooing until it crept<sup>160</sup> through the bars again, and flew out through the broken window.

I relate this, as it was the only occurrence of the kind that happened during my long and weary imprisonment; but it proved a comfort to me,—the twitching of my flesh ceased, and I was fully satisfied from that moment that they would not get Joseph into Missouri, and that I should regain my freedom. <sup>161</sup> From the best estimates that can be made, it was at <sup>162</sup> the time when Joseph was in the custody of Reynolds.

In a few days afterwards, Sheriff Reynolds came into the jail, and told me that he had made a failure in the arrest of Joseph.

After the lawyers had been about two months making out fresh papers, I was again conveyed to Liberty jail, <sup>163</sup>on a miserable horse, <sup>164</sup>with feet and hands tied as before, but <sup>165</sup>a different road.

<sup>166</sup>In a few days afterwards my mother found where I was, and she came to see me and brought me \$100, whereby I was enabled to fee Mr. Doniphan for his services as counsel.

<sup>167</sup>The time of trial being continually<sup>168</sup> delayed, I began to be uneasy; I was hand-cuffed in the dungeon, which is the basement story of the prison, and is about nine<sup>169</sup> feet high. I took down the stove-pipe, pushed my clothes up through the stove-pipe<sup>170</sup> hole, and then crawled through the hole in the floor which was made of logs about 14 inches thick<sup>171</sup>, into the upper room: the hole was so small that it scratched my flesh and made me bleed from many wounds. I then examined the inside door, and with the bail of the water pail I unbolted it<sup>172</sup>; but finding I could not get through the outside door, I returned to my dungeon through the same narrow pass.

The following night I made another attempt through the same way; but failing to get through the outside door, I lay down on the upper floor where the boys who were bringing my

```
154. OPR, 6: "<undergoing this sensation,>"
```

<sup>155.</sup> OPR, 6: "<del>Pigeon</del> < Dove>"

<sup>156.</sup> DHC 6:139: "alight"

<sup>157.</sup> OPR, 6: adds "small"

<sup>158.</sup> OPR, 6: "it flew <I saw it fly>"

<sup>159.</sup> OPR, 6: "< I saw it it but did not alight, but> &"

<sup>160.</sup> OPR, 6: "crawled <crept>"

<sup>161.</sup> OPR, 6: "realised that both bro Joseph & myself would still be free <It was fully satisfied from that moment, that they would not get Joseph into Missouri and that I should regain my freedom>"

<sup>162.</sup> DHC 6:140: replaces "it was at" with "this incident occurred about"

<sup>163.</sup> OPR, 6: adds "<<del>conveyed</del>>"

<sup>164.</sup> OPR, 6: adds "& tied"

<sup>165.</sup> DHC 6:140: adds "[by]"

<sup>166.</sup> This paragraph inserted interlinearly in OPR, 6.

<sup>167.</sup> OPR, 6: adds "In about a month a Special Court was called"

<sup>168.</sup> OPR, 6: "<continually>"

<sup>169.</sup> OPR, 6:"ten <about nine>"

<sup>170.</sup> OPR, 6: "<Stove-pipe>"

<sup>171.</sup> OPR, 6: "floor < hole in the floor ... thick>"

<sup>172.</sup> OPR, 6: "unfastened the door <unbolted it>"

food next morning<sup>173</sup> found me: they made an alarm, when five or six men came <sup>174</sup>and again conveyed me down into the dungeon; it caused quite an excitement.

My mother, learning that Mr. Doniphan had returned home, she<sup>175</sup> went to him and prevailed on him to come and speak to<sup>176</sup> me at the dungeon grate. While he was talking to me, a little boy, the son of a poor widow,<sup>177</sup> about five or 6 years old, who<sup>178</sup> had previously been to see me, and finding I had no fire, <sup>179</sup>had run home<sup>180</sup> and brought some fire and chips<sup>181</sup> to the grate; Mr. Doniphan said, "you little devil you, what are you doing here with this fire[?]" he replied, "I am going to give it to Mr. Rockwell, so that he can warm him." Doniphan then said, "you little devil you, take this fire and leave"; when the little urchin replied, (looking him in the face,)<sup>182</sup> "Mr. Doniphan, you go to hell, I am going to give Mr. Rockwell this fire, so that he can warm him," and he pushed it through the grate, gave me the chips, and continued to supply my daily wants of chips and fire<sup>183</sup>, while I continued in the dungeon.

From Mr. Doniphan I learned that a special term of <sup>184</sup> court was called, and my trial would come on in about fifteen days. The night following this visit, some men came to the grates of my dungeon, and asked <sup>185</sup>if I wanted to get out; I told them no, as I had been informed that day that I should have a trial in a fortnight; they replied, "honor bright, if you wish to get out, we'll let you out in a few minutes"; I replied that I would rather remain, as my trial would come on so soon. Next morning one of the men came, put some money in the cleft of a stick and put it through the hole to me; he refused to tell his name, but I knew by his voice that he was one of <sup>186</sup> the men who came to me in the night.

The trial came on according to my last notification; I was tried for breaking Independence jail; and although the law of Missouri<sup>187</sup> reads that in order to break jail, a man must break a lock, a door or a wall, still Judge King ruled that it was breaking jail to walk out when the door is open, and under this ruling<sup>188</sup> the jury brought in a verdict of "five minutes" imprisonment in the county jail, but I was kept there four or five hours, during which time several attempts were made to get up some other charge against me.

About 8 p.m., on Dec[ember]. 13<sup>189</sup>, General Doniphan took me out, and told me I must take across the country on foot<sup>190</sup>, and not walk on any traveled road, unless it was during the night, as they would be apt to follow <sup>191</sup> and again take me, as they did not care on what grounds, so they could make me trouble.

```
173. OPR, 6: "<next morning>"
174. OPR, 6: "put on extra irons"
175. DHC 6:140: omits "she"
176. OPR, 6: "see him <speak to>"
177. OPR, 6: "<the Son of a poor widow,>"
178. OPR, 6: "<who>"
179. OPR, 6: adds "he"
180. OPR, 6: "away < home>"
181. OPR, 6:"<& chips>"
182. OPR, 6: "<looking him in the face>"
183. OPR, 6: "<& fire>"
184. OPR, 7:"<term of>"
185. OPR, 7: adds "<honor bright>"
186. OPR, 7: "<one of>"
187. OPR, 7: "<of Missouri>"
188. OPR, 7: "<under this ruling>"
189. OPR, 7: "<in the 13 Decr.> in the [a[il?]"
190. OPR, 7: "<on foot>"
191. OPR, 7: adds "me"
```

I accordingly started, accompanied by my mother, and went to the house of a widow<sup>192</sup>, where I obtained my first supper in freedom for more than<sup>193</sup> nine months. We then traveled two miles and obtained \$4.

I then<sup>194</sup> took through the woods to the road, where<sup>195</sup> I heard two men riding on horseback: I hid behind a shady tree, and overheard one of them say, "he has not been gone many minutes, we shall soon overtake him."

I went round the houses and traveled in the fields by the side of the road. <sup>196</sup> The moon was in its first quarter, and I traveled during the night about 25 miles. I carried a little food with me, and <sup>197</sup> next day traveled on the road, and <sup>198</sup> walked past Crooked river to a Mr. <sup>199</sup> Taylor's, with all<sup>200</sup> the skin off <sup>201</sup> my feet.

A neighbor offered to take me in for the night, if I would go<sup>202</sup> back two miles. I did so, found his wife very cross with her husband, who said, "stranger, you see my wife is very cross; I have got some whisky, let's drink, my wife will soon have something to eat." When supper was eaten, she became good tempered. I stayed in peace through the night. Next morning I ate breakfast with them, and gave them fifty cents, when the man brought out a horse, and sent a little boy with me 14 miles, which was a very great relief to my weary feet.

The <sup>203</sup>next night I stopped near where the Haun's Mill Massacre took place.

The third day I walked till noon<sup>204</sup>, and then hired a man to carry me the remainder of the day for 75 cents.<sup>205</sup> Stayed at a house where I was well acquainted; but the people did not recognize me, and I did not make myself known: paid 50 cents<sup>206</sup> for supper, lodging, breakfast, and being sent 12 miles on horseback the next morning.

 $I^{207}$  then<sup>208</sup> continued my journey about 30 miles, where  $I^{209}$  rested three days to recruit my feet. I was then carried 25 miles on horseback, and walked the same day 25 miles. The day following I walked 40 miles, and then<sup>210</sup> waited another day; and<sup>211</sup> engaged a man to carry me to Montrose, <sup>212</sup>to which place I was three days in going. I immediately crossed the river to Nauvoo<sup>213</sup> in a small boat, and came straight to the Mansion.

```
192. Book E-1, 1829 (darker ink): "<a> W\idow/" (pos. JG)
```

<sup>193.</sup> OPR, 7: "<more than>"

<sup>194.</sup> OPR, 7:"& \I∕ then **!**"

<sup>195.</sup> OPR, 7: "<to the road while> passing thro which \where/"

<sup>196.</sup> OPR, 7: "<\I/ ["I" w.o. "he"] travelled in the fields by the side of the road> <& went round the houses>"; a guideline reverses order of these interlinear insertions.

<sup>197.</sup> OPR, 7: "<I carried a little food with me, &> the"

<sup>198.</sup> OPR, 7: "<travelled on the road &>"

<sup>199.</sup> OPR, 7: replaces "a Mr." with a blank space; Book E-1, 1829 (pencil): adds "\a Mr./" in blank space (RLC)

<sup>200.</sup> OPR, 7:"<all>"

<sup>201.</sup> Book E-1, 1829 (darker ink): "of\f/"

<sup>202.</sup> OPR, 7: "<go>"

<sup>203.</sup> OPR, 7: adds "balance of the day"

<sup>204.</sup> OPR, 7: adds "the middle of the day <noon>"

<sup>205.</sup> OPR, 7: ".75 &"; Book E-1, 1829: ".75 and"

<sup>206.</sup> OPR, 7, Book E-1, 1829: omit "cents" and read ".50"

<sup>207.</sup> OPR, 7, Book E-1, 1829: omit "I"

<sup>208.</sup> OPR, 7: "& <then>"

<sup>209.</sup> OPR, 7: "& <where I>"

<sup>210.</sup> OPR, 7:"<then>"

<sup>211.</sup> OPR, 7: "& <when I>"

<sup>212.</sup> OPR, 7: adds "where"

<sup>213.</sup> OPR, 7: "<to Nauvoo>"

### [DN 7 (29 April 1857): 57-58]

<sup>214</sup>Daniel Avery was liberated from his imprisonment in Missouri by habeas corpus; this was, no doubt, on account of our vigilance in communicating with the Governor, and endeavoring to<sup>215</sup> prosecute the kidnappers, and continually making public the conduct of Missouri.

Warm day; rain in the evening<sup>216</sup>.

From the Millennial Star:—

<sup>217</sup>We have much pleasure in publishing and recommending the following plan to be adopted amongst the sisters of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in England. We believe that the completion of the Temple is as near the hearts of the sisters as <sup>218</sup>the brethren, and that the following proposal<sup>219</sup> will be responded to on the part of the English sisters in a manner that shall reflect honor upon themselves, and be materially instrumental in forwarding the great work.

"Nauvoo, Dec. 25, 1843.220

To the sisters of the Church of Jesus Christ in England, greeting:-

Dear Sisters:—This is to inform you that we have here entered into a small weekly subscription for the benefit of the Temple Funds. One thousand have already joined it, while many more are expected, by which we trust to help forward the great work very much. The amount is only one cent or a halfpenny per week.

As brother Amos Fielding is waiting for this, I cannot enlarge more than to say, that myself and sister Thompson are engaged in collecting the same.

We remain,

Your affectionate sisters in Christ, MARY SMITH, M. R.THOMPSON."

"Nauvoo, Dec. 25, 1843.

The ladies' subscription for the Temple, of one cent per week, is fully sanctioned by the First Presidency.

HYRUM SMITH."

We feel much to encourage this plan, and trust that the sisters in England will manifest that they will not be behind the sisters in Nauvoo in this laudable work. One thing in connection with this work we would mention, and request that it be attended to with the strictest accuracy, that is, that the name of each individual be recorded, and the amount which they subscribe, in order that they<sup>221</sup> may be transmitted to Nauvoo, where they will have to be entered in the books of the Lord's House. The sisters or others who may collect the subscriptions, will please to be very particular on this point.

<sup>214.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 212 (WR) (APR, 436), with elaboration.

<sup>215.</sup> Book E-1, 1829: "<endeavoring to>" (JG)

<sup>216.</sup> Book E-1, 1829: "<the> eve\ning/" (JG)

<sup>217.</sup> Source: MSt 5 (June 1844): 15.

<sup>218.</sup> DHC 6:142: adds "to the hearts of"

<sup>219.</sup> DHC 6:142: "proposed [plan]"

<sup>220.</sup> MSt 5:15: omits "Dec. 25, 1843"; Book E-1, 1829 (pencil): adds "\Decem. 25. 1843/" (RLC)

<sup>221.</sup> DHC 6:143: replaces "they" with "such names"

<sup>222</sup>Tuesday, 26.—At home. I rejoiced that Rockwell had returned from the clutches of Missouri, and that God had delivered him out of their hands. Brother Daniel Avery also arrived about dusk this evening: <sup>223</sup>and the Missourians have no longer the pleasure of exulting over any Mormon victims for the present, but their blood-thirstiness will not long be satisfied unless they seek up another victim on whom to glut their malice and vengeance. **Cloudy, wind N[orth] W[est]. Froze.**<sup>224</sup>

<sup>225</sup>Wednesday, 27.—**At home.** Cold; a little ice in the river, which has been clear for some time past.

I received letters from Gen[eral]. Lewis Cass, of Michigan,<sup>226</sup> and Hon. John C. Calhoun, of S[outh]. Carolina,<sup>227</sup> in answer to mine of Nov. 4.<sup>228</sup> P.M. Bro[ther] Phelps called. I [...] instructed him to answer them and show them the folly of keeping people out of their right[s] and that there was power in government to redress wrongs.<sup>229</sup>

Mr. Keith gave a lecture and concert of music in the Assembly Room this evening.<sup>230</sup>

The name of this individual is, no doubt, familiar to most of our readers. He has obtained some celebrity in the world also, not for his reputed virtue, but for his supposed crimes.

It will be recollected that he is the person who was basely and falsely implicated along with Joseph Smith, as the reputed <sup>234</sup>murderer of Ex-Governor Boggs, while Mr. Smith was charged with being "accessory before the fact." A vexatious lawsuit was instituted against Joseph Smith, wherein he was charged with the above-named crime, and finally, after many attempts of the Governor of Missouri to get him into his power, was acquitted by the United States Court for the district of Illinois.

Stories of murder and blood were circulated from Maine to Missouri. They were iterated and reiterated by the newspapers of the whole Union, and painted in the most glowing colors that human ingenuity could invent. Mr. Rockwell was branded as a murderer, and Joseph Smith as accessory before the fact, without any other evidence than a story fabricated by some of our generous politicians, engendered in falsehood, by hearts as dark as Erebus for religious and political effect.

<sup>222.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 213 (WR) (APR, 436), with editing and elaboration. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>223.</sup> Remainder of paragraph added at eoln ("and the Missourians .. over") and on two blank lines in Book E-1, 1830 (LH).

<sup>224.</sup> Several blank lines with diagonal line in Book E-1, 1830. RDft 7:89 instructs scribe to "leave 3 or 4 lines for thunder." See revisers' notes in vol. 7, IV.8, under date.

<sup>225.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 214 (WR) (APR, 436), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>226.</sup> See Lewis Cass, Detroit, MI, to JS, Nauvoo, IL, 9 Dec. 1843, JSLR, Bx 3, fd 5, 19-22.

<sup>227.</sup> See John C. Calhoun, Fort Hill, SC, to JS, Nauvoo, IL, 2 Dec. 1843, JSLR, Bx 3, fd 5, 93-95 (DHC 6:155-56; chap. 7).

<sup>228.</sup> See JS to John C. Calhoun, 4 Nov. 1843 (DHC 6:64-65; chap. 3).

<sup>229.</sup> See JS to John C. Calhoun, 2 Jan. 1844 (DHC 6:156-60; chap. 7).

<sup>230.</sup> See NN 1 (27 Dec. 1843): [138].

<sup>231.</sup> DHC 6:144: adds "Editorial"

<sup>232.</sup> DHC 6:144: moves this line below the next line

<sup>233.</sup> Source: NN 1 (27 Dec. 1843): [138]. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>234.</sup> DHC 6:144: adds "[would be]"

This demagoguery and political corruption has caused an innocent man to be immolated in a Missouri dungeon for upwards of eight months without the slightest evidence of his guilt, or even the most remote evidence of <sup>235</sup> crime leading to his committal. He was taken without process, and committed to jail upon mere supposition, and finally acquitted without any shadow of proof having been adduced from beginning to end. This is the way that Missouri treats free-born American citizens, and they can obtain no redress.

Mr. Rockwell arrived here on Monday night, and has given us some of the details of his history since he was first taken in Missouri to the present time, <sup>236</sup> and we can assure our readers that it will "a tale unfold" relative to that State which even many of those who have been driven therefrom, will find it difficult to believe that there did exist such monsters in human shape.

Mr. Rockwell has ample evidence to prove that most of the leading men engaged in these illegal prosecutions of Joseph Smith are counterfeiters and murderers. He informs us that Gen. Wilson, one of our most bitter persecutors, has been engaged in this business, and is either going or gone to Texas, and that a person who came with the Sheriff, Reynolds of Missouri, to take Joseph Smith for the alleged murder of Boggs, was imprisoned in the same prison with him for counterfeiting. We shall, however, give the particulars in due time, and we hope for the sake of suffering innocence, that those journals which published an [account] of his supposed guilt will do him the justice to publish his innocence.

<sup>237</sup>Thursday, 28.—At home. Elder Orson Hyde returned from Adams county, having obtained quite a number of signatures to the memorial to Congress: and made an affidavit of what he learned in Warsaw concerning the mob:—

```
\left. \begin{array}{c} ^{238}\text{State of Illinois,} \\ \text{City of Nauvoo.} \end{array} \right\} \quad \text{ss.}
```

On the 28th day of Dec[ember]. 1843, came Orson Hyde before me, Joseph Smith, mayor of said city; and after being duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that on the 26th inst[ant]., as he<sup>239</sup> was passing from Lima to Nauvoo through that part of Hancock county, where Col[onel]. [Levi] Williams resides; he<sup>240</sup> was credibly informed that on Saturday previous, the Anti-Mormons held a meeting, drew up an article and passed several resolutions, among which were these:—"We will revere and hold sacred and inviolate the Constitution of the United States, and also the constitution of this State. We will visit the Mormons residing in our vicinity, and require them to give up their guns, and such as do it, shall dwell here in peace; but those who will not do it, may have thirteen days to leave in: and if they are not off in that time, we will drive them."The above is the substance, but perhaps not the very words. They also swear that the Mormons shall never raise another crop in that region, &c., &c.; and further this deponent saith not.

ORSON HYDE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th of December, 1843.

W. W. PHELPS, Clerk, M[unicipal]. C[ourt].

<sup>235.</sup> Book E-1, 1830: "<his guilt, or even the most remote evidence of>" (LH)

<sup>236.</sup> NN 1:[138]: adds "We shall publish it next week"

<sup>237.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 215 (WR) (APR, 436), with elaboration about OH added to introduce his affidavit given below.

<sup>238.</sup> Source: Original in JSLP, Bx 4, fd 11, 31-32 (OH; signed by WWP, clerk), or copy in JSLP, Bx 4, fd 11, 1-2 (TB).

<sup>239.</sup> Original affidavit, 1: "he" overwrites "I"

<sup>240.</sup> Original affidavit, 1: "he" overwrites "I"

Daniel Avery having made affidavit of the cruel treatment he had recently received at the hands of Missourians, I here insert it:—

```
<sup>241</sup>State of Illinois,
City of Nauvoo, ss.
```

On the 28th day of December, 1843, came Daniel Avery before me, Joseph Smith, mayor of the city aforesaid, and after being duly sworn, deposeth and saith that on the 2nd day of December, 1843, he was unlawfully arrested by force and arms, and kidnapped<sup>242</sup> at Doty's Mill in Bear Creek precinct, Hancock county, and State aforesaid, by Col[onel]. Levi Williams, his son John Williams, of Hancock county<sup>243</sup>; John Elliott, a schoolmaster from 4½ miles below Warsaw; William Middleton and Joseph McCoy, of Clark county, Missouri, and four others. Col[onel]. Williams held his bowie-knife to his breast. Six of the others stood with their pistols cocked and their fingers upon the triggers, muzzles presented at his body, ready to fire, and two stood with clubs, and amid<sup>244</sup> the most horrid oaths and imprecations, took and bound with silk handkerchiefs, your said affiant, and led him away between two men, one holding a savage bowie-knife on one side and the other a cocked pistol on the other side, (having taken away your said affiant's weapons while binding him in the Mill,) and led your affiant about a mile. Your affiant refused to walk any further, and they put him upon a horse, and tied his legs under the horse<sup>245</sup>, and John Elliott, the aforesaid schoolmaster, led the horse as fast as he could make his way, through a <sup>246</sup>thicket and by-way to the house of the aforesaid Col[onel]. Williams, here the kidnappers eat<sup>247</sup> and drank, and after they had unbound me, for they had bound me so tight that I was in great pain. I was also suffered to partake.

They then put me upon the horse again, and bound me, and started for the river, the said schoolmaster Elliott leading the horse, when we came near a schoolhouse where there was a meeting they came to a halt; sent messengers to the meeting, and in the course of half an hour they returned with an armed mob, with rifles and other weapons, sufficient to make the whole company number about twenty. Being all on horseback they formed a circle, with your affiant in the center, (who, up to that time had acquainted<sup>248</sup> every man he saw that "they were kidnapping him,") and marched in that order to a house on the point below Warsaw: and as I was very cold from being bound, they took me into the house <sup>249</sup>to warm. I now called for a trial, as I had told them all the way that I never resisted legal authority. They said they were hunting a magistrate: says I, "I understand you, you mean to force me into Missouri." McCoy returned, and said ["]we are ready.["] It was about midnight. We went about 300 yards up the river to a<sup>250</sup> skiff. I refused to cross, as they had promised me a trial. They forced me into a skiff and bound me, and five men put me across. Their names so far as I could ascertain, are William Middleton, William Clark, Joseph McCoy, <sup>251</sup>John Elliott and Charles Coolidge<sup>252</sup>. <sup>253</sup>They landed at the tavern on the south side of the Des Moines, and took me into a back room; threw down a buffalo robe for

```
241. Source: MS copy in UC (WWP).
```

<sup>242.</sup> Book E-1, 1831: "<and kidnapped>" (LH)

<sup>243.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: "<of Hancock Co.>"

<sup>244.</sup> DHC 6:146: "amidst"

<sup>245.</sup> Book E-1, 1831: "<and tied his legs under the horse>" (JG)

<sup>246.</sup> MS affidavit, 2: adds "by way"

<sup>247.</sup> DHC 6:146: "ate"

<sup>248.</sup> MS affidavit, 3: "called upon <acquainted>"

<sup>249.</sup> MS affidavit, 3: adds "and loosed me"

<sup>250.</sup> MS affidavit, 3: replaces "a" with "the"

<sup>251.</sup> MS affidavit, 3: adds "and"; Book E-1, 1832: ads erasure

<sup>252.</sup> MS affidavit, 3 (different ink): "the School Master from <and Charles Coolidge>"

<sup>253.</sup> MS affidavit, 4: adds "4 ½ Miles below Warsaw"

my bed, but as my arms were bound so tight that I could not rest I complained: told Middleton that was not the way he was used at my house. They felt at $^{254}$  my arms and exclaimed, "By God, they are $^{255}$  not too tight." I begged to have one arm liberated, and finally they untied both, and I slept (under guard) on the buffalo robe $^{256}$  before the fire.

About noon they got ready, and started with me guarded<sup>257</sup> upon a horse, for McCoy's, in Clark county, Missouri<sup>258</sup>, about 12 miles distant. It being night when we arrived, and I unwell through fatigue and confinement and the abuses before received<sup>259</sup>, I went to bed. They had sent runners ahead, and after I had been in bed awhile the sheriff came up from Waterloo, the county seat, a distance of about 2 miles, to arrest me and take me before a magistrate that night, but Middleton and McCoy objected, as I was sick. The sheriff, however, executed his writ, and left me in their care till morning. It being late before we breakfasted, he came in the morning and made the second scope of his authority and took me. He quizzed me the night before to draw something out for testimony, but as innocence cannot be affected with<sup>260</sup> truth, he was as wise at one end of the story as the other.

At Waterloo I was examined by a magistrate, who committed me upon the substance of <sup>261</sup> an affidavit made by my son in duress with a bowie-knife at his breast, and upon <sup>262</sup> a promise that he should be liberated from Monticello jail, where he was confined after being kidnapped some three or four weeks previous. My bonds were fixed at \$1000; and as I had no bail in such a strange place, I was started for Palmyra jail in Marion county. The deputy <sup>263</sup> sheriff took me to Musgrove, the sheriff <sup>264</sup>, a distance of 10 miles. Here I sued out a writ of habeas corpus, but the judge remanded me<sup>265</sup> to prison.

At Monticello, my chains were taken off, and I was at liberty (!) in the midst of a strong guard to view the town. Here a lawyer agreed to take me and my son through court (as the Missourians say) for a horse. Saw my son in the prison; said he was forced at the point of a bowie-knife to make an affidavit against me, but he knew I was innocent.

I tried to be left with him in jail, but no, I was compelled to go to Palmyra, where I arrived the next evening. The sheriff thrust me into the dungeon without waiting to eat, warm, or anything else. The next morning the blacksmith came into the jail, and ironed me to the middle of <sup>266</sup> a great chain that was fast to the floor, where I remained in the horrid gloom of a Missouri prison two weeks.

From thence the deputy sheriff started with me chained upon the horse in this wise—he then<sup>267</sup> chained my right leg, and then passed the chain <sup>268</sup>up to my left hand. In this way I traveled nine miles, when we stopped, and he changed the chain from my hand to the horse's neck. We arrived at Monticello, and I was chained all night.

```
254. MS affidavit, 4 (different ink): "of <at>"
```

<sup>255.</sup> MS affidavit, 4: replaces "they are" with "thems"

<sup>256.</sup> MS affidavit, 4 (different ink): "<robe>"; Book E-1, 1832: "\robe/" (pos. RLC)

<sup>257.</sup> MS affidavit, 4: "me bound <me guarded>"

<sup>258.</sup> MS affidavit, 4: moves "into Clark Co Mo" to follow "distant"

<sup>259.</sup> MS affidavit, 4: "<and the abuses before received>"; Book E-1, 1832: "{\and the abuses before received/}" (JG)

<sup>260.</sup> DHC 6:147: replaces "with" with "by"

<sup>261.</sup> MS affidavit, 5: "<the substance of>"

<sup>262.</sup> MS affidavit, 5: adds "\upon/" at boln

<sup>263.</sup> MS affidavit, 5: "<dep[u]t[y]>"

<sup>264.</sup> MS affidavit, 5: "<the sheriff">"; Book E-1, 1832 (darker ink): "{\Musgrove the Sheriff/}" (JG)

<sup>265.</sup> MS affidavit, 6: "to <me>"

<sup>266.</sup> MS affidavit, 6: "<the middle of>"

<sup>267.</sup> MS affidavit, 7: omits "then"

<sup>268.</sup> MS affidavit, 7: adds "under the horses belly and so"

The next day I was conveyed to Waterloo, and delivered into the custody of the sheriff of Clark county. I was kept under a strong guard by day, and at night, chained to one of the guard<sup>269</sup> or to the bedpost.

I was informed that Middleton and McCoy procured an indictment against me, by giving bonds to the amount of some two or three hundred dollars, that they would hunt up testimony to the point for next court, there being nothing against me but the affidavit of my son before alluded to, and so the grand jury found a bill.

Ellison, my lawyer, deceived me, and put over my case for six months, because, as I suppose, I being kidnapped had no fees for him. I objected to having my trial put off <sup>270</sup>six months; I did not fancy the dungeon of Palmyra prison. The court concluded to let me to bail under bonds of \$1,000, but this I could not obtain: subsequently it was reduced to \$500, but all in vain, for I was unacquainted with the people.

This was on Saturday, and I was thus left to meditate on the mischief that may be made out of a little matter by meddlesome men.

On Monday I sued out a writ of habeas corpus, and after a fair hearing of the matter, I received the following order:—

```
"State of Missouri^{271}, County of Clark,  sct.^{272}
```

Dec[ember]. 25, 1843.

Ordered by the Clark County Court that Samuel <sup>273</sup>Musgrove, sheriff of <sup>274</sup>Clark county, discharge Daniel Avery from imprisonment on an indictment found against him for the alleged crime of stealing a mare of Joseph McCoy's <sup>275</sup>.

By order of Court.

Witness—Willis Curd, clerk of said court, and seal of office this 25th of December, 1843.

Done at office in<sup>276</sup> Waterloo, date above.

[L.S.] WILLIS CURD, Clerk.

Very early on Tuesday morning your said affiant started for Nauvoo, and arrived the same evening about sundown<sup>277</sup>, a distance of near twenty miles, so crippled from the iron bondage and hard usage of Missouri, that he is hardly able to walk. To those who assisted your said affiant to obtain his release from bondage, he tenders his grateful acknowledgments, and further your affiant saith not.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th day of December, 1843.

DANIEL AVERY.

W. W. PHELPS, Clerk M[unicipal]. C[ourt].

<sup>269.</sup> DHC 6:147: "guards"

<sup>270.</sup> DHC 6:148: adds "for"

<sup>271.</sup> Book E-1, 1833: "\Missouri/" (JG)

<sup>272.</sup> DHC 6:148: replaces "sct." with "ss."

<sup>273.</sup> MS affidavit, 8: adds "Morgan"

<sup>274.</sup> MS affidavit, 8: adds "said"

<sup>275.</sup> DHC 6:148: "McCoy"

<sup>276.</sup> Book E-1, 1833: "<office in>" (JG)

<sup>277.</sup> MS affidavit, 9: "sundown" overwrites "Sunday"

<sup>278</sup>Liverpool was<sup>279</sup> visited with another of those destructive fires, for which that town has of late been so unfortunately famous. The large sugar refinery of Sir Thomas Brancker, with all its adjacent buildings, and a stock of sugar to the value of £,60,000 was<sup>280</sup> totally consumed.

<sup>281</sup>The premises extend from Harringdon Street to Mathew Street, are 8 stories high, and occupy an area of more than 4,000 yards. About 130 men are constantly at work on the premises in an atmosphere varying from 120 to 130 degrees, almost in a state of nudity. The men escaped with the greatest difficulty, many of them having<sup>282</sup> sustained<sup>283</sup> serious injuries.

<sup>284</sup>[Mr.] Keith lectured again in the Hall.

<sup>285</sup>Friday, 29.—At home. In the forenoon, W. W. Phelps called and gave us a lesson on eloquence, and read my appeal to the Green Mountain Boys, and also a new year's hymn without rhyme.

Three p.m., I related to Dr. Bernhisel and Joseph H. Jackson my commencement in receiving revelations. Mr. [Joseph H.]<sup>286</sup> Jackson said he was almost persuaded to be one with me. I replied I would to God<sup>287</sup> he were not only almost, but altogether.

At 4 p.m., I met with the city council.

<sup>288</sup>Having selected 40 men to act as city policemen, they met with the council, and were sworn into office, to support the Constitution of the United States, and the State of Illinois, and obey the ordinances of this city, and the instructions of the mayor, according to the best of their ability.

<sup>289</sup>Names of police called by Captain Jonathan Dunham, as follows<sup>290</sup>:—

Jonathan Dunham, high policeman, Charles C. Rich, 1st lieutenant, Hosea Stout, 2nd do. [lieutenant], Shadrack Roundy, 3rd do. [lieutenant], John Pack, ensign,

<sup>278.</sup> DHC 6:149: omits following paragraph. *Source*: For this and next paragraph, RDft 7:89 directs scribe to see "H&D. Almanac 78" (TB). Not located (see Sources Cited, under H&D Almanac).

<sup>279.</sup> Book E-1, 1834 (darker ink): "was" overwrites "is"

<sup>280.</sup> Book E-1, 1834 (darker ink): "was" overwrites "is"

<sup>281.</sup> This paragraph canceled in Book E-1, 1834, and not published in DN and DHC 6:149.

<sup>282.</sup> Book E-1, 1834: "<having>" (JG)

<sup>283.</sup> Book E-1, 1834: "sustain\ed/"; "ed" w.o. "ing" (pos. JG)

<sup>284.</sup> Source: From unused portion of JSj [1843-44], 215 (WR) (APR, 436).

<sup>285.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 216 (WR) (APR, 436), with light editing.

<sup>286.</sup> Brackets this editor's.

<sup>287.</sup> DHC 6:149: replaces "to God" with "that"

<sup>288.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 216 (WR) (APR, 436), mentions: "40 Policemen [were] sworn [in], whom I addressed at considerable length. See minutes of Council." However, the following account of the council meeting, including JS's address, is based on NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 30-32 (WR) (NCHCM, 195-98), with additions and editing (see notes below). A copy of the minutes in the handwriting of JG with editing and additions by TB was inserted in RDft 7:86a-89d. This was likely the document JG began drafting on 20 June 1855 (CHOj 18:44), and which was read to BY and approved on 8 Aug. 1855 (CHOj 18:97).

<sup>289.</sup> Source: RDft 7:86a has an interlinear note: "<(leave blank for 40 names) apply to Hosea Stout for them>" (TB). Among the RDft papers (between 89 and 86a) is a separate sheet with the heading "Names of the Old Police <10th 12th> Decr. 1843" (TB). This list appears in TB's handwriting and is undoubtedly both the original and the source for Book E-1, 1834. Apparently, TB compiled an initial list of forty-seven names, perhaps with the help of HSt. By some process, TB canceled, moved, and added names. Twenty-two of the forty names had received pay for their services, the receipts of which are located in JScSup, fd 5. However, three canceled names also received pay for their services: Elijah Sabin, on 14 Jan. 1844 (JScSup, fd 5, 55-56), John Laird, on 8 and 14 Jan. 1844 (JScSup, fd 5, 17-18, 83-84), and Charles Dolten, on 14 Jan. 1844 (JScSup, fd 5, 81-82).

<sup>290.</sup> DHC 6:149: omits "as follows"

Jesse P. Harmon, orderly sergeant,
John D. Lee, 2nd do. [sergeant],
Daniel Carn, 3rd do. [sergeant],
Josiah Arnold, 4th do. [sergeant],
James Emmett, 1st corporal,
Alexander Mills, 2nd do. [corporal],
Stephen H. Goddard, 3rd do. [corporal],
William Pace, 4th do. [corporal],
Abraham C. Hodge, pioneer,
Levi W. Hancock, fifer,
Daniel M. Repsher, do. [fifer],
Richard D. Sprague, drummer,
Samuel Billings, do. [Drummer].

Abraham O. Smoot,

John Lytle,

Andrew Lytle.

Howard Egan,

Dwight Harding,
Simeon A. Dunn,
Appleton M. Harmon,
James Pace

John Laird<sup>291</sup> Benjamin Boyce, Francis M. Edwards, Lorenzo Clark, William H. Edwards, Davies McOlney, Moses M. Sanders, Abram Palmer, Warren A. Smith, Isaac C. Haight, George W. Clyde, John L. Butler, Vernon H. Bruce, Armsted Moffet, Elbridge Tufts, Arza<sup>292</sup> Adams. Truman R. Barlow,

#### The Mayor said:—

<sup>293</sup>It is<sup>294</sup> expected that a part will<sup>295</sup> be on duty while others rest, <sup>296</sup>it might be expected that thieves had crept into the church for the purpose of concealing their wickedness under the garb of sanctity.<sup>297</sup>

It is  $^{298}$  an abominable thing to set a thief to catch a thief, and  $I^{299}$  would look upon men who do this, as  $^{300}$  guilty of a mean or cowardly act with the utmost contempt  $^{301}$ .

<sup>291.</sup> Book E-1, 1834: adds "<John Laird>" (RLC) with penciled note: "interlined in 1859" (RLC). Laird's name had been included in the RDft, but was canceled along with three other names. However, he was subsequently paid for his services on 8 and 14 Jan. 1844 (JScSup, fd 5, 17-18, 83-84).

<sup>292.</sup> DHC 6:150: "Azra"

<sup>293.</sup> Source: JS's address is based on NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 30-32 (WR) (NCHCM, 196-97), as edited by TB in RDft 7:86a-89d (JG).

<sup>294.</sup> RDft 7:86a: "The Mayor said that it was"; NCCM, 30: "The Mayor spoke. said that it was"; Book E-1, 1835: "[erasure] {\I/}t {\is/}" (prob. RLC)

<sup>295.</sup> RDft 7:86a, NCCM, 30: replace "will" with "would"

<sup>296.</sup> NCCM, 30: adds "that"; RDft 7:86a: "that"

<sup>297.</sup> NCCM, 30: omits "for purposes ... sanctity"; RDft 7:86a: "<for the purpose ... sanctity>" (TB)

<sup>298.</sup> NCCM, 30: replaces "It is" with "that it would be"; RDft 7:86a: "that \I/t would be \is/"; "I" w.o. "i"

<sup>299.</sup> NCCM, 30: omits "I"; RDft 7:86a: inserts "\I/" at boln (TB)

<sup>300.</sup> NCCM, 30: replaces "who do this, as" with "in their situation"; RDft 7:86a: " $\frac{1}{100}$  their situation < who do this, as>"

<sup>301.</sup> DHC 6:150: moves "with the utmost contempt" to follow "look"

<sup>302</sup>Some city councils have taken thieves out of their prisons, and employed them as policemen, under the old and foolish<sup>303</sup> adage, "set a rogue to catch a rogue," which is decidedly wrong, and is<sup>304</sup> corrupt<sup>305</sup> in policy.

<sup>306</sup>You will act under the direction of Jonathan Dunham, we will call him<sup>307</sup> high policeman; <sup>308</sup>in reality he is the<sup>309</sup> captain of the police<sup>310</sup>; but as men are apt to be frightened at a military title, we will use a civil title, as these policemen<sup>311</sup> are all civil officers of the city.

Captain Dunham<sup>312</sup> <sup>313</sup>is the man to send after a thief; he will not come back, after following him a mile, to ask if he may shoot him, if he resists. Some<sup>314</sup> men have strange ears and changeable hearts<sup>315</sup>; they become<sup>316</sup> transformed from their original purity and integrity, and become<sup>317</sup> altogether different from what they were.

If the bloodthirsty hell-hounds of Missouri continue their persecution, <sup>318</sup> we will<sup>319</sup> be forbearing, until we are compelled to strike; then do it decently and in good order, and break the yoke effectually<sup>320</sup>, so that it cannot be mended; the mob have<sup>321</sup> been so repulsed in their last attempt at kidnapping, <sup>322</sup> they may<sup>323</sup> stand in fear, at least for a short time. <sup>324</sup>

We will<sup>325</sup> be in peace with all men, so long as they will mind their own business and<sup>326</sup> let us alone; even "peace with Missouri"<sup>327</sup> shall be the motto of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, from this time forth, if they will stop their persecution and oppressive warfare against us.<sup>328</sup> Let these alone, for<sup>329</sup> they stink in the nose of the Almighty; let them alone. Porter Rockwell has come home<sup>330</sup> clear; a Missouri grand jury could not find a bill against

- 302. NCCM, 30: omits this paragraph, which was added interlinearly by TB in RDft 7:86a.
- 303. RDft 7:86a:"<& foolish>" (TB)
- 304. RDft 7:86a: "<is>" (TB); Book E-1, 1835: "\is/" (prob. RLC)
- 305. RDft 7:86a: "wicked /corrupt\"
- 306. NCCM, 30: omits this paragraph, which was added interlinearly by TB in RDft 7:86a.
- 307. RDft 7:86a: "Jonathan \him/" (TB)
- 308. RDft 7:86a: adds "but he is"; Book E-1, 1835 (pencil): adds "but"
- 309. RDft 7:86a: "<he is the>" (TB)
- 310. RDft 7:86a: "<of the Police>" (TB)
- 311. RDft 7:86a: "<Police>men" (TB)
- 312. NCCM, 30: "<Dunham>"; RDft 7:86a: "Captain Black Hawk <[Dunham]>" (TB)
- 313. NCCM, 30: adds "to be called High policeman"
- 314. NCCM, 30: omits "is the man ... Some"; RDft 7:86a: "<Captain ...resists.> \Some/" (TB)
- 315. NCCM, 30: omits "and changeable hearts"; RDft 7:86a: "/& changeable hears\" (TB)
- 316. NCCM, 30: omits "they become"; RDft 7:86a: "<they become>" (TB)
- 317. NCCM, 30: omits "from their original ... become"; RDft 7:86a: "<from their original purity & integrity, & become>" (TB)
- 318. NCCM, 30: omits "If the bloodthirsty ... persecution"; RDft 7:87b: "<If mobocrats the blood thirsty mobocrats <hell hounds> of Missouri continues their persecutions>" (TB)
  - 319. NCCM, 30: "<we will>"
  - 320. NCCM, 30: omits "effectually"; RDft 7:87b: "<effectually>" (TB)
  - 321. NCCM, 30, RDft 7:87b: "has"; Book E-1, 1835: "ha\ve/"; "ve" w.o. "s"
  - 322. NCCM, 30: omits "in their last ... kidnapping"; RDft 7:87b: "<in their last ... kidnapping,>" (TB)
  - 323. NCCM, 30: omits "may"; RDft 7:87b: "<may>" (TB)
  - 324. NCCM, 30: omits "at least for a short time"; RDft 7:87b: inserts "\at least for a short time/" at eoln (TB)
  - 325. NCCM, 30: inserts "\Let us/ <We will>" at eoln
  - 326. NCCM, 30: omits "mind their own business and"; RDft 7:87b: "<mind their own business &>" (TB)
  - 327. NCCM, 30: omits "even peace with Missouri"; RDft 7:87b: "<even peace with Missouri>" (TB)
- 328. NCCM, 30: replaces "if they will ... against us" with "in relation to Missouri"; RDft 7:87b: "in relation to Missouri"; RDft 7:87b
  - 329. NCCM, 30: omits "for"; RDft 7:87b: "<for>" (TB)
  - 330. NCCM, 30: replaces "come home" with "gone"; RDft 7:87b: "gone <come home>" (TB)

him even in Jackson county,<sup>331</sup> and that proves me clear of the charge<sup>332</sup> of being accessory of shooting Lilburn W.<sup>333</sup> Boggs. Many of <sup>334</sup> our difficulties from the State of Missouri, are hurled upon<sup>335</sup> us through the influence of some of our near<sup>336</sup> neighbors<sup>337</sup>.

Governor Ford<sup>338</sup> has boasted of being a law-abiding man; a Governor certainly should be law-abiding;<sup>339</sup> it is therefore<sup>340</sup> our best policy to acquaint the executive<sup>341</sup> by affidavits of every violation of our rights,<sup>342</sup> so that when the onset comes, he will be obliged by law<sup>343</sup> to send the militia to our support. Let us keep cool as a cucumber on a frosty morning. Do not be excited,<sup>344</sup> say nothing about Missouri's oppression<sup>345</sup>; "soft words turn away wrath in the heart of fools<sup>346</sup>; grievous words stir up anger":<sup>347</sup> therefore, we will<sup>348</sup> "poor pussy" this generation.

Keep a strict account of the time you serve as policemen.<sup>349</sup> Have the ordinances of the city always<sup>350</sup> in your<sup>351</sup> possession and study them, and ferret out all grogshops, gambling-houses,<sup>352</sup> brothels, and disorderly conduct; and if a transgressor resists, cuff his ears. If anyone lifts a weapon or<sup>353</sup> presents a pistol at you<sup>354</sup>, take his life, if need be, to preserve your own; but enforce the ordinances, and preserve the peace of the city, and<sup>355</sup> take care of your own lives<sup>356</sup>. Let no horses be taken away out of the city<sup>357</sup>, or anything else<sup>358</sup> stolen, if you can help it<sup>359</sup>.

- 331. NCCM, 30: omits "a Missouri grand jury ... Jackson county,"; RDft 7:87b: "<even a Missouri grand jury ... Jackson county," (TB)
  - 332. NCCM, 30: omits "of the charge"; RDft 7:87b: "<of the charge>" (TB)
  - 333. NCCM, 30: omits "Lilburn W."; RDft 7:87b: "<Lilburn W.>" (TB)
  - 334. NCCM, 31: omits "Many of"; RDft 7:87b: "\Many of/" (TB)
  - 335. NCCM, 31: "on"; RDft 7:87b: "\up/on" (TB)
  - 336. NCCM, 31: omits "some of" and "near"; RDft 7:87b: "<some of> our <near>" (TB)
  - 337. NCCM, 31: adds "around us"; RDft 7:87b: "around us"
  - 338. NCCM, 31: omits "Ford" and reads "the gov"; RDft 7:87b: "The Governor \Ford/" (TB)
- 339. NCCM, 31: omits "a Governor ... law-abiding"; RDft 7:87b: "<(a Governor surely <certainly> should be;) law abiding>" (TB)
  - 340. NCCM, 31: omits "therefore"; RDft 7:87b: "<therefore>" (TB)
  - 341. NCCM, 31: replaces "executive" with "gov"; RDft 7:87b: "Governor <Executive>" (TB)
- 342. NCCM, 31: replaces "of every violation ... rights," with "&c"; RDft 7:87b: "&c <of every violation ... rights,>" (TB)
  - 343. NCCM, 31: omits "by law"; RDft 7:87b: "<by Law>" (TB)
  - 344. NCCM, 31: omits "Do not be excited"; RDft 7:88c: "<do not be excited>" (TB)
  - 345. NCCM, 31: "Missouri" and omits "oppression"; RDft 7:88c: "Missouri\'s/ <oppression>" (TB)
  - 346. NCCM, 31: "a fool"; RDft 7:88c: "a fool\s/" (TB)
- 347. NCCM, 31: omits "grievous words ... anger"; RDft 7:88c: "<"grievous words ... anger">" (TB); DHC 6:151: ""A soft answer turns away wrath but grievous words stir up anger.""
  - 348. NCCM, 31: "<we will>"; DHC 6:151: omits "will"
- 349. NCCM, 31: replaces preceding sentence with "keep time"; RDft 7:88c: "Keep <a strict account of <del>your</del> <the>> time <you serve as Policemen>" (TB)
  - 350. NCCM, 31: omits "of the city always"; RDft 7:88c: "<of the city always>" (TB)
  - 351. NCCM, 31: omits "your"; RDft 7:88c: "<your>" (TB)
  - 352. NCCM, 31: omits "grogshops, gambling-houses"; RDft 7:88c: "<grog shops, gambling houses,>" (TB)
  - 353. NCCM, 31: omits "or"; RDft 7:88c: "\or/" (TB)
  - 354. NCCM, 31: replaces "at you" with "&c"; RDft 7:88c: "&c <at you>" (TB)
- 355. NCCM, 31: omits "to preserve  $\dots$  city, and"; RDft 7:88c:"<to preserve  $\dots$  ordinances <& preserve the peace> of the City, &>" (TB)
  - 356. NCCM, 31: "\to/ke \save your/ yourselves <own lives>"; "to" w.o. "ta" and "save your" w.o. "care of"
  - 357. NCCM, 31: omits "out of the city"; RDft 7:88c: "<out of the city>" (TB)
  - 358. RDft 7:88c: inserts "\else/" at eoln (TB)
  - 359. NCCM, 31: omits "if you can help it"; RDft 7:88c: "<if you can help it>" (TB)

Let Missouri alone, <sup>360</sup>keep out of her Territory, don't go over there <sup>361</sup>on any business whatever; any of this people would be subject to<sup>362</sup> cruel abuse, if found in that State, in the same manner that Porter Rockwell has been; <sup>363</sup>he was seized<sup>364</sup> in St. Louis while attending to his lawful business, picked up and ironed, and thrown in jail without any form of law, conveyed to Independence, in the custody of a ruffian, who swore falsely in the hope of getting a reward; kept in irons all the way, lodged in Independence jail without even the form of an inquiry; chained double in a filthy, damp, unventilated dungeon, chained hand and foot, so that he could not straighten for months, till his body was reduced to a mere<sup>365</sup> skeleton, and he unable to walk when the irons were taken off, and he had to be<sup>366</sup> led<sup>367</sup>; half<sup>368</sup> fed on the refuse of what dogs would not eat: his case presented to a Jackson county grand jury, and not evidence enough to warrant them in even<sup>369</sup> finding an indictment. After which, the Missouri court, in the plenitude of their justice, transmitted the innocent and unindicted man back<sup>370</sup> to the dungeon, without fire, provisions, or any other comfort; hoping by this torture<sup>371</sup>, no doubt, to produce death, or force him to accede to an infamous proposition, "that whether Jo Smith was guilty or innocent, only come out against him, you shall have your liberty, and receive a liberal reward." 372 After months have passed away without any shadow of law<sup>373</sup>, the door is opened, <sup>374</sup>and he is told to ["]slip off privately, or the people will hang you." Keep out of Missouri; if you don't want such treatment as this; for the Averys, Rockwell, and many others, have been <sup>375</sup>thankful to get away with their lives. <sup>376</sup>

If any man attempt<sup>377</sup> to bribe you in any way whatever, or persuade you to neglect your duty,<sup>378</sup> tell the same to<sup>379</sup> me<sup>380</sup>. Let us have a reformation.

There are speculators <sup>381</sup>in this State, who are <sup>382</sup> wanting to sell revolving pistols to us in order <sup>383</sup> to fight the Missourians, and at the same time inciting <sup>384</sup> the Missourians to

<sup>360.</sup> Remainder of paragraph omitted in NCCM, 31, but inserted interlinearly ("keep out ... Rockwell has been") by TB in RDft 7:88c and on a separate slip of paper "88c 2" ("He was seized ... get away with their lives")

<sup>361.</sup> NCCM, 31: adds "stay at home"; RDft 7:88c: "<but> stay at home" (TB)

<sup>362.</sup> RDft 7:88c: "any of you are liable to <this people would be subjected to>" (TB)

<sup>363.</sup> In RDft, remainder of paragraph written by TB on separate slip of paper labeled "88c 2". In Book E-1, 1836, RLC wrote "he was seized" over an erasure at *eoln*, then copied the remainder of paragraph in the left margin.

<sup>364.</sup> RDft 7:88c-2: "picked-up <he was seized>" (TB)

<sup>365.</sup> RDft 7:88c-2:"<mere>" (TB)

<sup>366.</sup> RDft 7:88c-2: "<he had to be>" (TB)

<sup>367.</sup> RDft 7:88c-2: adds "<to the Court House>" (TB)

<sup>368.</sup> RDft 7:88c-2: "\half/" (TB)

<sup>369.</sup> RDft 7:88c-2:"<even>" (TB)

<sup>370.</sup> RDft 7:88c-2:"<back>" (TB)

<sup>371.</sup> RDft 7:88c-2: "<by this torture>" (TB)

<sup>372.</sup> RDft 7:88c-2: "by his his going suffering; dismiss him <or force him to ... liberal reward>" (TB)

<sup>373.</sup> RDft 7:88c-2: "<without any shadow of law>" (TB)

<sup>374.</sup> RDft 7:88c-2: adds "privately"

<sup>375.</sup> RDft 7:88c-2: adds "very"

<sup>376.</sup> RDft 7:88c-2: adds "best stay at home"

<sup>377.</sup> DHC 6:152: "attempts"

<sup>378.</sup> NCCM, 31: omits "in any way whatever ... duty"; RDft 7:88c: "<in any way whatever ... duty,>" (TB)

<sup>379.</sup> NCCM, 31: omits "the same to"; RDft 7:88c: "<the same to>" (TB)

<sup>380.</sup> RDft 7:88c: adds "of it" (TB)

<sup>381.</sup> NCCM, 31: "the speculators are"; RDft 7:88c: "<are> speculators are" (TB)

<sup>382.</sup> NCCM, 31: replaces "who are" with "and"; RDft 7:88c: "and \who are/" (TB)

<sup>383.</sup> NCCM, 31: omits "in order"; RDft 7:88c: "<in order>" (TB)

<sup>384.</sup> NCCM, 31: omits "at the same time inciting"; RDft 7:88c: "<at the same time inciting>" (TB)

fight us. Don't buy, it would be better to buy ploughshares and raise corn with them. 385

<sup>386</sup>My life is<sup>387</sup> more in danger from some little dough-head of a fool in this city, than from all my<sup>388</sup> numerous and inveterate<sup>389</sup> enemies abroad. I am exposed to far greater danger from traitors among ourselves than from enemies without, although my life has been sought for many years by the civil and military<sup>390</sup> authorities, priests, and people of Missouri;<sup>391</sup> and if<sup>392</sup> I can escape from the ungrateful treachery<sup>393</sup> of assassins<sup>394</sup>, I can<sup>395</sup> live AS CAESAR MIGHT<sup>396</sup> HAVE LIVED, WERE IT NOT FOR A RIGHT-HAND<sup>397</sup> BRUTUS. I have had<sup>398</sup> pretended <sup>399</sup>friends betray me. All the enemies upon the face of the earth may roar and exert all their power to bring about my death $^{400}$ ; but they can accomplish nothing, unless some who are among us, enjoy our society, have been with us in our councils, participated in our confidence, taken us by 401 the hand, called us brother, saluted us with a kiss, join with our enemies, turn our virtues into faults, and by falsehood and deceit<sup>402</sup>, stir up their wrath <sup>403</sup>and indignation against us, and 404bring their united vengeance upon our heads. All the hue-and-cry of the chief priests and elders against the Savior, could not bring down the wrath of 405 the Jewish nation upon his head. and thereby cause the crucifixion of the Son of God<sup>406</sup>, until Judas said unto them, "whomsoever I shall kiss, he is the man, hold him fast." Judas was one of the twelve apostles, even their treasurer, and dipt with their Master in the dish, 407 and through his treachery, the crucifixion was brought about; and WE HAVE A JUDAS IN OUR MIDST.

The Mayor then 408 blessed the police 409: "It shall 410 be said in time to come, where are

<sup>385.</sup> NCCM, 31: omits "Don't buy ... them"; RDft 7:88c: "<Don't buy, but beat your swords into <it would be better to buy> plow shares & raise corn with them>" (TB)

<sup>386.</sup> NCCM, 31: adds "I think"; RDft 7:88c: "I think"

<sup>387.</sup> NCCM, 31: omits "is"; RDft 7:88c: "<is>" (TB)

<sup>388.</sup> NCCM, 31: omits "my"; Book E-1, 1836: "<my>" (JG)

<sup>389.</sup> NCCM, 31: replaces "my numerous and inveterate" with "the vocabulary of"; RDft 7:88c: "the vocabulary of <my numerous and inveterate" (TB)

<sup>390.</sup> Book E-1, 1836: "<and military>" (JG)

<sup>391.</sup> NCCM, 31: omits "I am exposed ... Missouri"; RDft 7:88c: "<I am exposed to <far> greater danger ... from traitors <enemies> ... the <civil and military> ... Missouri>" (TB)

<sup>392.</sup> NCCM, 31:"\if/"

<sup>393.</sup> NCCM, 31: omits "from the ungrateful treachery"; RDft 7:88c: "<from the ungrateful treachery>" (TB)

<sup>394.</sup> NCCM, 31: "the <the hand of an as> an assassin of a Brutus"; RDft 7:88c: "the hand of an assassin\s/" (TB)

<sup>395.</sup> RDft 7:88c: "can < might > < may > /can \" (TB)

<sup>396.</sup> NCCM, 31: "as <might> Caesar"; RDft 7:88c: "might Caesar <might>" (TB)

<sup>397.</sup> NCCM, 31:"<have lived if he had not been for Brutus>"; RDft 7:88c: "if he <were> it <not> had not been for <a right hand> <right hand>" (TB)

<sup>398.</sup> NCCM, 31: "<have had>"

<sup>399.</sup> RDft 7:89d: adds "friends who have betrayed me as I am informed"; taken from NCCM, 31. Remainder of paragraph added by TB at the top of the page.

<sup>400.</sup> RDft 7:89d: "destruction <death>" (TB)

<sup>401.</sup> RDft 7:89d:"with <by>" (TB)

<sup>402.</sup> RDft 7:89d: "<& by falsehood & deceit>" (TB)

<sup>403.</sup> RDft 7:89d: adds "against us" (TB)

<sup>404.</sup> RDft 7:89d: adds "<br/>by falsehoods>" (TB)

<sup>405.</sup> RDft 7:89d:"<the wrath of>" (TB)

<sup>406.</sup> RDft 7:89d: "death < crucifixion of the Son of God>" (TB)

<sup>407.</sup> RDft 7:89d: "disciples < Twelve Apostles ... dish,>" (TB)

<sup>408.</sup> NCCM, 31: omits "The Mayor"; RDft 7:89d: "<The Mayor> \Then/" (TB)

<sup>409.</sup> DHC 6:152: changes preceding words into a heading: "The Mayor blesses the Police."

<sup>410.</sup> NCCM, 31: replaces "shall" with "may"; RDft 7:89d: "may <shall>" (TB)

our old policemen? Let us have one of the old<sup>411</sup> police<sup>412</sup> to stand at our window, guard our interest and protect our families, and we shall be safe.<sup>413</sup>

If you will magnify your office<sup>414</sup>, the full confidence of Israel<sup>415</sup> shall be the blessing that shall be conferred on you in time to come."

Counselor Hyrum Smith spoke of the importance of the police office.

The mayor said, that if any one offered a bribe to a policeman, the city will pay that policeman twice the amount offered for the information when 416 reported to the mayor.

<sup>417</sup>Two petitions for licensing spirituous liquors [were read and tabled]. Cool, freezing.

<sup>418</sup>Friday, 29.—My clerk made copies of five<sup>419</sup> affidavits made yesterday by Elder Orson Hyde, <sup>420</sup>Mr. Daniel Avery and others<sup>421</sup>, and sent the same to the Governor with the following letter:—

422 Nauvoo, Dec[ember]. 30, 1843.

Sir:—I forward to your Excellency<sup>423</sup> a number of affidavits relative to the late kidnapping of the Avery's, and upon other matters. When the mob made efforts to resist the laws, Joseph Smith, as mayor, gave notice to Maj[or].–Gen[eral]. Law to hold a portion of the Nauvoo Legion in readiness; and Aaron Johnson, Esq., called for some troops to <sup>424</sup>maintain the laws; but I am happy to say, none were ordered to march, as it was deemed most advisable to let Col[onel]. Levi Williams and his mob flourish until indictments could be made at the circuit court of Hancock county.

We shall continue to keep your Excellency<sup>425</sup> informed upon all matters of moment touching the premises.

426Respectfully I have the honor to be
your ob[edien]t. Serv[an]t.
W.W. Phelps

His Excellency Thomas Ford, Springfield Ill.

<sup>427</sup>Saturday, 30.—At 9 a.m., held mayor's court **in office**. Two boys, Roswell and Evander White,

<sup>411.</sup> NCCM, 31: replaces "the old" with "our"; RDft 7:89d: "our <the old>" (TB)

<sup>412.</sup> RDft 7:89d: "policemen" (TB); NCCM, 31, DHC 6:152: "policemen"

<sup>413.</sup> NCCM, 31: omits "to stand ... safe"; RDft 7:89d: "<to <stand at our windows,> guard out interests ... safe>" (TB)

<sup>414.</sup> NCCM, 31:"<if you will magnify your office>"

<sup>415.</sup> NCCM, 31: omits "the full confidence of Israel"; RDft 7:89d: "it <the full confidence of Israel>" (TB)

<sup>416.</sup> NCCM, 31: replaces "when" with "to be"; RDft 7:89d: "to be <when>" (TB)

<sup>417.</sup> Source: From unused portion of JSj [1843-44], 216 (WR) (APR, 436). Cf. NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 31-32 (WR) (NCHCM, 197-98).

<sup>418.</sup> See TB's list of affidavits "copied for Governor", dated 1 Jan. 1844, on back of OH's affidavit in JSLP, Bx 4, fd 11, 1-2.

<sup>419.</sup> Book E-1, 1836: "<five>" (JG)

<sup>420.</sup> Book E-1, 1836: adds "and"

<sup>421.</sup> Book E-1, 1836: "<and others>" (JG)

<sup>422.</sup> Source: MS copy in UC (WWP).

<sup>423.</sup> MS letter, 1 (different ink): "<Excellency>"

<sup>424.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "assist"

<sup>425.</sup> MS letter, 1: inserts "\Excellency/" at boln

<sup>426.</sup> Remainder of letter canceled in Book E-1, 1837, and not published in DN and DHC 6:153.

<sup>427.</sup> Source: Following two paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 217 (WR) (APR, 436-37), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

were brought up for stealing six hens and a rooster; they were sentenced to pay for the fowls, and to ten days' hard labor each on the streets.

In the afternoon  $^{428}$  met in the Assembly Room with the quorum. W[illia]m. Law and wife were not present. Warm and rain.

<sup>429</sup>Sunday, 31.—At home.

In the<sup>430</sup> afternoon, called **at Dr. [Willard] Richards. Called again** with Elder P[arley]. P. Pratt to see his wife.

At early candle-light, went to prayer-meeting **till ten o'clock**—administered <sup>431</sup>sacrament; after which I retired. At midnight about fifty musicians and singers sang Phelps' new year's hymn under my window.

Warm and rainy; no ice to be seen.

<sup>432</sup>The subjoined list shows a few of the publications for and against the Saints during the year.

The Alton Telegraph published several very severe articles against the church. 433

Edward Brotherton published a scurrilous pamphlet at Manchester, England, entitled "Mormonism, its rise and progress, and the Prophet Joseph Smith." <sup>434</sup>

The Richmond Palladium published an amusing and favorable article on Mormonism. 435

The *Boston Bee* published a series of articles favorable to the Saints, which had a beneficial effect in putting down prejudice and representation. 436

A favorable account of a visit to Nauvoo was published by Samuel A. Prior, Methodist minister. 437

The Morning Star, a Freewill Baptist paper, published a long and bitter article against the Latter Day Saints, entitled "Mormon Perversion." <sup>438</sup>

A favorable article entitled "Nauvoo and Mormonism," was published by a Traveler. 439

The Quincy Whig published several bitter articles against me. 440

The *Warsaw Message*, and subsequently the *Warsaw Signal*, published a continual tirade of abuse, misrepresentation and lies against the Saints. 441

The New Haven (Con.) Herald published a favorable account of the Mormons in Nauvoo. 442

<sup>428.</sup> Book E-1, 1837: "p.m. <the afternoon>" (LH)

<sup>429.</sup> *Source*: Following four paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 218 (WR) (APR, 437), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>430.</sup> Book E-1, 1837 (pencil): "<the>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>431.</sup> DHC 6:153: adds "the"

<sup>432.</sup> Source: The following list is from RDft 7:91-[93], which was compiled by JU beginning on 9 July 1855 (CHOj 18:63).

<sup>433.</sup> See DHC 5:273 (chap. 14).

<sup>434.</sup> Probably published after Sept. 1845 (Flake 890).

<sup>435.</sup> See T&S 4 (1 May 1843): 179-80.

<sup>436.</sup> Probably refers to a series of letters written by WR (under the pseudonym "Viator") to the *Boston Bee*: e.g., *T&S* 4 (1 Sept. 1843): 305b-6 (DHC 5:518-20; chap. 27); *NN* 1 (17 July 1843): 70;. See also *T&S* 4 (1 Mar. 1843): 125-26; *T&S* 4 (1 May 1843): 180; *T&S* 4 (15 May 1843): 199-200 (DHC 5:406-8; chap. 21); *T&S* 4 (15 June 1843): 235; *T&S* 4 (15 Oct. 1843): 357-59. See also Sources Cited, under *Truthiana*.

<sup>437.</sup> See T&S 4 (15 May 1843): 197-99.

<sup>438.</sup> See T&S 4 (15 Aug. 1843): 295-99.

<sup>439.</sup> RDft 7:91:"by a Traveller calling hims=elf an Englishman. Times & Seasons vol 4 Page 354." See T&S 4 (15 Oct. 1843): 354–57.

<sup>440.</sup> E.g., NN 1 (19 July 1843): [46].

<sup>441.</sup> See MSt 4 (Oct. 1843): 92.

<sup>442. &</sup>quot;Nauvoo and Joe Smith," NN 1 (13 Sept. 1843): [78] (DHC 6:32-33; chap. 2).

7.

# CORRESPONDENCE WITH JOHN C. CALHOUN

January 1844

[DN 7 (6 May 1857): 65-67]

<sup>1</sup>Monday, [January] 1 [1844].—A cold, blustering rainstorm ushered<sup>2</sup> in the New Year.

<sup>3</sup>At sunrise, Thomas Miller, James Leach, James Bridges and John Frodsham were brought before me by the police, charged with disorderly conduct. Fined Miller, \$5.00; the others were discharged.

 $[\ldots]^4$ 

A large party took a new year's supper at my house, and had music and dancing till morning. I was in my private room with my family, Elder John Taylor and other friends.

<sup>5</sup>Tuesday 2.—**The party continued till morning.** Two p.m., Hyrum Dayton was brought before mayor's court for disorderly conduct, in resisting and abusing the police: fined \$25 and costs. His son, Lysander Dayton, for the same offense, was sentenced to 10 days' hard labor, and subsequently for contempt of court, 10 days more, on the public streets <sup>7</sup>.

Snow one inch deep. First this winter of consequence.

<sup>8</sup>P.M. [William Clayton] at pres[iden]t. J[oseph]'s with W[illard]. Richards. Gave him a deed for 2 lots and took his note for \$500. But this did not please the Pres[iden]t. and he scolded.

I here insert Mr. Calhoun's answer to my letter of inquiry, dated Nov[ember]. 4, 1843:—

<sup>1.</sup> Source: Based on WWj, vol. 4, 1 Jan. 1844 (WWj 2:337).

<sup>2.</sup> Book E-1, 1845: "usher\ed/" (RLC)

<sup>3.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph closely follow with light editing JSj [1843-44], 219 (WR) (APR, 437).

<sup>4.</sup> At this point, RDft 8:1 directs scribe to copy JS's letter to T. Ford, 1 Jan. 1844, to which was added a penciled note: "insert when found <or> leave blank." The source of this direction is JSj [1843-44], 219, which reads: "Wrote the Governor <T. Ford> see file." Book E-1, 1845, cancels a partial copy of a 30 Dec. 1843 letter of WWP to T. Ford that accompanied five affidavits dealing with the Avery kidnapping, followed by several blank lines (cf. DHC 6:153; chap. 6). *Source*: JSLS, Bx 2, fd 7, 11-14 (WWP) (*PWJS*, 587-89).

<sup>5.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 220 (WR) (APR, 437), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>6.</sup> Book E-1, 1845: "\the/" (pos. LH)

<sup>7.</sup> DHC 6:155: moves "on the public streets" to follow "hard labor"

<sup>8.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 2 Jan. 1844 (DMQP, 15).

<sup>9</sup>Fort Hill, 2nd Dec[ember]., <sup>10</sup> 1843.

Sir:—You ask me what would be my rule of action relative to <sup>11</sup> the Mormons or Latter Day Saints, should I be elected President; to which I answer, that if I should be elected, I would strive to administer the government according to the Constitution and the laws of the Union; and that as they make no distinction between citizens of different religious creeds, I should make none. As far as it depends on the executive department, all should have the full benefit of both, and none should be exempt from their operation.

But, as you refer to the case of Missouri, candor compels me<sup>12</sup> to repeat what I said to you at Washington, that according to my views the case does not come within the jurisdiction of the federal government, which is one of limited and specific powers.

With respect, I am, &c., &c.,

J. C. CALHOUN.

Mr. Joseph Smith.

To which I wrote the following reply:—

<sup>13</sup>Nauvoo, Illinois, Jan[uary]. 2, 1844.

Sir:—Your reply to my letter of last November, concerning your rule of action towards the Latter Day Saints if elected President, is at hand; and that you and your friends of the same opinion, relative to the matter in question, may not be disappointed as to me, or my mind, upon so grave a subject, permit me, as a law-abiding man, as a well-wisher to the perpetuity of constitutional rights and liberty, and as a friend to the free worship of Almighty God by all, according to the dictates of every person's conscience, to say <sup>14</sup>I am surprised that a man, or men, in the highest stations of public life, should have made up such a fragile "view" <sup>15</sup> of a case, than which there is not one on the face of the globe fraught with so much consequence to the happiness of men in this world, or the world to come.

To be sure, the first paragraph<sup>16</sup> of your letter appears very complacent and fair on a white sheet of paper, and who that is ambitious for greatness and power would not have said the same thing? Your oath would bind<sup>17</sup> you to support the Constitution and laws; and as all creeds and religions are alike tolerated, they must, of course, all be justified or condemned, according to merit or demerit; but why, tell me why, are all the principal men, held up for public stations, so cautiously careful, not<sup>18</sup> to publish to the world, that they will judge a righteous judgment, law or no law[?] for laws and opinions, like the vanes of steeples, change with the wind.

One Congress passes a law, and another repeals it, and one statesman says that the Constitution means this, and another that: and who does not know that all<sup>19</sup> may be wrong?

<sup>9.</sup> Source: RDft 8:1 instructs scribe to copy T&S 5 (1 Jan. 1844): 394. Rept. NN 1 (10 Jan. 1844): [146]; VOT, 21-22. Cf. copy in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 5, 93-94 (WR).

<sup>10.</sup> DHC 6:155: "December 2"

<sup>11.</sup> DHC 6:155: omits "to"

<sup>12.</sup> Book E-1, 1846: "<me>" (pos. JG)

<sup>13.</sup> Source: RDft 8:1 instructs scribe to copy T&S 5 (1 Jan. 1844): 394-96. Rept. NN 1 (10 Jan. 1844): [146]-[47]; VOT, 22-26. Cf. copies in JSLS, Bx 3, fd 7, 7-10 (TB), and 31-42 (WWP).

<sup>14.</sup> DHC 6:156: adds "that"

<sup>15.</sup> WWP copy, 1:"<"view">".

<sup>16.</sup> WWP copy, 1: "sentence <paragraph>"

<sup>17.</sup> DHC 6:156: replaces "would bind" with "binds"

<sup>18.</sup> WWP copy, 1:"<not>"

<sup>19.</sup> WWP copy, 2: possibly reads "body <all>"

The opinion and pledge, therefore, in the first paragraph<sup>20</sup> of your reply to my question, like the forced steam from the engine of a steam-boat, makes the show of a bright<sup>21</sup> cloud at first, but when it comes in contact<sup>22</sup> with a purer atmosphere, dissolves to common air again<sup>23</sup>.

Your second paragraph leaves you naked before yourself, like a likeness in a mirror, when you say that "according to your *view*, the<sup>24</sup> federal government is<sup>25</sup> one of limited and specific powers," and<sup>26</sup> has no jurisdiction in the case of <sup>27</sup> the Mormons. So then, a State can at any time, expel any portion of her citizens with impunity, and in<sup>28</sup> the language of Mr. Van Buren, frosted over with your gracious "*views of the case*," though the<sup>29</sup> cause is ever so just, government can do nothing for them, because it has no power.

Go on, then, Missouri, after another set of inhabitants, (as the Latter Day Saints did) have entered some two or three hundred thousand dollars' worth of land, and made extensive<sup>30</sup> improvements thereon: go on, then, I say banish the occupants or owners, or kill them, <sup>31</sup>as the mobbers did<sup>32</sup> many of the Latter Day Saints, and take their lands and property as a<sup>33</sup> spoil: and let the legislature, as in the case of the Mormons, appropriate a couple of hundred thousand dollars to pay the mob for doing the<sup>34</sup> job; for the renowned senator from South Carolina, Mr. J. C. Calhoun, says the powers of the federal government are so specific and limited that it has no jurisdiction of the case! Oh, ye people who groan under the oppression of tyrants, ye exiled Poles, who have<sup>35</sup> felt the iron hand of Russian grasp; ye poor and unfortunate<sup>36</sup> among all nations, come to the "asylum of the oppressed"; buy ye lands of the general government, pay in your money to the treasury to strengthen the army and the navy; worship God according to the dictates of your own consciences; pay in your taxes to support the great heads of a glorious nation; but remember a "sovereign State!" is so much more powerful than the United States, the parent government, that it can exile you at pleasure, mob you with impunity; confiscate your lands and property; have the legislature<sup>37</sup> sanction it; yea, even murder you, as an edict of an<sup>38</sup> emperor, and it does<sup>39</sup> no wrong, for the noble senator of South Carolina, says the power of the federal government is so limited and specific that it has no jurisdiction of the case! What think ye of <sup>40</sup>imperium in imperio?

```
20. WWP copy, 2: "sentence <paragraph>"
```

```
24. WWP copy, 2: "of <the>"
```

<sup>21.</sup> WWP copy, 2: "<bri>bright>"

<sup>22.</sup> WWP copy, 2: "connection < tact>"

<sup>23.</sup> In WWP copy, 2, "when it comes ... atmosphere" follows "dissolves to common air again" and a guideline reverses their order.

<sup>25.</sup> WWP copy, 2: "as <it is> <is>"

<sup>26.</sup> WWP copy, 2: "it <and>" (pos. TB)

<sup>27.</sup> WWP copy, 2: "\of/"

<sup>28.</sup> WWP copy, 2: "\in/"

<sup>29.</sup> WWP copy, 2: "<the>"

<sup>30.</sup> WWP copy, 3: replaces "extensive" with "Large"

<sup>31.</sup> WWP copy, 3: adds "off"

<sup>32.</sup> WWP copy, 3: "<did>"

<sup>33.</sup> DHC 6:157: omits "a"

<sup>34.</sup> DHC 6:157: replaces "the" with "that"

<sup>35.</sup> WWP copy, 3: "<have>"

<sup>36.</sup> WWP copy, 3: "unfavored < tunate > "

<sup>37.</sup> WWP copy, 4: "<Lilburn>"

<sup>38.</sup> WWP copy, 4: "<an>" (pos. TB)

<sup>39.</sup> WWP copy, 4: "at is it <and it was> <& it does>"; first insertion by WWP, second by TB.

<sup>40.</sup> WWP copy, 4: "an"

Ye spirits<sup>41</sup> of the blessed of all ages, hark! Ye shades of departed statesmen, listen! Abraham, Moses, Homer, Socrates, Solon, Solomon<sup>42</sup>, and all that ever thought of right and wrong, look down from your exaltations, if you have any, for it is said ["]in the midst of counselors there is safety,["] and when you have <sup>43</sup>learned that fifteen thousand innocent <sup>44</sup>citizens, after having purchased their lands of the United States, and paid for them, were expelled from a "sovereign State" by order of the governor, at the point of the bayonet; their arms taken from them by the same authority: and their right of migration into said State, denied under pain of imprisonment, whipping, robbing, mobbing, and even death, and no justice or recompense<sup>45</sup> allowed; <sup>46</sup>and from the legislature with the Governor at the head, down to the justice of the peace, <sup>47</sup> with a bottle of whisky in one hand, and a Bowie-knife in the other, hear them all declare<sup>48</sup> that there is no justice for a Mormon in that State, and judge ye a<sup>49</sup> righteous judgment, and tell me when the virtue of the States was stolen<sup>50</sup>; where the honor of the general government lies hid<sup>51</sup>; and what clothes<sup>52</sup> a senator with wisdom? Oh, nullifying Carolina! oh, little tempestuous Rhode Island! would it not be well for the great men of the nation to read the fable of the partial judge, and when part of the free citizens of a State had been expelled contrary to the constitution, mobbed, robbed, plundered and many murdered, instead of searching into the course taken with Joanna<sup>53</sup> Southcott, Ann Lee, the French prophets, the Quakers of New England, and rebellious Nigers<sup>54</sup> in the slave Slates, to hear both sides and then judge, rather than <sup>55</sup>have the mortification to say, "Oh, it is my bull that has killed your ox, that alters the case! I must inquire into it, and if, and if!"

If the general government has no power to reinstate expelled citizens to their rights, there is a monstrous hypocrite fed and fostered from the hard earnings of the people! A real "bull beggar" upheld by sycophants; and although 56 you may wink to the priests to stigmatize; wheedle the drunkards to swear, and raise the hue-and-cry of impostor, *false prophet, God damn* 57 *old Joe Smith*; yet remember, if the Latter Day Saints are not restored to all their rights, and paid for all their losses, according to the known rules of justice and judgment, reciprocation and common honesty among men, that God will come out of his hiding place and vex this nation with a sore vexation, yea<sup>58</sup>, the consuming 59 wrath of an offended God shall smoke through the nation, with as much distress and woe, as independence has blazed through 60 with pleasure and delight. Where is the strength of government? Where is the patriotism of a Washington, a Warren, and

```
41. WWP copy, 4: "shades <spirits>"
42. WWP copy, 4: "<Solomon>"
43. WWP copy, 4: possibly adds "{heard}"
44. WWP copy, 4: adds "from were"
45. WWP copy, 5: "<or recompense>"
46. WWP copy, 5: adds "nor no recompense sanctioned"
47. WWP copy, 5: possibly adds "{to} Strait away"
48. WWP copy, 5: "<hear them all declare>"
49. WWP copy, 5: "<a>"
50. WWP copy, 5: "has hid <was stolen>"
51. WWP copy, 5: "<hid>"
52. WWP copy, 5: "<what clothes>"
53. WWP copy, 6: "Joan<na>"
54. WWP copy, 6: "<negroes>"; DHC 6:158: "negroes"
55. WWP copy, 6: "<to>"
56. WWP copy, 6: "<and although>"
57. DHC 6:158:"G— d—n"
58. WWP copy, 6: "and <yea>"
59. WWP copy, 7: "red hot <consuming>"
60. WWP copy, 7:"[illegible] < has blazed > \through/"
```

Adams? and where is a spark from the watch-fire of '76, by which one candle might be lit, that would glimmer upon the confines of democracy? Well may it<sup>61</sup> be said that one man is not a state, nor one state the nation.

In the days of General Jackson, when France refused the first instalment for spoliations, there was power, force, and honor enough to resent injustice and insult, and the money came; and shall Missouri, filled with Negro-drivers and white men stealers, go "unwhipped of justice!" for tenfold greater<sup>62</sup> sins than France? No! verily no! While I have powers of body and mind: while water runs and grass grows; while virtue is lovely, and vice hateful; and while a stone points out a sacred spot where a fragment of American liberty once was; I or my posterity <sup>63</sup>will plead the cause of injured innocence, until Missouri<sup>64</sup> makes atonement for all her sins—or sinks disgraced, degraded and damned to hell, "where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched."

Why, sir, the power<sup>65</sup> not delegated to the United States, and the States, belongs<sup>66</sup> to the people, and Congress sent to do the people's business have all power—and shall fifteen thousand citizens groan in exile? Oh, vain men, will ye not, if ye do<sup>67</sup> not restore them to their rights and \$2,000,000 worth of property, relinquish to them, (the<sup>68</sup> Latter Day Saints) as a body, their portion of power that belongs to them<sup>69</sup> according to the Constitution? Power has its convenience, as well as inconvenience. "The world was not made for Caesar alone, but Titus<sup>70</sup> too."

I will give you a parable. A certain lord had a vineyard in a goodly land, which men labored in at their pleasure; a few meek men also went and purchased with money from some of these chief men that labored at pleasure, a portion of land in the vineyard, at a very remote part of it, and began to improve it, and to eat and drink the fruit thereof; when some vile persons who regarded not man, neither<sup>71</sup> feared the lord of the<sup>72</sup> vineyard, rose up suddenly and robbed these meek men, and drove them from their possessions, killing many.

This barbarous act made no small stir among the men in<sup>73</sup> the vineyard, and all that portion who were attached to that part of the vineyard<sup>74</sup> where the men were<sup>75</sup> robbed, rose up in <sup>76</sup>grand council, with their chief man, who had firstly ordered the deed to be done, <sup>77</sup>and made a covenant not<sup>78</sup> to pay for the cruel deed, but to<sup>79</sup> keep the spoil, and never let those meek men set their feet on that soil again, neither recompense them for it.

```
61. WWP copy, 7:"<it>"
```

<sup>62.</sup> WWP copy, 7: "<greater>"

<sup>63.</sup> WWP copy, 7: adds "like the Rock from which Moses drew the water for the thirst of Israel, issue the living truth"

<sup>64.</sup> WWP copy, 7: "he <Missouri>"

<sup>65.</sup> DHC 6:159: "powers"

<sup>66.</sup> DHC 6:159: "belong"

<sup>67.</sup> WWP copy, 8: "<you> can <do>"

<sup>68.</sup> WWP copy, 8: "the\m/ <the>"

<sup>69.</sup> WWP copy, 8: "<that belongs to them,>"

<sup>70.</sup> DHC 6:159: replaces "Titus" with "Cassius"

<sup>71.</sup> WWP copy, 9: "has <neither>"

<sup>72.</sup> WWP copy, 9: "<the>"

<sup>73.</sup> WWP copy, 9: replaces "in" with "of"

<sup>74.</sup> WWP copy, 9: "vine<yard>"

<sup>75.</sup> WWP copy, 9: "<were>"

<sup>76.</sup> WWP copy, 9: adds "the"

<sup>77.</sup> WWP copy, 9: adds "at the head"

<sup>78.</sup> WWP copy, 9: "<not>"

<sup>79.</sup> WWP copy, 9: "\but to/ and"

Now, these meek men, in their distress, wisely sought redress of those wicked men in every possible manner, and got none. They then supplicated the chief men, who held the vineyard at pleasure, and who had the power to sell and defend it, <sup>80</sup> for redress and redemption, and those men loving the fame and favor of the multitude more than the glory of the lord of the vineyard, answered, "Your cause is just, but we can do nothing for you, because we have no power."

Now, when the Lord of the vineyard saw that virtue and innocence was<sup>81</sup> not regarded, and his vineyard occupied by wicked men, he sent men and took<sup>82</sup> the possession of it to himself, and destroyed those unfaithful servants; and appointed them their portion among hypocrites.

And<sup>83</sup> let me say, that all men who say that Congress has no power to restore and defend the rights of her citizens, have<sup>84</sup> not the love of the truth abiding in them. Congress has power to protect the nation against foreign invasion and internal broil, and whenever that body passes an act to maintain right with any power, or to restore right to any portion of her citizens, IT IS THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND, and should a State refuse submission, that State is guilty of *insurrection or rebellion*, and the President has<sup>85</sup> as much power to repel it as Washington had to march against the "whisky boys of Pittsburgh," or General Jackson had<sup>86</sup> to send an armed force to suppress the rebellion of South Carolina!

To close, I would admonish you, before you let your "candor compel" you again to write upon a subject, great as the salvation of man, consequential as the life of the Savior, broad as the principles of eternal truth, and valuable as the jewels of eternity, to read in the 8th section and 1st article of the Constitution of the United States, the first, fourteenth, and seventeenth, "specific" and not very "limited powers" of the federal government, what can be done to protect the lives, property and rights of a virtuous people, when the administrators of the law, and law-makers, are 1st unbought by bribes, uncorrupted by patronage, untempted by gold, unawed by fear, and uncontaminated by tangling alliances—even like Caesar's wife, not only unspotted, but unsuspected! and God, who cooled the heat of a Nebuchadnezzar's furnace, or shut the mouths of lions for the honor of a Daniel, will 1st your mind 20 above the 1n narrow notion, that the general government has no power—to the sublime idea that Congress, with the President as executor, is as almighty in its sphere as Jehovah is in his.

With great respect<sup>92</sup>, I have the honor to be, Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

Hon. ('Mr.') J. C. Calhoun, Fort Hill, S. C.

```
80. WWP copy, 9: "<and who had the power ... it,>"
81. DHC 6:159: "were"
82. Book E-1, 1849 (darker ink): inserts "[lacuna] \took/" at eoln (prob. RLC)
83. WWP copy, 10: "\And/ To close"
84. WWP copy, 10: "<no power to redress <restore> ... have>"
85. WWP copy, 10: "\has/"
86. WWP copy, 10: "\had/"
87. WWP copy, 11: in left margin "<the administrators ... are>"
88. WWP copy, 11: "<even>"
89. WWP copy, 11: "as may <will>"
90. WWP copy, 11: "<mind>"
91. WWP copy, 11: "<the>"
92. WWP copy, 11: replaces "respect" with "consideration"
```

<sup>93</sup>Jonathan Pugmire, sen[ior]., and Thomas Cartwright discharged by Judge Whitehead<sup>94</sup>, at Chester, England. The judge<sup>95</sup> would not allow the costs of prosecution, or witnesses to be paid by the crown. It was very evident that the Church of England ministers were at the bottom of the machinations, and were sorely discomfited at the result. I insert<sup>96</sup> the statement of the unfortunate occurrence given by Jonathan Pugmire, junior:—

<sup>97</sup>Thomas Cartwright was baptized November 6, 1843<sup>98</sup>, unknown to his wife, by Elder<sup>99</sup> Jonathan Pugmire, sen[ior].; but she had mistrusted he had gone to the water, and went to Pugmire's house the same evening, and inquired where *Tom* was? (meaning her husband.)<sup>100</sup> Mrs. Pugmire answered she did not know.

After this Mrs. Cartwright <sup>101</sup>went out and met them returning from the waters of <sup>102</sup> baptism, and shouted <sup>103</sup>, "Damn you, I'll dip ye," and expressing her determination <sup>104</sup> to have <sup>105</sup>revenge upon <sup>106</sup> Pugmire's family, she used a great deal of very bad language <sup>107</sup>.

Some of the neighbors (not belonging to the church) advised her not to speak so much against the Latter Day Saints, as she might yet become convinced of the truth of their doctrines, and be baptized herself. She replied 108, "109 I hope to God, if ever I am such a damn 110 fool, that I'll be drowned in the attempt." 111

A short time afterwards, in consequence<sup>112</sup> of her husband talking to her about the truths of the gospel<sup>113</sup>, she consented<sup>114</sup> to go to Pugmire's house and hear for herself <sup>115</sup>.

- 94. Book E-1, 1849: "\Whitehead/" (LH)
- 95. Book E-1, 1849: "{\The Judge/}" (pos. JG)
- 96. Book E-1, 1849: "{\insert/}" (prob. JG)

- 98. JP, 1 (different ink): "\November < the> six 1843/"; cancellation and "" in pencil.
- 99. JP, 1 (pencil): "<Elder>"
- 100. JP, 1 (pencil): "\(/<meaning> her husband\)/"
- 101. JP, 1 (pencil): adds "then"
- 102. JP, 1 (pencil): "<waters of>"
- 103. JP, 1 (pencil): "and made the attempt to seize her husband by the hair of his head exclaiming <& shouted>"
- 104. JP, 1: "being <expressing her> determin\ation/"; "ation" w.o. "ed"
- 105. JP, 1: adds "her"
- 106. DHC 6:161: "on"

- 108. JP, 1 (pencil): "<replied>"
- 109. JP, 1: adds "I'll be God d d if I do"
- 110. Book E-1, 1850: "damned"; DHC 6:161: omits "damn"

- 112. JP, 1: "through the conversation <in consequence>"
- 113. JP, 1 (pencil): "<talking to her ... gospel>"
- 114. JP, 1 (pencil): "agreed <consented>"
- 115. JP, 2: "where they held meetings <& hear for herself>"

<sup>93.</sup> *Source*: Possibly based on "Trial of Brothers Jonathan Pugmire and Thomas Cartwright, on a Charge of Manslaughter," *MSt* 4 (Jan. 1844): 142-43. See also R. Hedlock, Liverpool, Eng., to JS, Nauvoo, IL, 10 Jan. 1844, in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 6, MS pp. 5-6, 11-15 (*SC* skips MS p. 13; image numbers 21-22, 27-28, 29, 31).

<sup>97.</sup> Source: JP. On 15 May 1856 (CHOj 18:386), RLC inserted this document in a blank space at the bottom of Book E-1, 1849-50, and in the left margin of p. 1850.

<sup>107.</sup> JP, 1 (pencil): "she swore she would kill their little daughter and use her own language 'Ill kill that d—dbitch' <she used a great deal of very bad language>". A note at the end of JP, 4, explains why this was canceled: "Inquired of Br Cartw[r]ight and he seys that he Never New his wife to atempt to Pull his hair neather to threten to teak my Daughters life but that she did use very Bad language at the time and sed that if Ever she was Baptised that she might be Drowned and such But she Repented of it to him and told him that she Dreamed that it was a fearful thing to fall into the <hands of the> liven God."

<sup>111.</sup> JP, 1: adds "< After Cartwright talkin\g/ to her about the gospel on sho\wing/ her the truth she concented to go and here for herself.>"; emendations in pencil.

After attending a few times she told her husband she had a dream, in which she saw it was a fearful thing to fall into 116 the hands of the living God, and requested to be baptized. 117

Mrs. Pugmire talked with her, <sup>118</sup>reminding her of her harsh expression<sup>119</sup>, she confessed all, and said, "I am very sorry, and as my conduct is known to all this neighborhood, I do not wish to have my baptism public, but to have it done privately<sup>120</sup>; and I wish<sup>121</sup> no female to<sup>122</sup> accompany me<sup>123</sup> to the water but you<sup>124</sup>."

On the night of her baptism <sup>125</sup>(Nov[ember]. 23, 1843)<sup>126</sup> she was conducted to the water by her husband and Elder<sup>127</sup> Pugmire, witnessed by<sup>128</sup> Mrs. Pugmire and James Moor<sup>129</sup>. Previous to this time Elder<sup>130</sup> Pugmire had baptized eight or ten persons in the same place.

On arriving at the water they found the creek<sup>131</sup> had overflowed its banks, in consequence of a<sup>132</sup> heavy rain which had fallen that day<sup>133</sup>. Elder Pugmire examined its banks, and concluded he could attend to the ordinance without going into the regular bed of the creek.

This was done<sup>134</sup>; but on raising <sup>135</sup>Mrs. Cartwright, and as they were walking out, they<sup>136</sup> both went under the water.

It was afterwards discovered, that the water had undermined the bank, and it gave way <sup>137</sup>under their feet; meantime Thomas <sup>138</sup> Cartwright leaped into the creek and seized <sup>139</sup> hold of his wife's petticoat, but the water carried her off, and left the garment <sup>140</sup> in his hand.

James Moore<sup>141</sup> got hold of Elder<sup>142</sup> Pugmire by the hair of his head; Mrs. Pugmire holding Moore's<sup>143</sup> hand, and thus they<sup>144</sup> dragged him out.

```
116. DHC 6:161: "in"
        117. IP, 2 (pencil): "she consented < repented of her harsh expressions & requested > to be baptized < & told
her husband ... hands of God the living God.>."
       118. JP, 2: adds "upon the subject"
        119. JP, 2 (pencil): "what she had said <her harsh expression>"; Book E-1, 1850: "expressions"
        120. JP, 2 (pencil): "secretly <privately>"
        121. JP, 2 (pencil): "desired that <I wish>"
        122. JP, 2 (pencil): "would <to>"
        123. JP, 2 (pencil): "her <me>"
        124. JP, 2: "Mrs. Pugmire <you>"
        125. JP, 2 (pencil): adds "which was"
        126. JP, 2: "\(/November < the > 23 1843\)/"; parentheses in pencil.
        127. JP, 2 (pencil): "Jonathan < Elder >"
        128. JP, 2 (pencil): "<witnessed by>"
        129. JP, 2 (different ink): "George Knowlton < James Moor>"
        130. JP, 2 (pencil): "\time/ <Elder>"
        131. JP, 2 (pencil): "it <the Creek>"
        132. JP, 2 (pencil): "<a>"
        133. JP, 2 (different ink): "\that Day/"
        134. JP, 2 (pencil): "<This was done>"
        135. JP, 2 (different ink): adds "<was Both Standen on their feet and Comen out>"; cancellation in pencil.
        136. JP, 2 (pencil): "<Mrs. Cartwright, & as they were both standing on their feet, coming <walking> out,
they>"
        137. JP, 2 (pencil): adds "from"
        138. JP, 3 (pencil): "<Thomas>"
        139. JP, 3 (pencil): "<the creek & seized> and got"
        140. JP, 3 (pencil): "it <the garment>"
        141. JP, 3 (different ink): "George Knowlen < James Moor>"
        142. JP, 3 (pencil): "<Elder>"
        143. JP, 3 (different ink): "Knowlen's < Moor\s/>"; "s" inserted in pencil.
        144. JP, 3 (pencil): "<they>"
```

Moore<sup>145</sup> then ran to the village to give the alarm; on his return, he<sup>146</sup> found Cartwright about one hundred yards from where he leaped in, with his head above water, holding on to the stump of a tree; he<sup>147</sup> said he could not have remained in that situation one minute longer.

George Knowlen swam the stream and got him out<sup>148</sup>, but his wife was not found until the day following, when she was found about two hundred yards from where the accident occurred, standing upon her feet, with her head above water, the stream having fallen about two feet. <sup>149</sup>

On Pugmire reaching home, <sup>150</sup>a Church of England minister <sup>151</sup>had him arrested <sup>152</sup>and dragged <sup>153</sup>from his family the same evening, and kept in custody of a<sup>154</sup> constable <sup>155</sup>until a coroner's inquest was held on the body of the deceased.

After she was buried<sup>156</sup>, Cartwright was arrested, and both were sent to Chester jail, to wait their trial before the judge of assize<sup>157</sup>. They were in confinement <sup>158</sup>six weeks and three days<sup>159</sup> before their trial came on.<sup>160</sup>

The Judge (Whitehead)<sup>161</sup> remarked to the jury that baptism was an ordinance of our religion, and that it was a mere accident which had occurred; he<sup>162</sup> advised <sup>163</sup>the jurymen to be very careful how they examined the case before them, that it was an ordinance instituted by God, (at that moment the Lord spoke by the voice of thunder, which shook the court house,)<sup>164</sup> and advised<sup>165</sup> the prisoners to be very careful in the future to select<sup>166</sup> a proper place for the performance of that rite. They were then set free.

During their imprisonment<sup>167</sup> Pugmire had a vision, in which he was informed that they would be liberated, and he told Cartwright to be of good cheer, for they certainly would be acquitted<sup>168</sup>.

```
145. JP, 3 (different ink): "Knowlen < Moor>"; cancellation in pencil.
```

<sup>146.</sup> JP, 3 (pencil): "and <on his> returning and <he>"

<sup>147.</sup> JP, 3 (pencil): "who <he>"

<sup>148.</sup> JP, 3 (different ink): "<George Knowlen ... out>"

<sup>149.</sup> JP, 3 (different ink): "<\for/ at <by> this time <the stream> had fallen about two feet>"; insertion of "for" and "by" in pencil.

<sup>150.</sup> JP, 3 (pencil): adds "which he did by crawling upon his hands and knees"

<sup>151.</sup> JP, 3 (pencil): adds "Name forgot"

<sup>152.</sup> JP, 3 (pencil): adds "forthwith"

<sup>153.</sup> JP, 3 (pencil): adds "him"

<sup>154.</sup> JP, 3 (pencil): "the <a>"

<sup>155.</sup> JP, 3 (pencil): adds "<now> unknown"

<sup>156.</sup> JP, 3: "<After the body <she> was Buried> Then"; "she" inserted in pencil.

<sup>157.</sup> JP, 3 (pencil): "Supreme Judge <of Assize>"

<sup>158.</sup> JP, 4 (pencil): adds "for"

<sup>159.</sup> JP, 4 (different ink): "<and three Days>"

<sup>160.</sup> JP, 4: adds "(See Millennial Star Vol. 4. Page 142)"

<sup>161.</sup> JP, 4 (different ink): "\(Whitehead)/"

<sup>162.</sup> JP, 4 (pencil): "and <he>"

<sup>163.</sup> From this point to end of Pugmire's statement, the remaining four lines of text lines run page edge to page edge in Book E-1, 1850.

<sup>164.</sup> JP, 4 (different ink): "<the jury men ... [illegible] <before> ... a[n] ordinance of God and at <at> <that> time <moment> ... v\o/ice of thunder Shaked <which shook> the Court house>"; internal emendations in pencil.

<sup>165.</sup> JP, 4 (pencil): "<and advised>"

<sup>166.</sup> JP, 4 (pencil): "in <to> selecting"

<sup>167.</sup> JP, 4 (pencil): "confine < imprison > ment"

<sup>168.</sup> JP, 4: "set free <acquitted>"

<sup>169</sup>After having obtained their liberty, the people in the neighborhood were so incensed against <sup>170</sup>Pugmire, that<sup>171</sup> they threatened to take his life if ever they could find an opportunity. He was <sup>172</sup>obliged to leave the place and sailed in the Ship Fancy on the 22 of January<sup>173</sup> 1844<sup>174</sup> for Nauvoo where he arrived with his family on the 5th of April 1844<sup>175</sup>.

<sup>176</sup>Wednesday 3.—At home.

At noon met with the city council. The following is a copy of the minutes:—

<sup>177</sup>SPECIAL CITY<sup>178</sup> COUNCIL. Jan. 3rd, 1844, 12 o'clock.

Names of members called; all present. 179

The Mayor<sup>180</sup> directed the marshal to notify<sup>181</sup> William Law and John Snyder that the council was in session<sup>182</sup>, and<sup>183</sup> informed the council that William Law had said to his<sup>184</sup> brother Hyrum that the police had been sworn by him<sup>185</sup> <sup>186</sup>secretly, to put <sup>187</sup>Law <sup>188</sup>out of the way.<sup>189</sup> <sup>190</sup>"I have had no private conversation with any of the police, but the high policeman, Jonathan Dunham, and that was to request him to have especial care of my personal<sup>191</sup> safety, as I apprehended attempts to kidnap me by the Missourians<sup>192</sup>." He called on the policemen to say, if they had received any<sup>193</sup> private oath from him<sup>194</sup>, when they all said No!

Councilor Hyrum Smith said that William Law told him the police had sworn him (Law) <sup>195</sup>to keep the secret, which was that he was to be put out of the way in three months.

<sup>169.</sup> This paragraph canceled in JP, 4, and not copied into MSHiJS.

<sup>170.</sup> JP, 4: adds "them; especially against"

<sup>171.</sup> JP, 4 (pencil): "so <that>"

<sup>172.</sup> JP, 4 (pencil): adds "afterwards"

<sup>173.</sup> JP, 4 (different ink): "\in the Ship [Fancy?] on the 22 of Janery/"

<sup>174.</sup> JP, 4 (pencil): "<1844>"

<sup>175.</sup> JP, 4: adds "1844"

<sup>176.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 221 (WR) (APR, 437).

<sup>177.</sup> Source: NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 32-36 (WR) (NCHCM, 199-204), with light and heavy editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type. RDft 8:1 directs scribe to "see MSS in Leo's writing" (TB), which has not been located. This was likely the same document LH began drafting on 23 June 1855 (CHOj 18:47).

<sup>178.</sup> Book E-1, 1851:"<City>" (JG)

<sup>179.</sup> NCCM, 32: omits "all present"

<sup>180.</sup> Book E-1, 1851: "{\The Mayor/}" (US)

<sup>181.</sup> NCCM, 32: replaces "notify" with "bring"

<sup>182.</sup> NCCM, 32: replaces "that the council was in session" with "before the council"

<sup>183.</sup> Book E-1, 1851: "{\and/}" (LH)

<sup>184.</sup> Book E-1, 1851: "{\his/}" (LH)

<sup>185.</sup> Book E-1, 1851: "{\him/}" (US)

<sup>186.</sup> DHC 6:162: adds "(the Prophet)"

<sup>187.</sup> Book E-1, 1851: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>188.</sup> Book E-1, 1851: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>189.</sup> NCCM, 32: "and said Bro Hiram told him last evening that Wm Law had said that some of the police had told him that they had been sworn by the Mayor secretly to put <him> (Law) out of the way."

<sup>190.</sup> Book E-1, 1851: adds ellipses over erasure; DHC 6:162: adds "[The Prophet said]"

<sup>191.</sup> NCCM, 32: "<personal>"

<sup>192.</sup> NCCM, 32: omits "as I apprehended ... Missouri"

<sup>193.</sup> NCCM, 32: replaces "any" with "my <no>"

<sup>194.</sup> NCCM, 32: replaces "him" with "the Mayor"

<sup>195.</sup> NCCM, 32: "<according to Masonic degradation>"

The Mayor said he wished policemen to understand forever, that all he wanted was, that 196 they should execute the ordinances of the city 197, and his orders 198, according to law.

Several of the police called for the individual to be named who made the statement to William Law. 199

The Mayor said he thought proper that William Law should come and make his statement to the council on oath.

The Mayor then said to the police, "If you see a man stealing, and you have told him three times<sup>200</sup> to stand,<sup>201</sup> and warned him that he is a dead man if he does not stand, and he runs<sup>202</sup>, shoot off his legs; the design of <sup>203</sup> the office of the police is to stop thieving; but an enemy should not be harmed until he draws weapons upon you."

William Law came in, and was sworn to tell the whole truth, touching the case before the council by W. W. Phelps C[lerk of] M[ayor's] Court.

William Law said he had<sup>204</sup> been informed that some of the policemen had had<sup>205</sup> another oath <sup>206</sup>administered, besides the one administered to them publicly<sup>207</sup>; that one of them said there was a Judas in Gen[eral]. Smith's<sup>208</sup> cabinet, one who stood next to him, and he must be taken care of, and that he must<sup>209</sup> not be allowed to go into the world, but must be<sup>210</sup> taken care of; and he was not only<sup>211</sup> a dough-head<sup>212</sup> and a traitor like<sup>213</sup> Judas, but an assassin like Brutus<sup>214</sup>, that the idea had been advanced<sup>215</sup> that the scriptures support such a doctrine.

Ald[erman]. Harris. Who is the person, and who told you?

Law. I am under obligations not to tell.

Ald[erman]. Harris. That is immaterial, you are bound to disclose the whole truth here by virtue of your oath.<sup>216</sup>

Law. I am afraid to tell<sup>217</sup>; one oath is as good as another.

The Mayor said he would protect him; he was bound to tell.

Law. Said he would tell who told him and he might tell the name of the police<sup>218</sup>. Eli Norton told me.

```
196. NCCM, 32: omits "that"; Book E-1, 1851: "<that>" (US)
197. NCCM, 32: replaces "ordinances of the city" with "law"
198. NCCM, 32: "<orders>"
199. NCCM, 32: "Policemen called for the individual police"
200. Book E-1, 1851: "<3 times>" (prob. LH)
201. NCCM, 32: "told him to stand 3 times"; Book E-1, 1851: adds ellipses over erasure
202. NCCM, 32:"<& he runs>"
203. NCCM, 32: omits "the design of"
204. NCCM, 32: "oath before the <saw he had>"
205. NCCM, 32: "that <had had>"
206. NCCM, 32: adds "had been"
207. NCCM, 32: "<beside the one administered publicly>"
208. NCCM, 32: "the <Gen Smith[s]>"
209. NCCM, 33: "<must>"
```

<sup>210.</sup> Book E-1, 1851: "[erasure] <not be allowed ... be>" (JG)

<sup>211.</sup> NCCM, 33: "<and not only>"

<sup>212.</sup> Book E-1, 1851: "do<ugh> head" (pos. LH)

<sup>213.</sup> NCCM, 33: omits "a traitor like"

<sup>214.</sup> NCCM, 33: "but a Brutus"

<sup>215.</sup> NCCM, 33: "<that the idea had been advanced>"

<sup>216.</sup> NCCM, 33: "disclose by your oath here"

<sup>217.</sup> NCCM, 33: omits "I am afraid to tell"

<sup>218.</sup> NCCM, 33:"<& he might tell ... police>"

<sup>219</sup>Ald[erman]. Harris. Was Eli Norton of the police?

Law. No; but he got his information from Daniel Carn, who is a policeman.

The marshal was<sup>220</sup> sent to bring Eli Norton.

The Mayor said to the police<sup>221</sup>, "On conditions I have had no private conversation with any of you, <sup>222</sup>rise up and change the breech of your<sup>223</sup> guns<sup>224</sup> upwards," when all arose and changed the position<sup>225</sup> of their guns as indicated<sup>226</sup>.

Counselor Hyrum Smith considered the matter very alarming, when he heard it<sup>227</sup>,—he referred to Dr. Sampson Avard<sup>228</sup> and John Carl's treachery and false swearing<sup>229</sup> in Missouri, and rehearsed<sup>230</sup> what was said by the mayor to the police in the former council.

The Mayor said: "The reason why I made the remarks I did, was on account of the reports brought from Missouri<sup>231</sup> jail by O. P. Rockwell—<sup>232</sup>that my enemies were determined to get me into their power and take my life, and thereby thought they would<sup>233</sup> accomplish the overthrow of Mormonism, and to enable them<sup>234</sup> to effect this they had secured the services of some of my most confidential friends whom I did not suspect, and who were living in Nauvoo, to deliver me into their hands, so that their religious<sup>235</sup> organizations upon their old principles might stand,<sup>236</sup> for they feared that Mormonism would destroy their present religions creeds, organizations and orthodox systems. They did not design to try me; but hang me,—or take my life anyhow—that they had a man in our midst who would fix me out, if they could not get me into their power without." He then referred to his remarks at the previous council.

Minutes of last council being called for, were then<sup>237</sup> read.

Eli Norton sworn to testify the truth the whole and nothing but the truth—by counselor W W Phelps Clerk of Mayor['s] Court.

[Norton:] all I know about a private oath in on intimation Bro[ther Daniel] Cairns said all that I have heard.—probably referred to what has been stated, about a doe head &c.

Question<sup>238</sup> by the Mayor: Did Carn say, I had administered a private oath?

```
219. This and next paragraph omitted in NCCM, 32.
```

<sup>220.</sup> NCCM, 33: "\the/ Marshal <was>"

<sup>221.</sup> NCCM, 33: "<to the police>"

<sup>222.</sup> NCCM, 33: "that \you/"; "you" w.o. "they"

<sup>223.</sup> NCCM, 33: "your" overwrites "their"

<sup>224.</sup> DHC 6:163: "gun"

<sup>225.</sup> DHC 6:163: "positions"

<sup>226.</sup> NCCM, 33: "changed the\ir/ butt of their guns" and omits "as indicated"

<sup>227.</sup> NCCM, 33: "<it>"

<sup>228.</sup> Book E-1, 1852: "Avard{'s}"; DHC 6:163: "Avard's"

<sup>229.</sup> NCCM, 33: replaces "treachery and false swearing" with "doings"

<sup>230.</sup> NCCM, 33: replaces "rehearsed" with "stated"

<sup>231.</sup> NCCM, 33: omits "Missouri"

<sup>232.</sup> Remainder of this paragraph based on following from NCCM, 33: "that they wanted to get me <& thus> to put down Mormonism—so that they might organize upon their old principles.—on the Orthodox system. did not design to try me but hang me, that they had a man in our midst who would deliver me up <fix me [illegible] out> if they could not get me without, and related his remarks at the previous council."

<sup>233.</sup> Book E-1, 1852: "in order to <and thereby thought they would>" (LH)

<sup>234.</sup> Book E-1, 1852: "{\them/}"

<sup>235.</sup> Book E-1, 1852: "they might <their religious>" (LH)

<sup>236.</sup> Book E-1, 1852: "<might stand,>" (LH)

<sup>237.</sup> NCCM, 33: omits "being called for, were then"

<sup>238.</sup> NCCM, 33: omits "Question"

Norton<sup>239</sup>: No! Did not say<sup>240</sup> much about Law; did not say you had ever administered any private oath. Carn never intimated to me that<sup>241</sup> Law must be put out of the way; did not call William Law's name, nor any other name; did not say the policemen had received<sup>242</sup> a private oath. <sup>243</sup>Understood Carn to say they had received<sup>244</sup> private instructions, and if a man could not keep a secret he was not worthy of a place in the church. Did not say the mayor had given him a private charge; did not tell where the danger was expected to come from<sup>245</sup>; told me there were dough-heads about; did not say the dough-heads were in danger, but the mayor was in danger from the dough-heads.

Question<sup>246</sup> by William Law: Did you not understand from brother Carn, that he was suspicious of some person<sup>247</sup> near Joseph being a dough-head, **and must be taken care of,** and that that person was myself?

Answer<sup>248</sup>: Yes. He [Carn] mentioned a dough-head as being very<sup>249</sup> near Joseph, <sup>250</sup>and he guessed you was the man, and I thought it might be that Daniteism<sup>251</sup> was not done with. [We] had<sup>252</sup> conversation on Spiritual wives.— I did not believe.—knew Bro[ther] Law was opposed, and in this conversation the doe head came in. Cairns Did not say Joseph had anything to do with spiritual wives or had <sup>253</sup>taught any such things, did not say<sup>254</sup> Bro[ther] Law had any thing to do with it.—there was<sup>255</sup> no chain to the conversation,—he suggested<sup>256</sup> there was another law. The law of God; [I] do not know who administered the other<sup>257</sup> oath.

Mayor: Tell what you know that made you so alarmed about brother Law.

Answer: Cairns told me several times Daniteism was not down, [but] never said Mayor had any thing to do about Daniteism. Cairns said it was a good system. [He] said every Quorum<sup>258</sup> had their teachings and they must not tell another quorum, [but] did not say I must take an oath to remain his counselor. There was no chain to the conversation, but<sup>259</sup> I drew the inference that brother Law was the dough-head from Carn's conversation; but Carn did not name Law.

Daniel Carn was sworn<sup>260</sup>, said: "I told him [Norton] we were sworn and our duties

```
239. NCCM, 33: "<Norton>"
```

<sup>240.</sup> NCCM, 33: replaces "Did not say" with "Said not"

<sup>241.</sup> NCCM, 34: omits "to me that"

<sup>242.</sup> NCCM, 34: omits "received"

<sup>243.</sup> NCCM, 34: adds "did"

<sup>244.</sup> NCCM, 34: replaces "they had received" with "there was"

<sup>245.</sup> NCCM, 34: omits "the danger ... from"

<sup>246.</sup> NCCM, 34: omits "Question"

<sup>247.</sup> NCCM, 34: replaces "some person" with "one"

<sup>248.</sup> NCCM, 34: omits "Answer" and adds "<E[li].N[orton].>"

<sup>249.</sup> NCCM, 34: replaces "as being very" with "standing"

<sup>250.</sup> Remainder of sentence deleted in NCCM, 34.

<sup>251.</sup> Book E-1, 1852: "Danite\i/s\m/"

<sup>252.</sup> NCCM, 34: "<had>"

<sup>253.</sup> NCCM, 34: adds "not"

<sup>254.</sup> NCCM, 34: "<did not say>"

<sup>255.</sup> NCCM, 34: "<there was>"

<sup>256.</sup> NCCM, 34: "<he suggested>"

<sup>257.</sup> NCCM, 34: "<other>"

<sup>258.</sup> NCCM, 34: "department < Quorum>"

<sup>259.</sup> NCCM, 34: omits "There was no chain ... but"; taken from omitted portion of previous paragraph.

<sup>260.</sup> NCCM, 34: omits "was sworn"

specified. I said by the covenant we have made in Baptism we are bound to protect each other in righteousness. Daniteism is to stand by each other that is all I know about Daniteism.—Mayor said he was not afraid of any thing but a doe head in our midst. In our conversation we<sup>261</sup> referred to spiritual wives and one thing brought on another.—I was asked who can that man be? I give my opinion.

["]I told brother Norton that certain men had been counseled by the Prophet to invest their means in the publishing the new translation of the Bible; and they, instead of obeying that counsel, had used their property for the purpose of building a steam-mill and raising a hundred acres of hemp, and the Lord had not blest<sup>262</sup> them in the business, but sunk their hemp in the Mississippi river. I told him it was my opinion that brother Law was the dough-head referred to.

["]Norton said Bro[ther] Law knew about the Spiritual wife system. I never intimated that Bro[ther] Law's life was in danger, [but] I intimated that Bro[ther] Law might be the doe head; previously Bro[ther] Law and me had conversation about stories afloat on spiritual wives; he thought it was from the devil.—and we must put it down that he knew such a thing was in existence and [was] breaking up <sup>263</sup>families &c.["]

[Question] By Law. Did I not say<sup>264</sup> we have a good foundation because Joseph blew<sup>265</sup> it all up before the High Council, and Hyrum before the Elders Quorum?

Yes, said Cairns, ["]Law did not speak disrespectfully of Joseph or of the Church. I have had no secret conversation whatever with the mayor, and never received any charge except the one, with the rest of the police, before the city council.<sup>266</sup> The council never heard any thing from me to endanger the life of any man."

Mayor spoke on spiritual wife system and explained, The man who promises to keep a secret and does not keep it he is a liar, and not to be trusted. Esq[ui]r[e Daniel H.] Wells came to me the other night and said that he was satisfied and pleased with all I had said. I did say<sup>267</sup> A[lderman] Wells.

Counselor H[yrum]. Smith spoke at considerable length.

Gen[eral]. W[illia]m<sup>268</sup> Law spoke [and] said there was no man in the city more zealous to support Mormonism than himself. I have ever been ready to stand forth one<sup>269</sup> against 9, for the defense of Joseph, and am yet; if he lives till I shed his blood or strike a hair from his head he will live till he is as old as Methuselah.—and I firmly believe if I live till Joseph kills me or sets any one to kill me I shall live as long as I shall want to.

Mayor: Did I ever tell you that any body had told me that you would sell your property [or] you would blow up Mormonism?

Law.—Hyrum told me that.

Bishop Cairns said he had never conveyed the idea to father Norton that Joseph had  $^{270}$  said that Mr Law was the Doe head.

Mayor: Where a man becomes a traitor to his friend or country who is innocent,

<sup>261.</sup> NCCM, 34: "<In our conversation we>"

<sup>262.</sup> DHC 6:165: "blessed"

<sup>263.</sup> NCCM, 35: adds "of"

<sup>264.</sup> NCCM, 35: "<Did I said not say>"

<sup>265.</sup> NCCM, 35: "blowed"

<sup>266.</sup> Preceding sentence based on following from NCCM, 35: "Had no secret conversation <with Mayor>. no charge except before the council."

<sup>267.</sup> NCCM, 35: "said" overwrites "say" without canceling "did"

<sup>268.</sup> NCCM, 35: "<Wm>"

<sup>269.</sup> NCCM, 35: "9 <one>"

<sup>270.</sup> NCCM, 35: "<had>"

treacherous to innocent blood, I consider it right to cut off his <sup>271</sup>influence so that he could not injure the innocent, but not right to meddle with that man without testimony, law and trial.

 $[...]^{272}$ 

The Mayor<sup>273</sup> suggested the propriety, since Rockwell and others<sup>274</sup> are clear, and we have the promise of protection from the Governor, and as the police are now well organized, that they put up their guns, **and carry only small arms**,<sup>275</sup> and that the council pass such an order. The Danite system alluded to by Norton<sup>276</sup> never had any existence; it was a term made use of by some of the brethren in Far West, and grew out of an expression I made use of when the brethren were preparing to defend themselves from the Missouri mob, in reference to the stealing of Macaiah's images (Judges chap[ter]. 18,) if the enemy comes, the Danites will be after them, meaning the brethren in self-defense.

The Mayor instructed the police to lay up their arms till further orders. At 4½ p.m., council adjourned.

<sup>277</sup>The council spent nearly the whole day in investigating the subject, and examining these two witnesses. The police were all sworn and cross-examined by William Law and the aldermen; and the result showed nothing but imagination, having grown out of the surmises of Daniel Carn; upon which Law became satisfied, shook hands with me, declaring he did not believe a word of the story, and said he would stand by me to the death, and called the whole council and the police to witness his declaration.

#### <sup>278</sup>Cloudy and cold.

<sup>279</sup>Thursday 4.—At home.

I took dinner in the north room, and was remarking to brother Phelps what a kind, provident wife I had, that when I wanted a little bread and milk, she would load the table with so many good things, it would destroy my appetite. At this moment Emma came in, while Phelps, in continuation of the conversation, said, "you must do as Bonaparte did,—have a little table, just large enough for the victuals you want yourself <sup>280</sup>."

Mrs. Smith replied, "Mr. Smith is a bigger man than Bonaparte; he can never eat without his friends." I remarked, "That is the wisest thing I ever heard you say."

<sup>271.</sup> NCCM, 35: adds "innocent"

<sup>272.</sup> In Book E-1, 1853, the fourth paragraph below is located here (see below).

<sup>273.</sup> NCCM, 36: omits "The Mayor"

<sup>274.</sup> NCCM, 35: replaces "and others" with "& Avery &c."

<sup>275.</sup> DHC 6:165: omits "and carry only small arms"

<sup>276.</sup> NCCM, 36: omits "alluded to by Norton"

<sup>277.</sup> In Book E-1, 1853, this paragraph is located four paragraphs above, with guidelines for moving it to this location. This paragraph does not appear in original minutes. The summary of the hearing in JSj [1843-44], 221 (WR) (APR, 437), similarly reads: "W[illia]m Law sworn, & Eli Norton concerning certain reports in circulation about a 'doe' [dough] head which proved to be all about nothing at all." Source: Undetermined. Likely composed by LDS historians in 1855. This paragraph appears as an addendum written on a slip of paper in TB's handwriting in RDft MS #8, located between pp. 9-10. It is not keyed to RDft, but is an addendum to another addendum. Under 3 Jan. 1844, RDft 8:1 directs scribe to "see Mss [manuscript] in Leo's writing" for a draft of the Nauvoo city council minutes, which has not been located. This addendum was probably once attached (with red sealing wax, which is still visible on back) to LH's draft. It was obviously created after p. 1 was composed about 23 June 1855 (see above), and before RLC copied it into Book E-1, 1853, between 20 Aug.-ca. 18 Nov. 1855 (see MSHi Chronology).

<sup>278.</sup> Source: From omitted portion of JSj [1843-44], 221 (WR) (APR, 437).

<sup>279.</sup> Source: This day's entry closely follows JSj [1843-44], 222 (WR) (APR, 437-38).

<sup>280.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 222: "large enough for yourself and your order thereon"

<sup>281</sup>Friday 5.—At home.

Last night I dreamed I saw two serpents swallowing each other tail foremost.

Another tempest in a tea-pot, or big fuss about nothing at all. In consequence of the night being severely cold, some persons built a fire on the bank of the river, nearly opposite William Marks' house.

He then became afraid and concluded he must either be the Brutus or the dough-head, and laid<sup>282</sup> awake all night, thinking the police had built the fire to kill him by. In the morning he called on me, reported the circumstances, and expressed his fears, when another session of inquiry was held by the city council at his request, and the police sworn and questioned.<sup>283</sup> The following is a synopsis of the minutes.

#### <sup>284</sup>SPECIAL SESSION. <sup>285</sup>

Friday, Jan[uary]. 5, 1844, 11 a.m.

Names of members called.

Prayer by O. Spencer.

Minutes of the last two councils read and approved.

Object of the council stated by the Mayor, similar to the last council, as William Law and William Marks had considered themselves in danger<sup>286</sup>. When he heard the report he was unwilling to believe anything about it, from the course the thing took in the last council; but for the sake of others, he had called this council.

As Leonard Soby was going home night before last<sup>287</sup>, he was hailed by a supposed<sup>288</sup> policeman with a gun, which<sup>289</sup> frightened him. Soby says that a policeman had told him that Marks and Law must not cross his tracks; that Warren Smith said at another time<sup>290</sup> that William Marks and William Law were enemies to Joseph.

I have never thought <sup>291</sup>even to dream of doing anything against the peace of the inhabitants of <sup>292</sup> this city. Did not know I had any enemies in this city<sup>293</sup>; have stayed at home and heard but<sup>294</sup> little: did not know <sup>295</sup>there was so much evil surmising among the people<sup>296</sup>. My long forbearance to my enemies ought to be sufficient testimony of my peaceful disposition

<sup>281.</sup> Source: Following four paragraphs based on JSj [1843-44], 222-23 (WR) (APR, 437-38), combining, editing and elaborating on information entered under 4-5 Jan. 1844.

<sup>282.</sup> DHC 6:166: "lay"

<sup>283.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 223: "< Wm Marks afraid Joseph had given some secret instruction to the police>"

<sup>284.</sup> Source: NCCM [1842-44], 36-40 (WR) (NCHCM, 204-10), with light and heavy editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>285.</sup> Book E-1, 1854: moves heading to follow date and time

<sup>286.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 36: "Wm Marks considered himself & Wm & Wilson Law are in danger"

<sup>287.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 36: "the other night"

<sup>288.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 36: omits "supposed"

<sup>289.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 36: omits "with a gun" and reads "and, and <who>; Book E-1, 1854, "who" emended to read "which"

<sup>290.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 36: "<time>"

<sup>291.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 36: adds "not"; Book E-1, 1854: adds erasure

<sup>292.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 36: omits "the inhabitants of"

<sup>293.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 36: omits "in this city"

<sup>294.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 36: "<but>"

<sup>295.</sup> DHC 6:166: adds "that"

<sup>296.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 36: replaces "among the people" with "in the city"

toward all men<sup>297</sup>. It occurred to my mind that it was not fear, but got up for effect; but I do not know it. I want the council to investigate this matter<sup>298</sup>.

William Marks sworn: Testified that on Monday evening, brother Soby came up and said, "Are you aware of the danger you are in?" Marks replied, ["]No!["]

Soby: "Your life is threatened, a policeman stopped me in the dark last night as I was going home<sup>299</sup>, I was alarmed." **Marks:**<sup>300</sup> I supposed the threats were from that policeman, but I was mistaken. Another policeman, Warren Smith<sup>301</sup>, said last Sunday that Joseph had enemies—that Law and myself were Joseph's enemies, and if they came in his way they might be popped over. A fire was kindled in the street near my house, and I thought I was watched.<sup>302</sup> Francis Higbee told me, and a man in the east part of the town told me; and a man came from the other side of the river, and told the story to that man, as he said<sup>303</sup>. Yesterday morning, Hyrum [Smith], Wilson Law, and William Law met in the street, and I told the story as before related.

Mayor: Did ever anybody tell you I directed you to be watched?

William Marks; No!

Marshal went for Francis M. 304 Higbee and George W. 305 Crouse.

Leonard <sup>306</sup>Soby sworn: On Sunday, 31st December last, I met Warren Smith in Crouse's store; asked him if he knew who the Brutus was. Warren Smith said he believed William Law was one <sup>307</sup>, and Marks another; they had better not come in his <sup>308</sup> way. <sup>309</sup>Did not say he would shoot <sup>310</sup> them, or endanger their life any way. Did not know whether there was any private instructions or what; believed brother Marks was in danger; did not think Marks in <sup>311</sup>danger from Joseph; thought Warren <sup>312</sup> Smith was under a wrong impression with regard to Marks. Warren Smith said, "He (Marks) had better not cross my path <sup>313</sup> when I am on duty <sup>314</sup>." I gathered the idea there was something wrong with brother Warren <sup>315</sup> Smith. Do not <sup>316</sup> recollect any person present.

Mayor. Did Warren<sup>317</sup> Smith or any other policeman give you to understand that I had authorized him to believe there was any difficulty between me and brother Law or Marks<sup>318</sup>?

```
297. NCCM [1842-44], 36: omits "men"
298. NCCM [1842-44], 36: omits "this matter"
299. NCCM [1842-44], 37: omits "last night as I was going home"
300. NCCM [1842-44], 37: "<Marks>"
301. NCCM [1842-44], 37: omits "Warren Smith"
302. NCCM [1842-44], 37: "< A fire was kindled ... watched>"
303. NCCM [1842-44], 37: "<to that man as he said>"
304. NCCM [1842-44], 37: "<M>"
305. NCCM [1842-44], 37: omits "George W."
306. NCCM [1842-44], 37: adds "H."
307. NCCM [1842-44], 37: "<was one>"
308. NCCM [1842-44], 37: "my <his>"
309. NCCM [1842-44], 37: adds "my impression was if they were coming in"
310. Book E-1, 1854: "<shoot>" (US)
311. DHC 6:167: adds "any"
312. NCCM [1842-44], 37: omits "Warren"
313. NCCM [1842-44], 37: replaces "cross my path" with "come in my way"
314. NCCM [1842-44], 37: omits "when I am on duty"
315. NCCM [1842-44], 37: omits "Warren"
316. Book E-1, 1854: "Don\o/t"
317. NCCM [1842-44], 37: replaces "Warren" with "Mr."
318. NCCM [1842-44], 37: replaces "me and brother Law or Marks" with "us"
```

Soby<sup>319</sup>: No! He did not think Warren Smith would transcend his official duties towards Law or Marks; felt at the time Marks and Law were in danger; did not think they were in danger<sup>320</sup>, if they did not rise up against the authorities.

Did not say he had any instruction; said to Mr. Marks, "you have enemies." My impression was that somebody had been to Joseph to make a bad impression on his mind. Warren Smith did mention brother Marks' name, I think<sup>321</sup>.

Thirty policemen—all who were present<sup>322</sup>, sworn: Testified that General Smith had never given them any private instruction concerning the case before the council.

Warren Smith said Soby asked his<sup>323</sup> opinion who was the Judas<sup>324</sup>. I said from rumor I would suspect William Law; does not believe he mentioned Marks' name. My opinion was founded on rumor. Brother Isaac<sup>325</sup> Hill said brother Law was in a bad situation, was kicking; and if he did not mind, he would go over the board; if he bad his property in available means<sup>326</sup> and was away, he would feel better. Have heard it talked of that brother Law was not going to stand. Hill<sup>327</sup> did not tell what he was kicking at. [I] think he mentioned spiritual wife system, &c. I understand a Brutus to mean a treacherous man. Bro Hill did not believe in the spiritual wife system<sup>328</sup> and Law did not believe in it.

George W. Crouse sworn: Does not recollect any conversation between Warren Smith and Leonard Soby at his store<sup>329</sup> relative to the case in question; had a discussion about the duties of policemen.

Councilor [John] Taylor said it was customary in all cities for policemen to go armed in time of danger.

Councilor [Orson] Hyde confirmed Councilor Taylor's observation.

Councilor Hyrum Smith spoke. Told a story of the old Dutchman and the ox. Soby makes me think of an old Dutchman, <sup>330</sup>who<sup>331</sup> had an ox, the first animal he ever owned in his life, and he broke him to ride; then he filled a sack with rocks and laid it on the ox's back, and got on himself, and told his son to hide by the<sup>332</sup> roadside; and when he came along, to jump out and hollo boo, as he wanted to know how well his ox was broke. The son did accordingly; the ox was frightened and threw<sup>333</sup> the old man off. "Father," said the son, "I did<sup>334</sup> as you told me." "Yes," said the old man, "but you made too big a boo."

Francis M. <sup>335</sup> Higbee sworn: Have <sup>336</sup>received the impression from rumor that Mr. Law,

```
319. NCCM [1842-44], 37: "<Soby>"
320. Book E-1, 1855: "<did not think ... danger>" (JG)
321. NCCM [1842-44], 37: "according to the best of my recollection <I think>"
322. NCCM [1842-44], 37: "<all who were present>"
323. NCCM [1842-44], 37: replaces "his" with "my"
324. NCCM [1842-44], 37: omits "who was the Judas"
325. NCCM [1842-44], 38: "<Isaac>"
326. NCCM [1842-44], 38: omits "in available means"
327. NCCM [1842-44], 38: "<Hill>"
```

<sup>328.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 38: "\the/ <spiritual wife system>"; "the w.o. "it"

<sup>329.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 38: replaces "store" with "office"

<sup>330.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 38: apparently reads "old Dutchman & the Trail". The remainder of the paragraph is not from NCCM, but is an elaboration added by the compilers.

<sup>331.</sup> DHC 6:168: replaces "who" with "that"

<sup>332.</sup> Book E-1, 1855: "<the>" (US)

<sup>333.</sup> Book E-1, 1855 (pencil): "thr<del>owed</del><ew>" (US)

<sup>334.</sup> Book E-1, 1855 (pencil): "done<id>" (US)

<sup>335.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 38: "<M>"

<sup>336.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 38: adds "heard"

Mr. Marks, and probably one or two others, could not subscribe to all things in the church, and there were some private matters that 337 might make trouble; don't know of anyone being in danger. No one told me the police had received any private 338 instruction. Could not tell who he had received these rumors from. 339

William Law spoke: Said he had no personal feeling against Warren Smith. Some two or three years since he sued brother Warren, and stayed the suit, &c.: was suspicious Warren Smith's feelings might have risen from that source.

Councilor Hyrum Smith, Daniel Carn, Warren Smith, L[eonard]. Soby, and William Marks addressed the council<sup>341</sup>.

The Mayor spoke: said no one had come to him with tales about William Marks, to prejudice his mind against him<sup>342</sup>: was totally ignorant of it. <sup>343</sup>I said to brother Dunham<sup>344</sup>, if any man approach my house with arms, or attempted to disturb<sup>345</sup> my house, I wanted the police<sup>346</sup> to take care of that individual<sup>347</sup>, whoever he might be<sup>348</sup>. I repeat the instruction, and am perfectly astonished that brother Law, Marks, or any other man should entertain such an idea<sup>349</sup>. I live above suspicion on this subject from any source whatever. I never could bring my feelings to take revenge on my enemies. The city council did not concoct the idea of having a police; the several wards petitioned for a police to protect them against invasion—wanted citizens to pass the streets at any time of night without molestation; but if the police see a man breaking <sup>350</sup>my house or barn, or anybody's house or barn<sup>351</sup>, tell him to stand and inquire his business. I think it possible that some person<sup>352</sup> has been practicing fraud on brother Soby and the police, and upon individuals, as the police, according to their instructions, had laid away their guns<sup>353</sup>.

## Proposed <sup>354</sup>that Daniel Cairns and W[arren] Smith be dropped from the police if the council consent[s] lest they scare somebody<sup>355</sup>.

Don't guard brother Marks' house any more. Men must not<sup>356</sup> pervert the power entrusted to them <sup>357</sup>like Ex-Governor Boggs, whose executive oath required him to protect the Saints in Missouri, but perverted his power to enforce their extermination from the State.

Brother Soby does not know that it was a policeman who stopped him<sup>358</sup>; brother Marks

```
337. NCCM [1842-44], 38: replaces "there were some private matters that" with "it"
338. NCCM [1842-44], 38: "<private>"
339. NCCM [1842-44], 38: "\could not tell of one/ <who even had mentioned the subject to him>"
340. NCCM [1842-44], 38: "his < Warren Smiths>"
341. NCCM [1842-44], 38: replaces "addressed the council" with "spoke" after each name
342. NCCM [1842-44], 38: "<to prejudice his mind against him>"
343. NCCM [1842-44], 38: adds "if any thing had been revealed to him he had kept it to himself"
344. NCCM [1842-44], 38:"<to Bro Dunham>"
345. NCCM [1842-44], 38: "force open < disturb my>"
346. NCCM [1842-44], 38: replaces "the police" with "him"
347. NCCM [1842-44], 38: replaces "that individual" with "him"
348. NCCM [1842-44], 38: omits "whoever he might be" as well as the next two sentences
349. DHC 6:169: adds "[that they were in danger]"
350. DHC 6:169: adds "in to"
351. NCCM [1842-44], 39: "<or any bodys house or barn>"
352. NCCM [1842-44], 39: replaces "person" with "one"
353. NCCM [1842-44], 39: omits "as the police ... guns"
354. NCCM [1842-44], 39: adds "Let"
355. NCCM [1842-44], 39: "<lest they scare some body>"
356. NCCM [1842-44], 39: "<not>"
357. At this point, NCCM [1842-44], 39: "& referred to Boggs"; remainder of paragraph is an elaboration.
```

358. NCCM [1842-44], 39: "<him>"

does not know that the police kindled the fire before his house. Let the police have canes. Let the citizens pass and repass at all times of night.

Councilor Taylor<sup>359</sup> spoke. Thought the conclusion drawn up by brother Soby that Joseph or somebody was going to<sup>360</sup> get revenged by setting the guard to kill Marks, was the most contemptible that could be imagined; and if brother Soby had had the respect for brother Joseph he ought to have had, he could<sup>361</sup> not have formed such a conclusion<sup>362</sup>.

#### Marks and Higby retired.

<sup>363</sup>Mayor referred to Francis Higbee's testimony; thought Francis Higbee had better stay at home and hold his tongue, lest rumor turn upon him and disclose some private matters, which he would prefer kept hid<sup>364</sup>; did not believe there was any rumor of the kind afloat<sup>365</sup>, or he could have told some of the names of his informants<sup>366</sup>; thought the young men of the city had better withdraw from his society<sup>367</sup>, and let him stand on his own merits; I by no means<sup>368</sup> consider him the standard of the city<sup>369</sup>.

There has been a system of corruption and debauchery<sup>370</sup> <sup>371</sup> which these rumors have<sup>372</sup> grown out of, and the individuals who are the authors of them<sup>373</sup> are those who do not want a police; they want to prowl in the streets at pleasure without interruption<sup>374</sup>.

#### H[igh] Policeman spoke.

Alderman Orson Spencer spoke, approving the conduct of the police<sup>375</sup>, [and] in objection to dropping the two police mentioned by the Mayor.

C[ouncilor] Harris said the police were in the hands of the Mayor.

#### Gen[eral] Wilson Law spoke.

<sup>376</sup>Gen[eral]. Wilson [William]<sup>377</sup> Law said. <sup>378</sup>"I am Joseph's friend—he has no better friend in the world; I am ready to lay down my<sup>379</sup> life for him," and upon that the Mayor and Gen[eral]. Wilson [William]<sup>380</sup> Law shook hands.

<sup>359.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: replaces "Taylor" with "H[vrum]. Smith"

<sup>360.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: "<to>"

<sup>361.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: "would"

<sup>362.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: replaces "formed such a conclusion" with "done it"

<sup>363.</sup> This paragraph canceled in NCCM [1842-44], 39, with following note in left margin: "order to be crossed Jan. 16, 1844." The minutes of this day record that JS announced that "all difficulties between him & Francis M. Higby were eternally buried ... and he was to be his friend forever," and that the "<observations of the mayor before the council on the 5th inst. concerning F[rancis] M. Higby—were ordered to be stricken from the Minutes & stricken accordingly>" (NCCM, 45; cf. DHC 6:178; this chap.).

<sup>364.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: omits "and disclose ... hid"

<sup>365.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: "<did not believe ... afloat>"

<sup>366.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: omits "or he could have ... informants"

<sup>367.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: replaces "his society" with "him"

<sup>368.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: replaces "I by no means" with "not"

<sup>369.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: "<of the city>"

<sup>370.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: replaces "corruption and debauchery" with "things"

<sup>371.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: adds "which has been from the beginning"

<sup>372.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: "which this has"

<sup>373.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: omits "who are the authors of them"

<sup>374.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: "prowl at pleasure"

<sup>375.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: omits "approving the conduct of the police"

<sup>376.</sup> This paragraph inserted interlinearly in NCCM [1842-44], 39.

<sup>377.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: replaces "Wilson" with "William"

<sup>378.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: adds "Bro Joseph"

<sup>379.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: "my" overwrites "his"

<sup>380.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 39: replaces "Wilson" with "William"

High policeman said the fire was kindled before Marks by some men from the North part of the city<sup>381</sup> and not the policemen.

Gen[eral] Law spoke again [and] expressed of his good feelings.

Councilor [W.W.] Phelps [said]. Policemen have always had to learn their duty. [He] hoped no<sup>382</sup> one would get up another tempest in a tea pot.

C[ouncilor] H[yrum]. Smith apologized—

The ordinance concerning the forty policemen, read twice.

The Mayor objected to assuming the  $^{383}$ entire disposal of the police, beyond the definition of the ordinance.

C[ouncilor]. Taylor <sup>384</sup>thought the difficulties with W[arren]. Smith and D[aniel]. Cairns was of a private nature, and did not belong to the council.

Alderman George A.<sup>385</sup> Smith said he could sleep with a fire near his house, if there were some of the police warming themselves by it, and he believed any honest man could do the same<sup>386</sup>.

On Motion of W. W. Phelps, voted<sup>387</sup> that the 2 police be retained.

The police<sup>388</sup> received the thanks of the council.

Bro[ther] Soby—said W[arren] Smith did not say he would pop a hole through him.—did not say anybody would pop a hole through him. [He] never heard such a thing.

<sup>389</sup>The cross-examinations<sup>390</sup> and speeches are generally omitted.

Council adjourned at dusk for the want of candles.<sup>391</sup>

<sup>392</sup>What can be the matter with these men? is it, that the wicked flee when no man pursueth? that hit pigeons always flutter? that drowning men catch at straws? or that Pres[iden]ts. Law and Marks are absolutely traitors to the church, that my remarks should produce such an excitement in their minds? Can it be possible that the traitor whom Porter Rockwell reports to me as being in correspondence with my Missouri enemies, is one of my quorum? The people in the town were astonished, almost every man saying to his neighbor, "is it possible that brother Law or brother Marks is a traitor, and would deliver brother Joseph into the hands of his enemies in Missouri?" If not, what can be the meaning of all this? ["]the righteous are as bold as a lion.["]

<sup>393</sup>At 5 p.m. [went to my office and] appointed Joseph H. Jackson and Marinew J. Eaton to be my Aides in the Staff of the Nauvoo Legion. [Bro Phelps made out the commission.]

Returned home. A number of gentlemen boarding at my house 394 conversed with me on

```
381. NCCM [1842-44], 39: "<of the city>" 382. NCCM [1842-44], 40: "not"
```

<sup>383.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 40: adds "whole"

<sup>384.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 40: adds "spoke"

<sup>385.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 40: omits "George A."

<sup>386.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 40: omits "if there were some ... same"

<sup>387.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 40: "<voted>"

<sup>388.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 40: "and <the police>"

<sup>389.</sup> This paragraph does not appear in NCCM [1842-44], 40.

<sup>390.</sup> DHC 6:170: "cross-examination"

<sup>391.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 40: "Council adjourned 25 m[inutes] past 4 P.M."

<sup>392.</sup> *Source*: This paragraph probably composed by GAS, who was present at the preceding meeting. It appears in RDft 8:1 (TB), composed ca. 23 June 1855 (see RDft Chronology).

<sup>393.</sup> This paragraph canceled Book E-1, 1857, and not printed in *DN* or DHC. *Source*: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 223 (WR) (*APR*, 438), with editing and elaboration. In first paragraph, omitted material supplied in brackets; in second in bold type.

<sup>394.</sup> Book E-1, 1857: adds erasure

national affairs. I sent for brother Phelps, who came and read my letter to John C. Calhoun, with which they were highly edified.

<sup>395</sup>Elder Brigham Young went to La Harpe for the purpose of instructing the Saints.

<sup>396</sup>Commenced snowing a little before sunset, and continued all night.

<sup>397</sup>Saturday, 6.—A.M. at Pres[ident]. J[oseph]'s settled with W[illard] Richards. Gave him a bond [and] a deed and took his note.

<sup>398</sup>**At home.** Snow about four inches deep. **About ten o'clock,** I rode out with Emma in a sleigh. **Good sleighing.** 

Horace L. Eldridge, county constable, went to Carthage with a precept from R[obert]. D. Foster, J[ustice]. [of the] P[eace]., to apprehend Milton Cook in a case of Bastardy on complaint of Olive Smith, not a member of the church. Eldridge made the arrest and the prisoner was taken from him by force of arms and he [Eldridge] returned to this city.

<sup>399</sup>The Bishops and lesser priesthood met at Henry W. Miller's hall.

<sup>400</sup>Sunday, 7.—At home in the morning; in the afternoon rode out to my farm, and preached in brother Cornelius P. Lott's house. **Also O[rson] Spencer and Reynolds Cahoon preached.** 

<sup>401</sup>The Twelve Apostles attended meetings, and preached in different parts of the city.

At 6 p.m., attended prayer-meeting with the quorum in the Assembly Room. Law and Marks absent. **Very cold.** 

<sup>402</sup>Monday, 8.—At home in the morning.

At 11 went to my office to investigate a difficulty between John D. Parker and his wife. After laboring with them about two hours, left the case to Bro[ther] Phelps, who brought about a reconciliation<sup>403</sup>. Each agreeing to promote each others happiness, which if they kept their covenant, Bro[ther] Phelps told them God would bless them and if they did not God would curse them.

I also had an interview with William Law in the streets [in] front of Bro[ther] Phelps. My uncle, John Smith, from Macedonia<sup>404</sup>, visited me. Amos Fielding arrived from Liverpool and put up at [John] Snyder's.

Eldri[d]ge returned to Carthage with a posse of 11 men to apprehend Milton Cook. Could not get him and put up at Hamilton's [tavern] for the night. Some snow this eve[ning].

<sup>405</sup>Tuesday, 9.—At home. About 10 Bro[ther] Phelps called just as I was about to ride out.

<sup>406</sup>[William Clayton] at President Joseph's settling with E[benezer] Robinson and Lawrence

<sup>395.</sup> Source: Based on BYj [1840-44], vol. 3, 5 Jan. 1844 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.2).

<sup>396.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 223 (WR) (APR, 438).

<sup>397.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 6 Jan. 1844 (DMQP, 15).

<sup>398.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 224 (WR) (APR, 438). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>399.</sup> *Source*: Based on APQM, 6 Jan. 1844. RLC inserted a note about this incident in pencil under this date in HNB: "see Aaronic Priesthood Record."

<sup>400.</sup> *Source*: First and third paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 225 (WR) (APR, 438), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>401.</sup> Source: Probably based on WWj, vol. 4, 7 Jan. 1843 (WWj 2:337-39).

<sup>402.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 226 (WR) (APR, 438-39), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>403.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 226: "who labored to produce a reconciliation—with good effect"

<sup>404.</sup> In Book E-1, 1857, "from Macedonia" appears at end of sentence and guidelines move it to this location.

<sup>405.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 227 (WR) (APR, 439). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>406.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 9 Jan. 1843 (IC, 124).

&c. P.M. Got Lawrence's account from [David D.] Yearsley. [...] Joseph sent for me to make out Maria Lawrence account.

<sup>407</sup>Eldri[d]ge and posse found Milton Cook in a grocery and arrested him and he was again taken from him. I insert the following from the *Neighbor*, as a specimen of the respect which the Carthage mob has for law or justice:—

## <sup>408</sup>DISGRACEFUL AFFAIR AT CARTHAGE.

On Tuesday last, Horace S. Eldredge, one of our county officers, went to Carthage for the purpose of arresting Milton Cook, on the charge of bastardy, and bringing him before R. D. Foster, justice of the peace of this county, before whom affidavit had been made to that effect. He found the accused in Bartlett's grocery, (Carthage) and arrested him.

Cook had a gun that he said he had loaded for the purpose, and would make a hole through the constable if he molested him, and swore he would not be taken.

Harmon T. Wilson and others then stepped forward to his assistance, and said that they had sworn to stand by him, and that he should not go. He <sup>409</sup>then returned with his process to the justice of the peace, and told him what had occurred.

Mr. R. D.<sup>410</sup> Foster then summoned eleven men to go along with the constable, and assist him<sup>411</sup> in bringing the delinquent. They went out and drove to the grocery, where they expected to find him, but he was not there: they then went out for a short time, without making known their business, when they saw an armed force gathering.

They shortly afterwards returned to the grocery, and saw him there, where he swore he would not be taken; there was also an armed force standing in the door, who also swore he should not be taken.

The officer having the process, Mr. Markham, and Mr. Eagle, stepped forward and wished to reason the case with them; the officer at the same time demanding their assistance; they were met with an armed force of about twenty, four of whom stood in the doorway; two with guns and bayonets, and two with pistols.

The two having the bayonets charged directly at Mr. Markham, and swore they would run him through, and rushed upon him with their bayonets. He, however, warded off their blows with his arm, and the bayonet glanced and struck Mr. John Eagle in the abdomen; the bayonet went through his clothes, scratched his body, and glanced off without doing any further injury, other than giving him a slight cut in the hand.

Those having the pistols then attempted to shoot, when Mr. Markham seized the hand of one of them that held the pistol, and prevented him from firing. The other put his pistol to Mr. Eagle's breast, and swore he would shoot him.

The company at that time used all their force, and crowded the officers and their assistants some distance back, and carried off and secreted the prisoner. The officer and his company then went to the tavern to stay all night.

The next morning, about eight o'clock, the constable and Mr. Markham went to the grocery and searched; and Bartlett said that he was gone—that he had taken his horse and gone out of town.

They then saw a company of men gathering<sup>412</sup> at Harmon T. Wilson's store, armed with

<sup>407.</sup> Source: First sentence from unused portion of JSj [1843-44], 227 (WR) (APR, 439).

<sup>408.</sup> Source: NN 1 (10 Jan. 1844): [146]. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>409.</sup> DHC 6:171: adds "[Eldredge]"

<sup>410.</sup> NN 1:[146]: omits "R. D."

<sup>411.</sup> NN 1:[146]: omits "him"; Book E-1, 1858: "<him>"

<sup>412.</sup> DHC 6:172: "gathered"

guns, bayonets, pistols, clubs and other missiles. Mr. Markham went to the store, where he found the constable and the prisoner. There were 413 fifty in and about the store, all armed.

Mr. Eldredge then told the company present who he was, and demanded all in the house to assist in taking the prisoner, and then seized him. As soon as he laid hold of the prisoner, about six or eight men laid hold of the constable. Mr. Markham assisted the constable; when Mr. Markham had nearly succeeded in liberating the constable, a man who was called Dr. Morrison drew his pistol and shot at Markham; the ball missed Markham, but came so near Mr. Coltrin's head, who was one of the assistants, as to graze his forehead.

As there were 414 only four of the assistants in the store they were overpowered by superior numbers, and the prisoner was taken away from them.

They saw that it would be impossible to take him without bloodshed, and consequently returned home. The parties engaged in this affray swore that, regardless of all law, they would defend the prisoner, and he should not be taken.

We have received the above particulars from Mr. Markham, and can consequently rely upon the correctness of the statement, as he is one of the parties mentioned. **We are informed that** the woman who was *enceinte*, who made the affidavit, is not in the church, neither is Mr. Eagle, the person who was struck with the bayonet. **We understand that** Mr. Eagle has gone to the Governor to make complaint.

We think that it is high time that prompt measures be taken to put a stop to such abominable outrages: if officers can be insulted in this manner, and the law violated with impunity, we think that we shall speedily slide back into the barbarous ages.

Some of our mobocratic friends, who assembled at a mobocratic meeting some time ago in Carthage, were considerably chagrined at our terming them mobocrats; we wonder whether they now believe that they are or not? If such proceedings as those are cherished, fare well to our republican institutions; farewell to law, equity, and justice, and farewell to all those sacred ties that bind men to their fellow men.

We would here ask where the sheriff was? why was he not applied to? We merely ask for information: we don't know that he was present or applied to. If he was, it certainly was his duty to see the law magnified.

<sup>415</sup>Wednesday, 10.—At home.

Ordained uncle John Smith a Patriarch. Enjoyed myself well in an interview with the brethren, and concluded to take a ride part way with my uncle on his return to Macedonia.

<sup>416</sup>[William Clayton] at President Joseph's all day. Finished settlement with E[benezer] Robinson and passed receipts in full. After posted Books and prepared accounts for settlement on the Lawrence Estate.

 $^{417}$ In consequence of a visit from  $^{418}$  some gentlemen of  $^{419}$  Carthage, I called the city council together at 7 p.m.  $^{420}$  I copy the minutes:—

<sup>413.</sup> NN 1:[146]: "was"; Book E-1, 1858: "were" overwrites "was"

<sup>414.</sup> NN 1:[146]: "was"; Book E-1, 1859: "were" overwrites "was"

<sup>415.</sup> Source: Following two paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 228 (WR) (APR, 439), with light editing.

<sup>416.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 10 Jan. 1844 (IC, 124).

<sup>417.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1843-44], 228 (WR) (APR, 439).

<sup>418.</sup> Book E-1, 1859: "of" made into "from"

<sup>419.</sup> DHC 6:173: replaces "of" with "from"

<sup>420.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 228, expands on this: "Lawyer Backman and another Lawyer viz Sherman, & Mr Hamilton

## <sup>421</sup>SPECIAL SESSION. <sup>422</sup>

January 10, 1844, 7 423 p.m.

Names of members called.

The Mayor said<sup>424</sup>:—"Messrs.<sup>425</sup> Backman, <sup>426</sup>Hamilton and <sup>427</sup>Sherman, lawyers from Carthage<sup>428</sup>, have called on me<sup>429</sup>, and told me<sup>430</sup> that the occasion of the excitement at Carthage, and the resistance to the law in the case of the<sup>431</sup> arrest of Cook, was the late ordinance of this council 'to prevent unlawful search or seizure of person or property by foreign process in the city of Nauvoo'; that they considered<sup>432</sup> said ordinance was designed to hinder the execution of the statutes of Illinois within<sup>433</sup> this city: <sup>434</sup>consequently they, the old citizens, felt disposed to stop the execution of <sup>435</sup> processes, issuing from the city precincts<sup>436</sup>. <sup>437</sup>They also<sup>438</sup> raised objections against the process issued by Justice Foster for the apprehension of Cook<sup>439</sup>, because it was made returnable to him alone; whereas *they* said<sup>440</sup> the statute required it to be made returnable before himself or some other justice.

["]I<sup>441</sup> explained to them<sup>442</sup> the nature and reason of the ordinance; that <sup>443</sup>was to prevent kidnapping under the pretense of law or process, and to facilitate<sup>444</sup> the apprehension of thieves, &c., in this city, by throwing all foreign processes into the hands of the marshal, who would be most likely to know the hiding-places of fugitives from justice, who might

called on me from Carthage & stated that our late ordinance concerning seizure search & Seizure of persons and property by forcing process was the cause of dissatisfaction & what led their people to resist the Law[.] I explained it fully to them, & called the city council together at my house at 7 eve, who passed an amendment, see records, to satisfy the mobocrats & prevent mistakes among all."

- 421. Source: NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 40-41 (WR) (NCHCM, 210-11), as edited in RDft 8:2a, which is a 2-page copy in JG's handwriting. Cf. NCCP, 199-200 (TB).
  - 422. In Book E-1, 1859, "Special Session" follows date and time.
  - 423. NCCM [1842-44], 40: adds "o'clock"; RDft 8:2a: "o'clock"
  - 424. NCCM [1842-44], 40: replaces "said" with "stated that"; RDft 8:2a: "stated that <said>"
  - 425. NCCM [1842-44], 40: replaces "Messrs." with "Lawyer"; RDft 8:2a: "Lawyer < Messrs.>"
  - 426. RDft 8:2a: adds "Mr."
  - 427. NCCM [1842-44], 40: "<Lawyer>" (TB); RDft 8:2a: "Lawyer"
  - 428. NCCM [1842-44], 40: omits "Layers from Carthage"; RDft 8:2a: "<Lawyers from Carthage>"
- 429. NCCM [1842-44], 40: replaces "me" with "him" and adds "from Carthage"; RDft 8:2a: "him <me> from Carthage"
  - 430. NCCM [1842-44], 40: replaces "me" with "<him>"; RDft 8:2a: "him <me>"
  - 431. RDft 8:2a: "<the> case of <the>"
  - 432. RDft 8:2a: "consider<ed>"
- 433. NCCM [1842-44], 40: omits "of Illinois" and replaces "within" with "in"; RDft 8:2a: "<of Illinois>  $\frac{1}{100}$  in  $\frac{1}{100}$  within"
  - 434. NCCM [1842-44], 40: adds "by county officers"
  - 435. RDft 8:2a:"<of>"
  - 436. NCCM [1842-44], 40: replaces "precincts" with "in the county"; RDft 8:2a: " recincts in the County"
- 437. NCCM [1842-44], 40: adds "and also"; RDft 8:2a: "and also"; Book E-1, 1859: adds ellipses over erasure of about three words
  - 438. NCCM [1842-44], 40: omits "also"; RDft 8:2a: "<also>"
  - 439. NCCM [1842-44], 40: omits "for the apprehension of Cook"; RDft 8:2a: "<for the apprehension of Cook>"
  - 440. NCCM [1842-44], 40: replaces "whereas they said" with "when"; RDft 8:2a: "when < whereas they said>"
  - 441. NCCM [1842-44], 40: replaces "I" with "The Mayor"; RDft 8:2a: "The Mayor <said he had> \I/"
- 442. NCCM [1842-44], 40: replaces "them" with "the delegation from Carthage"; RDft 8:2a: "to the delegation from Carthage <to them>"
  - 443. NCCM [1842-44], 40, RDft 8:2a: add "it"
  - 444. NCCM [1842-44], 40: replaces "facilitate" with "further"; RDft 8:2a: "further <facilitate>"

<sup>445</sup>secrete themselves in our city<sup>446</sup>; and said that<sup>447</sup> if any wrong impression had gone abroad with regard to the motives of the council in passing said ordinance, I<sup>448</sup> would call the council immediately, that they might have the opportunity of giving any explanation necessary, so that the public might understand the ordinance in its true light. I have therefore<sup>449</sup> called the council accordingly. I<sup>450</sup> also referred the lawyers from Carthage to the statute which requires all processes issued in cases of bastardy to be returnable alone to the justice issuing the same, which they doubted until I showed them the law; when they looked a little crestfallen and foolish."<sup>451</sup>

After  $^{452}$ deliberation,  $^{453}$ an additional section  $^{454}$ relative to the foregoing ordinance was read three times, and passed, by way of amendment:—

<sup>455</sup>"Section 3. Be it ordained by the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that nothing in the foregoing ordinance shall be so construed as to prevent, hinder, or thwart the designs of justice, or to retard the civil officers of the State or county in the discharge of their official duties, but to aid and assist them within the limits of this city.

Passed January 10, 1844.

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor.

WILLARD RICHARDS, Recorder."

Council adjourned.

<sup>456</sup>Wrote a letter to Esq[uire]. Backman, to inform him of <sup>457</sup> what the city council had done and fulfilled my promise.

#### William Jones staid all night at Wilson's tavern in Carthage. Very cold.

<sup>458</sup>I received a long equivocating letter from Francis M. Higbee, charging me with having slandered his character, and demanding a public trial before the church. It contains no denial of the charges which he accuses me of having spoken against him, but is full of bombast.

<sup>459</sup>Thursday, 11.—At home.

<sup>445.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 40: adds "seek to"; RDft 8:2a: "seek to"

<sup>446.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 40: "in their <our> midst"; RDft 8:2a: "midst <city>"

<sup>447.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 40: omits "said that"; RDft 8:2a: "<said that>"

<sup>448.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 41: replaces "I" with "he"; RDft 8:2a: "he <I>"

<sup>449.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 41: replaces "I have therefore" with "and had"; RDft 8:2a: "and had <I have therefore>"

<sup>450.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 41: replaces "I" with "The Mayor"; RDft 8:2a: "The Mayor <I>"

<sup>451.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 41: omits "which they doubted until ... foolish"; RDft 8:2a: "\which they/ <doubted until ... foolish">".

<sup>452.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 41: adds "mature"

<sup>453.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 41: adds "the council"

<sup>454.</sup> NCCM [1842-44], 41: adds "[illegible] the"

<sup>455.</sup> A penciled note in brackets in RDft 8:2a directs scribe to "Here copy said amendment on File." NCCM [1842-44], 40-41 (WR) (NCHCM, 210-11), records minutes, but without amendment. A copy of the amendment is located in NCRc, Bx 1, fd 17, item 1; NCCP, 200 (TB) (NCHCM, 211); and was published in NN 1 (10 Jan. 1844): [147].

<sup>456.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 228 (WR) (APR, 439). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>457.</sup> DHC 6:174: omits "of"

<sup>458.</sup> Source: Based on F. M. Higbee, Nauvoo, IL, to JS, Nauvoo, IL, 10 Jan. 1844, in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 6, 40-43 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.7).

<sup>459.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 229 (WR) (APR, 439-40), with light editing, elaboration, and change to first person.

Rode out, 10 a.m., and returned at 1½ p.m.

This morning William Jones, who had stayed all night at Wilson's Tavern in Carthage, was arrested without process by Col[onel]. Levi Williams and his company, who kept him in custody until noon without rations.

The Twelve Apostles gave an invitation to the Saints in Nauvoo to cut and draw for me 75 or 100 cords of wood on the 15th and 16th instant.

<sup>460</sup>Friday, 12.—Thaw—snow nearly gone.

<sup>461</sup>A conference was held in Brownstown, Main county, Michigan; Elder Mephibosheth Sirrine, president, and Gehiel Savage, clerk. Nine branches were represented, containing 6 elders, 9 priests, 7 teachers, 1 deacon, 136 members, and 45 scattered members; one hundred members having removed from that State to Nauvoo since the conference in July last.

<sup>462</sup>Saturday 13.—At home in the morning.

<sup>463</sup>At 10 o'clock attended city council, where a bill for an ordinance concerning the recording of deeds in this city, was taken under consideration <sup>464</sup>, and <sup>465</sup>read twice. It <sup>466</sup> elicited much discussion.

<sup>467</sup>The ten policemen who were not present at the meeting of the city council on the 5th inst[ant]., were sworn in the matter of William Law and William Marks, and testified they had received no private instructions whatever from me.

A discussion took place on the subject of granting licenses for the sale of spirits.

<sup>468</sup>I signed resolutions passed at a court martial [of the Nauvoo Legion] held this morning.

<sup>469</sup>Stephen M. Farnsworth was chosen president of the Priests' Quorum, and William Carmichael and William Box his counselors.

<sup>470</sup>Sunday 14.—At home all day.

A prayer-meeting was held at the Assembly Room; <sup>471</sup>I did not attend.

Warm and rainy towards evening.

<sup>472</sup>The Twelve Apostles preached at private houses in various parts of the city.

<sup>473</sup>A branch of the church was organized in New Orleans, with 34 members; T. B. Jackaway, president, and E. L. Brown, clerk.

<sup>460.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 230 (WR) (APR, 440).

<sup>461.</sup> Source: Based on "Minutes of a conference ...," T&S 5 (15 Feb. 1844): 445-46.

<sup>462.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 231 (WR) (APR, 440).

<sup>463.</sup> *Source*: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 231 (WR) (*APR*, 440), and NCCM [1842-44], 41-44 (WR) (*NCHCM*, 211-16). Cf. WWj, vol. 4, 12 Jan. 1844 (*WWj* 2:339).

<sup>464.</sup> In Book E-1, 1861, "was taken under consideration" appears following "an ordinance" and a guideline moves it to this location.

<sup>465.</sup> Book E-1, 1861: adds ellipses over erasure of about two words

<sup>466.</sup> Book E-1, 1861: "{\it/}" (LH)

<sup>467.</sup> In Book E-1, 1861, this and next paragraph appear at the end of the entry for 13 Jan. and a guideline moves them to this location.

<sup>468.</sup> *Source*: Based on NLM [1841-44], 70-75 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.8); NLc, fd 3, 51-55. However, JS did not sign the resolutions of 13 Jan. 1844 until 25 Jan. See DHC 6:185 (chap. 8), under 25 Jan. 1844.

<sup>469.</sup> *Source*: Mistakenly based on NPQM, 1 (transcription in vol. 8,VI.9). First entry in this volume is dated 13 Jan. 1844, but it should have been 1845.

<sup>470.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 232 (WR) (APR, 440).

<sup>471.</sup> Book E-1, 1861: adds "which"

<sup>472.</sup> *Source*: Possibly an elaboration based on WWj, vol. 4, 14 Jan. 1844 (*WWj* 2:339), which mentions his preaching at Brother Peter Haws' and later meeting with the Twelve.

<sup>473.</sup> Source: Based on "Minutes of a conference ...," T&S 5 (15 Mar. 1844): 477.

<sup>474</sup>Monday 15.—At home. Wrote to Sister Maria L. Campbell, Elmira, N.Y. <sup>475</sup>

<sup>476</sup>At 9 a.m., teams began to arrive with wood, according to the appointment of the Twelve Apostles, there being about 200 of the brethren chopping in the woods, and from thirty to forty teams engaged in drawing the wood to my house. About 100 loads were drawn, and as many more chopped, and left to be drawn another day.

<sup>477</sup>At 9<sup>478</sup> a.m., Dr. Richards called, and told me it was reported that Francis M. Higbee was going to put me under \$10,000 bonds for speaking against him.

At the same time Constable Eldredge summoned me to attend a court as witness before Esq[uire]. Johnson, and I went accordingly to give my testimony.

The Twelve Apostles wrote the following letter:—

<sup>479</sup>Nauvoo, January 15, 1844.

To President Isaac Morley, and the Saints at Morley Settlement, the Twelve send greeting:—

Beloved Brethren:—While the work of the Lord is great and sought out by all them that have pleasure therein, the Lord of the vineyard has laid special charges upon some of his servants to execute; and while we are striving by all means to raise funds to hasten the Temple the approaching spring, we are not unmindful of the ["]history of the church["], the ["]great proclamation to the kings of the earth,["] and the ["]memorials to Congress,["] &c., all of which are now before the church, though their progress is retarded for the want of the necessities of life, in the families of those who are employed in this business.

Two or three clerks are necessarily employed, and that continually, by our Prophet, who cheerfully devote their time, not a *tenth*, but the *whole*, to roll on these desirable objects, but their hands are palsied, and their pens stayed more or less; therefore, with the approbation of our President, we again call on you, as those who have ever been ready to listen to the wants of the church, that you would raise such collections of provisions, as you may have at your disposal, and forward the same *without delay*, to us for the special benefit of the clerks of President Smith or the church. Asking no more, it is right they should not go hungry or naked.

Do you ask what is wanting? We answer, look to your own households, and say what it requires to make them comfortable, and you will know just what is wanting by these men. *Eatables of every kind*, and even soap to keep their hands clean, is scarce at Nauvoo, and it takes many lights to keep the pen in motion these long evenings<sup>480</sup>.

The President has plenty to do without supporting a number of clerks, whose business as deeply concerns every other individual in the church as himself, although he has done it to a great extent, and with great inconvenience, and we are confident that when you are made acquainted with the facts, you will be unwilling that *Joseph* should *do all, and get all the blessing*. And as you shall continue your liberality in temporal things, God shall pour out upon your heads blessings spiritual and temporal—and *now* is the time for *action*.

All is peace at Nauvoo, and the last report from the Carthagenians was, they were beginning to think it was time to throw down their arms and attempt a compromise; but the

<sup>474.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 233 (WR) (APR, 440).

<sup>475.</sup> See Martha Campbell, Elmira, NY, to JS, Nauvoo, IL, 19 Dec. 1843, in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 5, 5-8 (EMD 4:82-85).

<sup>476.</sup> Source: This paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 233 (WR) (APR, 440), and "Wood Chopping," NN 1 (17 Jan.

<sup>1844): [150].</sup> Cf. WWj, vol. 4, 15 Jan. 1844 (WWj 2:339); BYj [1840-44], vol. 3, 15 Jan. 1844 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.2).

<sup>477.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 233 (WR) (APR, 440).

<sup>478.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 233, Book E-1, 1861: "10"; DHC 6:176: "ten"

<sup>479.</sup> Source: BYOF, Bx 16, fd 1, item 4. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>480.</sup> MS letter, 2:"\and it takes many/ ghts ... evenings>"

Mormons can truly say they have had no quarrel with them; it has all been between the citizens and the law, their own officers being the executors thereof, and we feel disposed to let them fight it out among themselves, while we live in peace and laugh at their folly.

With our prayers and blessings, we subscribe ourselves,

Your brethren in Christ Jesus.

In behalf of the Quorum,
B.YOUNG, President.

W. RICHARDS, Clerk.

# N.B. Bro[ther] Phelps suggests that some Brethren at Morley settlement, propose furnishing him with a stock of potatoes, which would be very acceptable they are scarce in this region.

<sup>481</sup>The municipal court issued<sup>482</sup> a warrant for the arrest of Francis M. Higbee, on affidavit of Orson Pratt.

East wind in forenoon, and some rain. Brisk wind <sup>483</sup>N.W. in afternoon.

<sup>484</sup>[William Clayton] at President Joseph's all day. P.M. settled with the Lawrence estate.

<sup>485</sup>Benjamin Andrews published in the *Times and Seasons* "An Appeal to the people of the State of Maine," setting forth the persecutions, murders, and robberies committed upon the Saints by the people of the State of Missouri, and soliciting the assistance of his native State in procuring redress.

<sup>486</sup>Tuesday, 16.—Cold and windy.

At 10 a.m., Francis M. Higbee was brought up before the municipal court on complaint of O[rson]. Pratt, for absenting himself from city council without leave, when summoned as a witness; and for slanderous and abusive language towards one of the members of the council.<sup>487</sup>

The court adjourned, and the city council commenced their session, continuing till two o'clock, during which time a reconciliation took place with Francis M. Higbee, who had written a slanderous letter concerning me, and said many hard things, which he acknowledged, and I forgave him. I went before the council, and stated that all difficulties between me, and F. M. Higbee were eternally buried, and I was to be his friend for ever; to which F. M. Higbee replied, "I will be his friend for ever, and his right-hand man."

## Wrote James H. Lyman (in reply) Lenox, Ashtabula [County], Ohio. At home, interviewed with Bro[ther] Phelps.

<sup>489</sup>A number of the brethren assembled and chopped up the firewood, which had been hauled to my house yesterday, and piled it up ready for use.

<sup>481.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 233 (WR) (APR, 440). Cf. NMCDB, 90; and WR's personal copy in WRc, Bx4, fd 20, 13.

<sup>482.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 233: replaces first part of sentence with "I[n] the course of the day [JS] gave instructions to the Clerk of Municipal Court [WR] to Issue"

<sup>483.</sup> DHC 6:177: adds "from"

<sup>484.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 15 Jan. 1844 (IC, 124).

<sup>485.</sup> Source: Based on T&S 5 (15 Jan. 1844): 403-6.

<sup>486.</sup> Source: Following four paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 234 (WR) (APR, 440-41). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>487.</sup> Cf. NMCDB, 90; and WR's personal copy in WRc, Bx4, fd 20, 13.

<sup>488.</sup> Cf. NCCM [1842-44], 44-46 (*NCHCM*, 216-20). WC recorded: "At Pres[iden]t. J[oseph]'s all day. at the trial of F. M. Higbee. He seemed very wrathy and vicious and threatened to sue J[oseph]. at the County court. They finally agreed to settle the matter & bury it eternally."

<sup>489.</sup> Source: Based on "Wood Chopping," NN 1 (17 Jan. 1844): [150].

The following "Ordinance concerning the Sale of Spirituous Liquors" was passed by the city council:—

<sup>490</sup>An Ordinance Concerning the Sale of Spirituous Liquors.

Whereas, the use and sale of distilled and fermented liquors for all purposes of beverage and drink by persons in health, are viewed by this city council, with unqualified disapprobation:

Whereas, nevertheless the aforesaid liquors are considered highly beneficial for medical and mechanical purposes, and may be safely employed for such uses under the counsel of discreet persons: Therefore,

Sect. 1st. Be it ordained by the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the Mayor of this city is hereby authorized to sell said liquors in such quantities as he may deem expedient.

Sect. 2nd. Be it further ordained that other persons not exceeding one to each ward of the city, may also sell said liquors in like<sup>491</sup> quantities for medical and mechanical purposes by obtaining a license of the mayor of the city. The above ordinance to be in full force and effect immediately after its passage. All ordinances to the contrary, notwithstanding.

Passed Jan[uary]. 16, 1844.

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor.

W. RICHARDS, Recorder.

<sup>492</sup>An ordinance was also passed, authorizing Henry G. Sherwood to make out a city directory, and to establish an intelligence office in the city. Also the following ordinance:—

<sup>493</sup>An Ordinance concerning Witnesses and Jurors' Fees.

Be it ordained by the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that hereafter all persons sub-poenaed and attending upon courts of trial as witnesses, or as jurors in civil cases, shall not be compelled to testify, or be held in attendance either as witness or juror, unless they shall first be tendered the sum of fifty cents per day for each witness, and each juror subpoenaed.

Passed January 16, 1844.

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor.

W. RICHARDS, Recorder.

<sup>494</sup>Wednesday, 17.—At home settling accounts with various individuals, gave deed of a lot **L[ot] 3 B[lock] 123** to John Lytle **and took his due bill for [\$]28.93**.

<sup>495</sup>The steamer *Shepherdess* sank near St. Louis, drowning forty passengers.

<sup>496</sup>Thursday, 18.—At home, and wrote letters to Reuben McBride<sup>497</sup> and Joseph Coe<sup>498</sup>,

<sup>490.</sup> Source: MS original in JScSup, fd 7, 47-48 (Orson Spencer; signed by JS and WR). Cf. copy in NCCP, 201 (TB) (NCHCM, 216-17n32); NN 1 (24 Jan. 1844): [155].

<sup>491.</sup> MS original, 1:"ike>"

<sup>492.</sup> Source: NCCP, 201-2 (TB) (NCHCM, 217-18n33). Cf. NCCM, Rough Book [1842-44], 44-46 (WR) (NCHCM, 217); NN 1 (24 Jan. 1844): [154].

<sup>493.</sup> Source: NCCP, 202 (TB) (NCHCM, 220n36). Cf. NN 1 (24 Jan. 1844): [154].

<sup>494.</sup> *Source*: JSj [1843-44], 235 (WR) (*APR*, 441), and WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 17 Jan. 1843 (*IC*, 124). Deleted material supplied here from WCj in bold type.

<sup>495.</sup> Source: Based on "A Terrible Calamity," NN 1 (24 Jan. 1844): [153]-[54].

<sup>496.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 236 (WR) (APR, 441), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>497.</sup> See JSLS, Bx 2, fd 7, 1-2 (TB) (PWJS, 590-92), which was in response to McBride's 1 Jan. 1844 letter (JSLR, Bx 3, fd 6, 5-8).

<sup>498.</sup> See JSLS, Bx2, fd 7, 23-24 (PWJS, 593-94), which was in response to Coe's 1 Jan 1844 letter (JSLR, Bx 3, fd 6, 1-3).

Kirtland; Clark Leal<sup>499</sup>, of Fountain Green, and to Justin J. Butterfield, Esq., Chicago.

This afternoon a man called on brother Nelson Judd, and said he wanted to sell him some wood below Davidson Hibbard's. He went to see the wood, the man saying he would meet him at the place. When below Hibbard's two men came up on horseback, and told him they had a warrant for him, for taking away Avery's things from Bear Creek. One shot at him twice, and the other snapped at him twice with their pistols. Judd then coolly said, "Now, 'tis my turn," putting his hand into his pocket, although he knew he had no pistols: yet the men fled.

**Toward night rode out. In the evening called at my office.** There was a cotillion party at the Mansion this evening.

## Mild weather, Cloudy P.M. and eve[ning].

<sup>500</sup>Friday, 19.—At home. Rode out in the course of the day. In the evening gave a lecture on the Constitution of the United States, and on the candidates for the Presidency. [Jacob B.] Backenstos, clerk of the Co[unty] Court, [was] present. Bro[ther] Phelps and a great Co[mpany]. in Bar Room.

Mild weather, cloudy in the afternoon<sup>501</sup> and eve[ning].

 $^{502}$ A meeting was held in the Assembly Room to devise means for the founding of another literary  $^{503}$  institution in Nauvoo.

<sup>499.</sup> Book E-1, 1863: "{\Leal/}" (LH)

<sup>500.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 237 (WR) (APR, 441), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>501.</sup> Book E-1, 1864 (pencil): "p.m. \in the Afternoon/" (LH)

<sup>502.</sup> Source: Based on "A Library in Nauvoo," NN 1 (24 Jan. 1844): [154].

<sup>503.</sup> DHC 6:180: replaces "literary" with "library"

## JOSEPH SMITH'S NOMINATION FOR U.S. PRESIDENCY

## January-February 1844

[DN 7 (13 May 1857): 73-75 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>Saturday, [January] 20 [1844].—A.M. [William Clayton] at Pres[iden]t. J[oseph's]. J. B. Backenstos agreed to support Joseph for Pres[iden]t. of the United States.

<sup>2</sup>**At home. Called at office my**<sup>3</sup> **office about ten.** Held mayor's court on the case "City of Nauvoo v[ersu]s. Stephen Wilkinson," for breach of ordinance<sup>4</sup>. I discharged the defendant, he paying costs.

At 6 p.m., prayer-meeting in the Assembly Room. **H[eber]. C. Kimball and wife [Vilate] present.** I was at home.

<sup>6</sup>The High Council met, but having no business, adjourned.

## <sup>7</sup>STANZAS

On the Presentation of the Book of Mormon to Queen Victoria.

#### BY MISS E. R. SNOW.

Before leaving London, Elder Lorenzo Snow presented to her Majesty Queen Victoria, and his Royal Highness Prince Albert, through the politeness of Sir Henry Wheatly, two neatly bound copies of the Book of Mormon, which had been donated by President Brigham Young, and left in the care of Elder Snow for that purpose, which circumstance suggested the following lines:—

<sup>1.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 20 Jan. 1844 (DMQP, 15).

<sup>2.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 238 (WR) (APR, 441-42), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>3.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 238: "my" overwrites "the"

<sup>4.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 238: "<for breach of ordinance>"

<sup>5.</sup> WW recorded: "In the evening I met with the quorum in the evening & had an interesting time. (H.C.K.) (V.K.) Received their second Anointing &c" (WWj, vol. 4, 20 Jan. 1844; WWj 2:340).

<sup>6.</sup> Source: Based on NHCM, Book 4, 24 (NHCM [2005], 131; NCHCM, 484).

<sup>7.</sup> Source: MSt 4 (Apr. 1844): 184. Also in T&S 5 (1 Jan. 1844): 398-99.

Of all the monarchs of the earth

That wear the robes of royalty,

She has inherited by birth

The broadest wreath of majesty.

From her wide territorial wing

The sun does not withdraw its light;

While earth's diurnal motions bring

To other nations day and night.

All earthly thrones are tottering things,
Where lights and shadows intervene;
And regal honor often brings
The scaffold or the guillotine.

But still her scepter is approv'd—
All nations deck the wreath she wears;
Yet, like the youth whom Jesus lov'd,
One thing is lacking, even there.

But lo! a prize possessing more
Of worth, than gems with honor rife—
A herald of salvation bore
To her, the words of endless life.

That GIFT, however fools deride,
Is worthy of her royal care;
She'd better lay her crown aside,
Than spurn the light reflected there.

Oh would she now her influence bend—
The influence of royalty,
Messiah's kingdom to extend,
And Zion's "nursing mother" be;

Thus with the glory of her name
Inscrib'd on Zion's lofty spire,
She'd win a wreath of endless fame,
To last when other wreaths expire.

Though over millions call'd to reign—
Herself a powerful nation's boast;
'Twould be her everlasting gain
To serve the King, the Lord of hosts.

For there are crowns and thrones on high,
And kingdoms there, to be conferr'd—
There honors wait that never die;
There fame's immortal trump is heard.

Truth echoes—'tis Jehovah's word;

Let kings and queens and princes hear,
In distant isles the sound is heard;

Ye heav'ns rejoice! O earth, give ear!

The time, the time is now at hand

To give a glorious period birth;

The Son of God will take command

And rule the nations of the earth.

Nauvoo, Jan. 20, 1844.

<sup>8</sup>Sunday 21.—Preached at the southeast corner of the Temple<sup>9</sup>, to several thousand people, although the weather was somewhat unpleasant. My subject was the sealing of the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to the fathers.

<sup>10</sup>The following synopsis was reported by Elder Wilford Woodruff:—

<sup>11</sup>When I consider the surrounding circumstances in which I am placed this day, standing in the open air with weak lungs, and somewhat out of health, I feel that I must have the <sup>12</sup> prayers and faith of my brethren that God may strengthen me, and pour out his special blessings upon me, if you get <sup>13</sup>much from me this day.

There are many people assembled here today, and throughout this <sup>14</sup> city, and from various parts of the world, who say that they have received to a certainty a portion of knowledge from God, by revelation, in the way that he has ordained and pointed out.

I shall take the broad ground, then, that if<sup>15</sup> we have, or can<sup>16</sup> receive<sup>17</sup> a portion of knowledge from God by immediate revelation; by<sup>18</sup> the same source we can receive all knowledge.

What shall I talk about today? I know what bro[ther]. Cahoon wants me to speak about; he wants me to speak about the coming of Elijah in the last days; I can see it in his eye: I will speak upon that subject, then.

The Bible says, "I will send you Elijah the prophet<sup>19</sup> before the coming of the<sup>20</sup> great and dreadful day of the Lord; and<sup>21</sup> he shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the <sup>22</sup>earth with a curse."

Now, the word *turn* here should be translated *bind*, or seal. But what is the object of this important mission, or how is it to be fulfilled? The keys are to be delivered, the spirit of Elijah is to come, the gospel to be established, the Saints of God gathered, Zion built up, and the saints to come up as saviors on Mount Zion.

But how are they to become saviors on Mount Zion? By building their temples, erecting

<sup>8.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 239 (WR) (APR, 442).

<sup>9.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 239: replaces "at the South ... Temple" with "in front of Dr Fosters Mammoth Hotel"; Book E-1, 1865: "{\at the South East corner of the Temple/} [eoe]" (LH)

<sup>10.</sup> DHC 6:183 brackets this introduction.

<sup>11.</sup> Source: RDft 8:5 directs scribe to copy NSB, 21-23 (LH), which was copied from WWj, vol. 4, 21 Jan. 1844 (WWj 2:341-42), and subsequently edited by JG.

<sup>12.</sup> NSB, 21: "<the>" (JG)

<sup>13.</sup> DHC 6:183: adds "very"

<sup>14.</sup> DHC 6:183: replaces "this" with "the"

<sup>15.</sup> DHC 6:183: omits "if"

<sup>16.</sup> DHC 6:183: omits "or can"

<sup>17.</sup> DHC 6:183: "received"

<sup>18.</sup> DHC 6:183: replaces "by" with "and from"

<sup>19.</sup> NSB, 22: "<the prophet>" (JG)

<sup>20.</sup> NSB, 22: "<coming of the>" (JG)

<sup>21.</sup> NSB, 22: "comes that <and>" (JG)

<sup>22.</sup> NSB, 22: adds "whole"

their baptismal fonts, and going forth, and receiving all the ordinances, baptisms, confirmations, washings, anointings, ordinations and sealing powers upon their<sup>23</sup> heads, in behalf of all their<sup>24</sup> progenitors who are dead, and redeem them, that they may come forth in the first resurrection and be exalted to thrones of glory with them<sup>25</sup>, and herein is the chain that binds the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the children to the fathers, which fulfills the mission of Elijah; and I would to God that this temple was now done, that we might go into it, and go to work and improve our time, and make use of the seals while they are on earth.

The Saints have not<sup>26</sup> too much time to save and redeem their dead, and gather together their living relatives, that they may be saved also, before the earth will be smitten, and the consumption decreed falls upon the world.

I would advise all the Saints to go to with their might, and gather together all their living relatives to this place, that they may be sealed and saved, that they may be prepared against the day that the destroying angel goes forth; and if the whole church should go to with all their might to save their dead, seal their posterity, and gather their living friends, and spend none of their time in behalf of the world, they would hardly get through before night would come, when no man can<sup>27</sup> work, and my only trouble at the present time is concerning ourselves, that the Saints will be divided, broken up and scattered, before we get our salvation secure; for there are so many fools in the world for the devil to operate upon, it gives him the advantage oftentimes.

The question is frequently asked, ["]can we not be saved without going through with all these<sup>28</sup> ordinances, &c.?["] I would answer, No, not the fullness of salvation. Jesus said, "there are<sup>29</sup> many mansions in my<sup>30</sup> Father's house, and I will<sup>31</sup> go and prepare a place for you<sup>32</sup>." *House* here named should have been translated kingdom; and any person who is exalted to the highest mansion, has to abide a celestial law, and the whole law too.

But there has been a great difficulty in getting anything into the heads of this generation; it has been like splitting hemlock knots with a corn-dodger for a wedge, and a pumpkin for a beetle. Even the Saints are slow to understand.

I have tried for a number of years to get the minds of the Saints prepared to receive the things of God, but we frequently see some of them, after suffering all they have for the work of God, will fly to pieces like glass, as soon as anything comes that is contrary to their traditions; they cannot stand the fire at all: how many will be able to abide a celestial law and go through, and receive their exaltation, I am unable to say; as<sup>33</sup> many are called, but few are chosen.

<sup>34</sup>Prayer-meeting in the<sup>35</sup> Assembly Room. Parley P. Pratt present. Joseph not there. Mild weather.<sup>36</sup>

```
23. NSB, 22: "our <their>" (JG)
```

<sup>24.</sup> NSB, 22: "our <their>" (JG)

<sup>25.</sup> NSB, 22: "us <them>" (JG)

<sup>26.</sup> NSB, 22: "none <not>" (JG)

<sup>27.</sup> NSB, 22: "could <can>" (JG)

<sup>28.</sup> NSB, 23: "those"

<sup>29.</sup> NSB, 23: "were <are>" (JG)

<sup>30.</sup> NSB, 23: "his <my>" (JG)

<sup>31.</sup> NSB, 23: "he would <I will>" (JG)

<sup>32.</sup> NSB, 23: "them <you>" (JG)

<sup>33.</sup> NSB, 23: "but <as>" (JG)

<sup>34.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 239 (WR) (APR, 442). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>35.</sup> Book E-1, 1867: "\the/" (LH)

<sup>36.</sup> WW records that PPP at this time "Received his 2d Anointing" (WWj, vol. 4, 21 Jan. 1844; WWj 2:340).

<sup>37</sup>Monday, 22.—A.M. [William Clayton] at President Joseph's commenced taking inventory of Goods, Groceries &c. for Joseph and settling with E[benezer]. Robinson.

<sup>38</sup>Rainy; wind easterly; mud very deep. Rented the Nauvoo<sup>39</sup> Mansion and stables<sup>40</sup> to Ebenezer Robinson, for one thousand dollars per annum, and board for myself and family, and horses, reserving to myself three rooms in the house.

Prayer-meeting at President Young's; ten present.

<sup>41</sup>Tuesday. 23.—**At home.** E[benezer]. Robinson took possession of the Nauvoo<sup>42</sup> Mansion, to continue it as a public-house. W. W. Phelps, N[ewel]. K. Whitney, and W[illard]. Richards valued the printing office and lot at \$1,500, printing apparatus \$950, bindery \$112, foundry, \$270; total, \$2,832. I having sold the concern to John Taylor, who in consideration was to assume the responsibility of the Lawrence estate<sup>43</sup>.

There was a cotillion party in the evening at the Nauvoo Mansion; the night was clear and cold. **Thawed some during the day.** 

<sup>44</sup>The ship Fanny, Capt[ain]. Patterson, sailed from Liverpool with 210 Saints on board.

<sup>45</sup>Wednesday, 24.—**At home.** Called at my office about one o'clock. I think the appraised valuation of the printing office rather too low.

Weather very cold.

<sup>46</sup>The mob party at Carthage, Warsaw, and Green Plains continued their agitation.

<sup>47</sup>Thursday, 25.—At home.

Prayer-meeting at brother Brigham's, **O[rson] Hyde [and]** eight of the Twelve Apostles present. Weather extremely cold.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>49</sup>I approved of the doings of a General Court-Martial, held January 13th.

<sup>50</sup>Afterwards [William Clayton] at the Pres[iden]t's. P.M. Sis[ter]. Durphy came to make my [priesthood] Robe and Garment. I was at President J[oseph']s.

<sup>37.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 22 Jan. 1844 (IC, 124).

<sup>38.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 240 (WR) (APR, 442), with light editing.

<sup>39.</sup> JSi [1843-44], 240: "<Nauvoo>"

<sup>40.</sup> JSi [1843-44], 240: omits mention of stables

<sup>41.</sup> *Source*: Except for detail about Lawrence estate (see below), this and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 241 (WR) (*APR*, 442), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type. Cf. WRj 9:57; and WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 23 Jan. 1844 (*IC*, 125), which reads: "At President Joseph's all day taking inventory and trying to conclude the transfer to E. Robinson ..."

<sup>42.</sup> JSi [1843-44], 241: "<'Nauvoo'>"

<sup>43.</sup> *Source*: Detail about JT taking over Lawrence estate not in JSj [1843-44], 241, but is probably from WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 23 Jan. 1844 (*IC*, 125), which reads: "Joseph sent for me to assist in settling with Brother [John] Taylor about the Lawrence Estate."

<sup>44.</sup> Source: Probably H. Clark, Nauvoo, IL, to J. Taylor, Nauvoo, IL, T&S 5 (1 June 1844): 558.

<sup>45.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 242 (WR) (APR, 442), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>46.</sup> Source: Based on "Carthage, Warsaw, and Green Plains," NN 1 (24 Jan. 1844): [154].

<sup>47.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 242 (WR) (APR, 442), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>48.</sup> WW records: "Br Orson Hyde was present. Had not met with us for sometime. Orson Hyde Received his 2d Anointing" (WWj, vol. 4, 25 Jan. 1844; *WWj* 2:343).

<sup>49.</sup> This paragraph added interlinearly in Book E-1, 1867 (LH). *Source*: Based on NLM [1841-44], 70-75 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.8). See also NLc, fd 3, 51-55; DHC 6:175 (chap. 7).

<sup>50.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 25 Jan. 1844 (IC, 125; DMQP, 15).

<sup>51</sup>Friday, 26.—At home. 2 [p.m.] Afternoon reading the [Nauvoo] Neighbor. Went to the office and I dictated to my clerk **Bro[ther] Phelps** an article<sup>52</sup> on the situation of the nation, referring to the President's Message, &c.

Prayer-meeting at bro[ther]. Young's; eight of the Twelve Apostles [including] O[rson]. Pratt present.<sup>53</sup> Elder Orson Hyde went to Carthage to preach. Weather clear and cool.

<sup>54</sup>Saturday, 27.—Weather extremely cold and clear.

Prayer-meeting in the Assembly Room<sup>55</sup>. W[illard]. Richards present.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>57</sup>High Council met, but having no business, adjourned.

<sup>58</sup>Sunday, 28.—**At home.** I had some company in the evening from Warsaw; I conversed with<sup>59</sup> them on politics, religion, &c. Prayer-meeting in the Assembly Room<sup>60</sup>. **Present W[ilford]. Woodruff.**<sup>61</sup> Weather very cold.

I insert the following from the Millennial Star:—

<sup>62</sup>Mr. Editor:—The idea has frequently crossed my mind, that were the elders of the Church of Jesus Christ in this age, to keep a journal of their travels and ministry, and record all the healings and miracles they had witnessed from time to time; that, should their separate journals be afterwards collected together and published in a volume, I am inclined to believe, that a far greater number of manifest displays of the power of God would be therein recorded, than is found in the journals of the elders of the Church of Jesus Christ, in the early ages; at least so far as they are faithfully handed down to us in the New Testament scriptures.

And, although, as in days of old, we are frequently branded with the epithets of "fools,—fanatics,—religious enthusiasts,—dupes and vile impostors"; yet, "what we have felt and seen, with confidence we tell."

We have frequently heard, from individuals on whose testimony we can rely with the greatest confidence, of extraordinary displays of the power of God in the gift of healing; such for instance, as the blind receiving their sight, the deaf having their hearing restored; the lame man being made to "leap as an hart," the dumb spirit being cast out, and one instance of the dead being restored to life.

Another instance of the kind last mentioned, with a heart overflowing with gratitude, I

<sup>51.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 243 (WR) (APR, 442-43), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type; italic added.

<sup>52.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 243: "& instructed Bro Phelps to write a piece"

<sup>53.</sup> WW recorded: "O. Pratt Received his 2d Anointing" (WWj, vol. 3, 26 Jan. 1844, WWj 2:343).

<sup>54.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 244 (WR) (APR, 443). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>55.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 244: replaces "Assembly Room" with "Store chamber"

<sup>56.</sup> WW records: "Br & Sister Richards were present. They had both been unwell for a number of days before but wer[e] able to attend meeting this evening & seemed to enjoy themselves well. They had received blessings by the prayer of faith. Willard & Jenette Richards Received their 2d Anointing and sealing" (WWj, vol. 4, 27 Jan. 1844; WWj 2:344).

<sup>57.</sup> Source: Based on NHCM, Book 4, 24 (NHCM [2005], 131; NCHCM, 484).

<sup>58.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 245 (WR) (APR, 443), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>59.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 245: replaces "conversed with" with "Lectured to"

<sup>60.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 245: replaces "in the Assembly Room" with "at the store"

<sup>61.</sup> WW recorded: "Wilford & Phebe W Woodruff receivd our 2d Anointing & sealings" (WWj, vol. 4, 28 Jan. 1844; WWj 2:344).

<sup>62.</sup> Source: MSt 4 (Feb. 1844): 159-60.

desire to record. On the afternoon of yesterday, a child of mine, a girl, aged 8 years, was sliding on the rails of the staircase, when on a sudden she turned over, and fell from top to bottom with a most tremendous crash, falling on her head, and being completely double when picked up by her mother,—so much so indeed, that her brother, who heard the noise, looked out of the kitchen, and seeing something lying in the passage motionless, concluded that his sister had thrown some dirty linen over the rails, and took no further notice. Her mother, on hearing the noise occasioned by her fall, hastened out of the parlor to the fatal spot, and immediately discovered it was poor Mary Jane, who lay motionless, speechless, senseless, yea, lifeless; she instantly took her up in her arms, and when she beheld her appearance, in an agony she cried out, "My child is dead; she has fallen, and killed herself."

By this time, I had hastened to the horrid scene, where I beheld my lovely girl stretched on the lap of her disconsolate mother, without the slightest appearance of life. I immediately examined her, and found that she breathed not, and that her pulsation had ceased; her eyes also were wide open, and quite fixed as in death, and there appeared to be gathering over them the film of dissolution; in fact, if it be true that Eutychus (the young man mentioned in the 20th chap[ter]. of the <sup>63</sup>Apostles, who fell from an upper story,) was taken up dead, it is equally true that my daughter was taken up dead, for there was not the slightest vestige of life apparent.

At this moment, with heart uplifted to my Heavenly Father, I, in mighty faith placed my hands upon her and ejaculated, "Lord, heal my child," when in one moment she shewed signs of life, and attempted to speak.

I immediately gave her to drink a little cold water, bathed her head with the same: she then sat up and vomited considerably, and she is now so far recovered, as this morning to sing a verse of a hymn, and walk about as usual.

During my presidency over the Liverpool Conference, which is nearly eighteen months, I have witnessed many cases of healing, but never any so very striking as the one I have just related.

If you deem the narrative worthy of a place in the pages of the *Millennial Star*, you are quite at liberty to insert it.

I remain, dear brother,
Yours sincerely in the gospel of Jesus,
George Mitchelson.

<sup>64</sup>Monday, 29.—At 10 a.m., the Twelve Apostles, together with my brother Hyrum and J[ohn]. P. Greene, met at the Mayor's office, to take into consideration the proper course for this people to pursue in relation to the coming Presidential election.

<sup>65</sup>The candidates for the office of President of the United States at present before the people, are Martin Van Buren and Henry Clay. It is morally impossible for this people, in justice to themselves, to vote for the re-election of President Van Buren, a man who criminally neglected his duties as chief magistrate, in the cold and unblushing manner which he did, when appealed to for aid in the Missouri difficulties. His heartless reply burns like a firebrand in the breast of every true friend of liberty, "Your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you."

As to Mr. Clay, his sentiments and cool contempt of the people's rights are manifested in his

<sup>63.</sup> MSt 4:160, DHC 6:187: add "Acts of the"

<sup>64.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 246 (WR) (APR, 443), with editing and elaboration.

<sup>65.</sup> *Source*: This and next paragraph were probably composed by the compilers partly based on the well-known statements of Van Buren and Clay (e.g., JS's letter to Clay in *T&S* 5 [1 June 1844]: 547; chap. 17). These paragraphs were added on a separate sheet marked "Note A" as an addendum to RDft 8:6 (JG).

reply, "You had better go to Oregon for redress," which would prohibit any true lover of our constitutional privileges, from 66 supporting him at the ballot-box.

<sup>67</sup>It was therefore moved by Willard Richards, and voted unanimously, "that we will have an independent<sup>68</sup> electoral ticket, and that Joseph Smith be a candidate for the next Presidency; and that we use all honorable means in our power to secure his election."

I said,

<sup>69</sup>If you attempt to accomplish this, you must send every man in the city who is able to speak in public, throughout the land to electioneer and make stump speeches, advocate the Mormon religion, purity of election<sup>70</sup>, and call upon the people to stand by the law, and put down mobocracy. David Yearsly must go: Parley P. Pratt to New York; Erastus Snow to Vermont, and Sidney Rigdon to Pennsylvania.

After the April Conference we will have general conferences all over the nation, and I will attend as many as convenient<sup>71</sup>. Tell the people we have had Whig and democratic presidents long enough; we want a President of the United States. If I ever get into the presidential chair, I will protect the people in their rights and liberties. I will not electioneer for myself. Hyrum, Brigham, Parley, and Taylor must go. Clayton must go, or he will apostatize. The Whigs are striving for a king under the garb of democracy. There is oratory enough in the church to carry me into the presidential chair the first slide.

<sup>72</sup>Mr. [Edward A.] Bedell wanting an election at Warsaw, Benjamin Winchester was appointed to go. Capt[ain]. White, of Quincy, was at the Mansion last night, and this morning drank a toast: "May all your enemies be skinned, and their skins be made into drum heads for your friends to beat upon"; also<sup>73</sup> "May Nauvoo become the empire seat of government."

<sup>74</sup>I <sup>75</sup>dictated to brother Phelps the heads of my pamphlet, entitled, "Views on the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States."

A Millerite lecturer came into the office with <sup>76</sup>brother Clayton, about 5 p.m.; I had some conversation with him about the definition of the Greek word Hades, and the Hebrew word Shool<sup>77</sup>, &c. He lectured in the evening in the hall.

<sup>78</sup>Prayer-meeting at Elder B[righam]. Young's.

<sup>66.</sup> Book E-1, 1869: "from" overwrites "for"

<sup>67.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 246 (WR) (APR, 443).

<sup>68.</sup> Book E-1, 1869: "<independent>" (prob. RLC)

<sup>69.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 246 (WR) (APR, 443), with some expansion and clarification.

<sup>70.</sup> DHC 6:188: "elections"

<sup>71.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 246: replaces "as many as convenient" with "them"; Book E-1, 1870: "them <as many as convenient>" (LH)

<sup>72.</sup> *Source*: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 246-47 (WR) (*APR*, 443-44), with some expansion and clarification. Deleted material inserted here in bold type.

<sup>73.</sup> DHC 6:189: replaces "'May all ... also" with ellipses

<sup>74.</sup> This paragraph based on following from JSj [1843-44], 247: "Also gave some instructions concerning an address to the paper for Bro[ther] Phelps to write."

<sup>75.</sup> Book E-1, 1870: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>76.</sup> JSi [1843-44], 247: adds "Joseph &"

<sup>77.</sup> DHC 6:189: "Sheol"

<sup>78.</sup> Source: Probably based on WWj, vol. 4, 29 Jan. 1844 (WWj 2:344).

Governor Ford wrote the following expostulatory epistle to the citizens of Hancock county, through the Warsaw Signal:—

<sup>79</sup>Springfield, Jan. 29, 1844.

Dear Sir:—I have received the copy of the proceedings and resolutions of a meeting of the citizens of Hancock county, which you did me the honor to send me.

I have observed with regret, that occasions have been presented for disturbing the peace of your county; and if I knew what I could legally do to apply a corrective, I would be very ready to do it. But if you are a lawyer, or at all conversant with the law, you will know that I, as a Governor, have no right to interfere in your difficulties.

As yet, I believe that there has been nothing like war among you; and I hope that all of you will have the good sense to see the necessity of preserving peace. If there is anything wrong in the Nauvoo charters, or in the mode of administering them, you will see that nothing short of legislative or judicial power is capable of enforcing a remedy.

I myself had the honor of calling the attention of the legislature to this subject at the last session; but a large majority of both political parties in that body, either did not see the evil which you complain of; or, if they did, they repeatedly refused to correct it. And yet a call is made upon me to do that which all parties refused to do at the <sup>80</sup> last session.

I have also been called upon to take away the arms from the *Mormons*; to raise the militia to arrest a supposed fugitive; and in fact, to repeal some of the ordinances of the city of Nauvoo.

Hancock county is justly famed for its intelligence; and I cannot believe that any of its citizens are so ignorant as not to know that I have no power to do these things.

The absurd and preposterous nature of these requests give some color to the charge that they are made for political effect only. I hope that this charge is untrue: for in all candor, it would be more creditable to those concerned to have their errors attributed to ignorance, than to a disposition to embroil the country in the horrors of war for the advancement of party ends.

But if there should be any truth in the charge, (which God forbid) I affectionately entreat all the good citizens engaged in it, to lay aside their designs, and yield up their ears to the voice of justice, reason, and humanity. All that I can do at present, is to admonish both parties to beware of carrying matters to extremity.

Let it come to this: let a state of war ensue, and I will be compelled to interfere with executive power. In that case also, I wish in a friendly, affectionate, and candid manner, to tell the citizens of Hancock county, *Mormons* and all, that my interference will be against those who shall be the first transgressors.

I am bound by the laws and the<sup>81</sup> constitution to regard you all as citizens of the State, possessed of equal rights and privileges, and to cherish the rights of one as dearly as the rights of another. I can know no distinction among you, except that of assailant and assailed.

I hope, dear sir, you will do me the favor to publish this letter in the papers of your county, for the satisfaction of all persons concerned.

I am, with the highest respect,

Your obedient servant,

Thomas Ford.

<sup>79.</sup> Source: RDft 8:7 directs scribe to copy T&S 5 (15 Feb. 1844): 443–44. Cf. rept. NN 1 (21 Feb. 1844): [170]; VOT, 42–43.

<sup>80.</sup> Book E-1, 1870: "\the/" (US)

<sup>81.</sup> DHC 6:190: omits "the"

82Tuesday 30.—At 11 a.m., I went into the office with Col[onel]. Jackson.

One p.m., held mayor's court at my office on the case "City v[ersu]s. Thomas Coates". Fined the defendant \$25 and costs, for beating John Ellison.

A Millerite preached again in the Assembly Room, and Elder Rigdon replied to him; there was  $^{83}$ full house.

Prayer-meeting at Elder B[righam]. Young's. John Taylor and wife [Leonora] present. 84

<sup>85</sup>Wednesday, 31.—At home. Eleven a.m., I called at the office, and told Benjamin Winchester to go to Warsaw, and preach the first principles of the gospel, get some lexicons, and return home.

Prayer-meeting at Elder Brigham Young's in the evening. **Geo[rge] A. Smith and wife [Bath-sheba] present.**<sup>86</sup>

<sup>87</sup>There seems to be quite a revival throughout Nauvoo, and an inquiry after the things of God, by all the quorums and the<sup>88</sup> church in general.

Sidney Rigdon published a lengthy appeal to the legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, setting forth in <sup>89</sup> pathetic style the grievances he had suffered through the persecution against the church, by the State of Missouri; which concludes as follows:—

<sup>90</sup>[...] In confidence of the purity and patriotism of the representatives of the people of his native State, your memorialist comes to your honorable body, through this his winged messenger, to tell you that the altar which was erected by the blood of your ancestors, to civil and religious liberty, from whence ascended up the holy incense of pure patriotism and universal good will to man, into the presence of Jehovah, a savior of life, is thrown down, and the worshipers thereat have been driven away, or else they are lying slain at the place of the altar. He comes to tell your honorable body, that the temple your fathers erected to freedom, whither their sons assembled to hear her precepts and cherish her doctrines in their hearts, has been desecrated; its portals closed, so that those that go up thither, are forbidden to enter.

He comes to tell your honorable body, that the blood of the heroes and patriots of the revolution, who have been slain by wicked hands for enjoying their religious rights, the boon of Heaven to man, has cried, and is crying in the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, saying, "Redress, redress our wrongs, O Lord God of the whole earth."

He comes to tell your honorable body, that the dying groans of infant innocence, and the shrieks of insulted and abused females—and many of them widows of revolutionary patriots, have ascended up into the ears of Omnipotence, and are registered in the archives of eternity, to be had in the day of retribution, as a testimony against the whole nation, unless their

<sup>82.</sup> Source: This day's entry closely follows JSj [1843-44], 248 (WR) (APR, 444). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>83.</sup> Book E-1, 1871, DHC 6:190: add "a"

<sup>84.</sup> WW recorded: "Met with the quorum at Elder Youngs ... Br & Sister Taylor was with us. Br Taylor made some appropriate remarks unto edifycation. <J. Taylor & Leonora Taylor Received their 2d Anointing & sealing>" (WWj, vol. 4, 30 Jan. 1844; *WWj* 2:346).

<sup>85.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 249 (WR) (APR, 444). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>86.</sup> WW recorded: "Br & Sister G. A. Smith was present this evening < And Received their 2d Anointing & Sealing>. They have been quite unwell" (WWj, vol. 4, 31 Jan. 1844; WWj 2:346).

<sup>87.</sup> Source: WWj, vol. 4, 31 Jan. 1844 (WWj 2:346).

<sup>88.</sup> Book E-1, 1871:"<the>" (pos. LH)

<sup>89.</sup> Book E-1, 1871:"{\in/}" (US)

<sup>90.</sup> Source: "To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, in Legislative Capacity Assembled," T&S 5 (1 Feb. 1844): 422-23.

cries and groans are heard by the Representatives of the people, and ample redress made, as far as the nation can make it, or else the wrath of the Almighty will come down in fury against the whole nation.

Under all these circumstances, your memorialist prays to be heard by your honorable body, touching all the matters of his memorial; and as a memorial will be presented to Congress this session for redress of our grievances, he prays your honorable body will instruct the whole delegation of Pennsylvania, in both houses, to use all their influence in the national councils to have redress granted.

And, as in duty bound, your memorialist will ever pray.

Sidney Rigdon, P[ost]. M[aster]<sup>91</sup>.

Miss E. R. Snow published the following psalm<sup>92</sup>:—

### 93MISSOURI.

What aileth thee, oh! Missouri! that thy face should gather blackness, and why are thy features so terribly distorted?

Rottenness has seized upon thy vitals, corruption is preying upon thy inward parts, and the breath of thy lips is full of destructive contagion.

What meaneth thy shaking, and why art thou terrified? Thou hast become like Belshazzar. "*Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin*," is indeed written against thee; but it is the work of thine own hand—the characters upon thy wall, are of thine own inscription, and wherefore dost thou tremble?

Wouldst thou know the interpretation thereof? Hast thou sought for a Daniel to declare it unto thee? Verily, one greater than a Daniel was in thy midst; but thou hast butchered the Saints, and hast hunted the prophets like Ahab of old.

Thou has extinguished the light of thy own glory—thou hast plucked from thy head the crown of honor—thou hast divested thyself of the robe of respectability—thou hast thrust from thine own bosom, the veins that flowed with virtue and integrity.

Thou hast violated the laws of our sacred constitution—thou hast unsheathed the sword against thy dearest national rights, by rising up against thine own<sup>94</sup> citizens, and moistening thy soil with the blood of those that legally inherited it.

When thou hadst torn from helpless innocence its rightful protectors, thou didst pollute the holy sanctuary of female virtue, and barbarously trampled upon the most sacred gems of domestic felicity!

Therefore, the daughters of Columbia count thee a reproach, and blush with indignation at the mention of thy name.

Thou hast become an ignominious stain on the escutcheon of a noble, free and independent Republic—thou art<sup>95</sup> a stink in the nostrils of the Goddess of Liberty.

Thou art fallen—thou art fallen beneath the weight of thine own unhallowed deeds, and thine iniquities are pressing as a heavy load upon thee.

But although thy glory has departed—though thou hast gone down like a star that is set forever; thy memory will not be erased—thou wilt be had in remembrance even until the saints of God shall forget that the way to the celestial kingdom is "through great tribulation."

<sup>91.</sup> DHC 6:192: omits "P[ost] M[aster]"

<sup>92.</sup> DHC 6:192: replaces "psalm" with "apostrophe to"

<sup>93.</sup> Source: T&S 5 (1 Feb. 1844): 430-31.

<sup>94.</sup> Book E-1, 1872: "{\own/}" (US)

<sup>95.</sup> DHC 6:192: replaces "art" with "hast become"

Though thou should'st be severed from the body of the Union, like a mortified member—though the lion from the thicket should devour thee up<sup>96</sup>; thy doings will be perpetuated; mention will be made of them by the generations to come.

Thou art already associated with Herod, Nero, and the bloody Inquisition; thy name has become synonymous with oppression, cruelty, treachery, and murder.

Thou wilt rank high with the haters of righteousness and the shedders of innocent blood: the hosts of tyrants are waiting beneath to meet thee at thy coming.

O, ye wise legislators! ye executives of the nation! ye distributors of justice! ye advocates of equal rights! arise and redress the wrongs of an innocent people, and redeem the cause of insulted liberty.

Let not the contagious spirit of corruption wither the sacred wreath that encircles you, and spread a cloud of darkness over the glory of your star-spangled banner.

Lest the monarchs of the earth should have you in derision—lest you should be weighed in the balance with the heathen nations, and should be found wanting. Lest the arm of the Lord should be revealed in judgment against you—lest an arrow of vengeance from the Almighty should pierce the rotten fabric of a once sheltering constitution, and your boasted confidence become like an oak dismembered of its branches, whose shattered trunk is torn piecemeal by the uprising of the tempest.

For the cries of the widow and fatherless—the groans of the oppressed, and the prayers of the suffering exile, have come up before the Lord<sup>97</sup> God of Hosts, who brought our pilgrim fathers across the boisterous ocean, and raised up a Washington to break the yoke of foreign oppression.

Morley Settlement, Jan[uary]. 1844.

## [DN 7 (20 May 1857): 81]

<sup>98</sup>Thursday, [February] 1.—At home, weather cold.

<sup>99</sup>Phinehas Richards published a thrilling appeal to the inhabitants of his native State of Massachusetts, to consider the wrongs sustained in the loss of lives and property, and other damages done to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, of which he is a member.

<sup>100</sup>Elder Reuben Hedlock wrote to Pres[iden]t. Brigham Young, giving the names of those who had emigrated at the expense of the office, amounting to \$1,378, <sup>101</sup> which is due from the emigrants.

<sup>102</sup>Friday, 2.—At home. 7 eve[ning], Dr. Willard Richards called and read Phinehas Richards' appeal to the inhabitants of Massachusetts, for redress of Missouri difficulties<sup>103</sup>.

<sup>96.</sup> DHC 6:193: omits "up"

<sup>97.</sup> DHC 6:193: omits "Lord"

<sup>98.</sup> Source: [Sj [1843-44], 250 (WR) (APR, 444).

<sup>99.</sup> Source: Based on "An Appeal, To the Inhabitants of Massachusetts," NN 1 (7 Feb. 1844): [162]. Cf. original MS in handwriting of PR in CHL (MS 15539).

<sup>100.</sup> *Source*: Based on R. Hedlock, Liverpool, Eng., to B. Young, Nauvoo, IL, 1 Feb. 1844, in BYOF, Bx 20, fd 6, images 412–14 (transcription in vol. 8,VI.39). See also R. Hedlock, Liverpool, Eng., to JS and Quorum of Twelve, Nauvoo, IL, 10 Jan. 1844, in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 6, 17–39.

<sup>101.</sup> DHC 6:194: "\$2,378"

<sup>102.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 251 (WR) (APR, 444). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>103.</sup> DHC 6:194: replaces "difficulties" with "grievances"

Prayer-meeting at Elder B[righam] Young's. **W[illiam] W Phelps and wife [Sally received their second anointing and sealing].** <sup>104</sup> Weather cold.

<sup>105</sup>[February 3.] I went into the Assembly Room, where I found Elders W[ilford]. Woodruff, W[illard]. Richards and W. W. Phelps, to whom I related the following dream, which Elder W[ilford]. Woodruff reported <sup>106</sup>:—

<sup>107</sup>I was standing on a peninsula, in the midst of a vast body of water, where there appeared to be a large harbor or pier built out for boats to come into. I was surrounded by my friends, and while looking at this harbor I saw a<sup>108</sup> steamboat approaching the harbor, there were bridges on the pier for persons to cross; and there came up a wind and drove the steamboat under one of the bridges, and upset it.

I ran up to the boat, expecting the persons would all drown, and wishing to do something to assist them, I put my hand against the side of the boat, and with one surge I shoved it under the bridge, and righted it up, and then told them to take care of themselves, but it was not long before I saw them starting out into the channel or main body of the water again.

The storms were raging, and the waters rough. I said to my friends, that if they did not understand the signs of the times and the spirit of prophecy, they would be apt to be lost.

It was but a few moments after, when we saw the waves break over the boat, and she soon foundered, and went down with all on board 109.

The storm and <sup>110</sup> waters were still very rough, yet I told my friends around me that I believed I could stem those waves and that storm, and swim in the waters better than the steamboat did; at any rate I was determined to try it; but my friends laughed at me, and told me I could not stand <sup>111</sup>at all, but would be drowned.

The waters looked clear and beautiful, though exceedingly rough, and I said I believed I could swim, and I would try it anyhow: they said I would drown; I said I would have a frolic in the water first if I did, and I drove off into 112 the raging waves.

I had swam but a short distance, when a towering wave overwhelmed me<sup>113</sup> for a time; but I soon found myself on the top of it, and soon I met the second wave in the same way, and for a while I struggled hard to live in the midst of the storm, and waves, and <sup>114</sup> soon found I gained upon every wave, and skimmed <sup>115</sup> the torrent better and better <sup>116</sup>, and I soon had power to swim with my head out of water; so the waves did not break over me

<sup>104.</sup> WW recorded: "<Brother & Sister Wm Phelps Received their 2d Anointing & sealing.>" (WWj, vol. 4, 2 Feb. 1844; WWj 2:346).

<sup>105.</sup> *Source*: WWj, vol. 4, 3 Feb. 1844 (*WWj* 2:346). This paragraph added interlinearly in RDft 8:8 above the first line of the entry for 3 Feb. 1844, but RLC apparently missed the caret marking its insertion at the beginning of the entry for 3 Feb. and mistakenly copied it under 2 Feb.

<sup>106.</sup> Book E-1, 1874: "<which Elder W. Woodruff reported>" (LH)

<sup>107.</sup> *Source*: RDft 8:8 directs scribe to copy NSB, 23-24 (LH), which was copied from WWj, vol. 4, 3 Feb. 1844 (*WWj* 2:346-47).

<sup>108.</sup> NSB, 23: "<saw a>"

<sup>109.</sup> WWj: adds "& perished"

<sup>110.</sup> NSB, 24: "<storm and>"

<sup>111.</sup> WWj: adds "the storm"

<sup>112.</sup> DHC 6:195:"in"

<sup>113.</sup> Book E-1, 1874: "\me/" (prob. RLC)

<sup>114.</sup> WWj: replaces "and" with "but I"

<sup>115.</sup> WWj: "stemmed"

<sup>116.</sup> DHC 6:195: omits "and better"

at all, and I found that I had swam a great distance, and in looking about  $me^{117}$  I saw  $my^{118}$  brother Samuel by my side.

I asked him how he liked it; he said ["]first rate,["] and I thought so too. I was soon enabled to swim with my head and shoulders out of water, and I could swim as fast as any steamboat.

In a little time it became calm, and I could rush through the water, and only go in to <sup>119</sup> my loins, and soon I only went in to <sup>120</sup> my knees, and finally could tread on the top of the water and went almost with the speed of an arrow.

I said to Samuel, see how swift I can go; <sup>121</sup>I thought it was great sport and pleasure to travel with such speed; and I awoke.

<sup>122</sup>Saturday 3.—At home. Prayer-meeting in the Assembly Room over the Store in the P.M. Joseph not present. W[illia]m Clayton and Joseph Young and wife [Jane] present [and anointed]. <sup>123</sup>

<sup>124</sup>The High Council met,—did but little business.

<sup>125</sup>A rather favorable article appears in *Niles' National Register*, of this date, noticing the correspondence between myself and John C. Calhoun, a copy of which is contained in the political department of the same number.

It also notices the correspondence between myself and James Arlington Bennett publishing the same, with some of our city ordinances. The editor also quotes the following from the "Hawk Eye":—

<sup>126</sup>Although much complained has been made about the Mormons, we saw on our late trip evidences of improvement on our prairies, which we consider highly creditable to the Mormons who made them, and without whom we doubt whether they would have been made for many years to come. All those who have traveled over the large prairie between Fort Madison, Warsaw, and Carthage, remember how dreary it was a few years since. Now, it is studded with houses and good farms. The English, who understand hedging and ditching far better than our people, have gone upon that prairie and have enclosed extensive fields in this manner. Along the old Rock Island trace<sup>127</sup>, which we traveled seven years ago, and which was then a dreary waste, we saw a field enclosed with a good sod fence, six miles long and one wide. We think such enterprise is worthy to be mentioned. As long as the Mormons are harmless, and do not interfere with the rights of our people, we think they should be treated well. We shall never convince them that they are a deluded people, as far as their religious notions are concerned, in any other way.

<sup>117.</sup> DHC 6:195: omits "me"

<sup>118.</sup> NSB, 24: "<my>" (JG)

<sup>119.</sup> Book E-1, 1874: "into"

<sup>120.</sup> Book E-1, 1875: "into"

<sup>121.</sup> WWj: adds "&"; NSB, 24: adds "and"; Book E-1, 1875: adds erasure

<sup>122.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1843-44], 252 (WR) (APR, 444). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>123.</sup> WC recorded: "P.M. was permitted to the ordinance of washing and anointing, and was received into the Quorum of Priesthood. This is one of the greatest favors ever conferred on me and for which I feel grateful. May the God of Joseph preserve me and mine house to walk in the paths of righteousness all the days of my life and oh that I may never sin against him or displease him. For thou oh God knowest my desire to do right that I may have eternal life" (WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 3 Feb. 1844; *IC*, 125).

<sup>124.</sup> Source: Based on NHCM, Book 4, 24-25 (NHCM [2005], 131-32; NCHCM, 484).

<sup>125.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph based on NN 1 (21 Feb. 1844): [170].

<sup>126.</sup> Source: NN 1 (21 Feb. 1844): [170].

<sup>127.</sup> DHC 6:196: replaces "trace" with "tract"

<sup>128</sup>Sunday 4.—I attended prayer-meeting with the quorum in the Assembly Room<sup>129</sup>, and made some remarks respecting the hundred and forty-four thousand mentioned by John the Revelator, showing that the selection of persons to form that number, had already commenced. **Cornelius P. Lot and wife [Permelia] present and received their second anointing and sealing.** 

<sup>130</sup>Pres[iden]t. B[righam]. Young held a meeting at brother Chamberlain's, in the neighborhood north of the city, and Elder W[ilford]. Woodruff, at Thomas Kin gton's, six miles east of the city.

<sup>131</sup>Monday, 5.—The regular session of the municipal court was opened in the mayor's office <sup>132</sup>; present, George W. Harris, Geo[rge]. A. Smith, and N. K. Whitney. Adjourned to the Nauvoo Mansion, on account of the severity of the weather. I presided as chief justice: <sup>133</sup>the assessors of the different wards in the city presented their tax-lists, which occupied nearly all day. The court remitted the taxes of the widows, and of the poor who were unable to pay.

<sup>134</sup>In the afternoon, Elder William Weeks <sup>135</sup>(whom I had employed as architect of the Temple) came in <sup>136</sup> for instruction <sup>137</sup>. I instructed him in relation to the circular windows, designed to light the offices, in the dead work of the arch between stories; he said that round windows in the broad side of a building were <sup>138</sup> a violation of all the known rules of architecture, and contended they should be semicircular—that the building was too low for round windows. I told him I would have the circles, if he had to make the Temple ten feet higher than it was originally calculated—that one light at the centre of each circular window would be sufficient to light the whole room—that when the whole building was thus illuminated, the effect would be remarkably grand. "I wish you to carry out *my* designs. I have seen in vision the splendid appearance of that building illuminated, and will have it built according to the pattern shown me."

<sup>139</sup>Called at my office in the evening, and revised<sup>140</sup> my "Views of the powers and policy of the government of the United States." I was the first one who publicly proposed a national bank on the principles set forth in that pamphlet.

<sup>141</sup>Tuesday, 6.—Very cold day.

<sup>128.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 253 (WR) (APR, 445), and WWj, vol. 4, 4 Feb. 1844 (WWj 2:348), with editing and elaboration. Deleted material supplied in bold type from JSj ("Cornelius ... present") and WWj ("and received ... sealing").

<sup>129.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 253, location of meeting left blank.

<sup>130.</sup> Source: Based on BYj [1840-44], vol. 3, 4 Feb. 1844 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.2), and WWj, vol. 4, 4 Feb. 1844 (WWj 2:348).

<sup>131.</sup> Source: Based on minutes in NCR, Bx 5, fd 2 (WR) (transcription in vol. 8,VI.10). Detail about weather possibly added by attendee GAS.

<sup>132.</sup> MS minutes, 1:"Nauvoo Mansion < Mayors office>"

<sup>133.</sup> Book E-1, 1875: adds erasure

<sup>134.</sup> *Source*: Probably composed by attendee GAS. It was added in RDft MS #8 as "Note A[-2]" (JG), which is a slip of paper located between pp. 7-8 and keyed to p. 8. It was created after JG composed p. 8, between 23 June-9 Aug. 1855 (see RDft Chronology), and before RLC copied it into Book E-1, 1875-76, between 20 Aug.-ca. 18 Nov. 1855 (see MSHi Chronology).

<sup>135.</sup> Book E-1, 1875: adds ellipses over erasure of probably "came in"

<sup>136.</sup> Book E-1, 1875: "<came in>" (pos. LH)

<sup>137.</sup> Book E-1, 1875: "instructions"

<sup>138.</sup> Book E-1, 1875: "were" overwrites "was"

<sup>139.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 254 (WR) (APR, 445), with light editing.

<sup>140.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 254: replaces "revised" with "heard read"

<sup>141.</sup> Source: Weather conditions from undetermined source.

<sup>142</sup>I spent the evening with my brother Hyrum, Sidney Rigdon, and the Twelve Apostles, and their wives, at Elder John Taylor's; at 5 P.M. took supper, and had a very pleasant time. I prophesied at the table that 5 years would not roll round before the company would all be able to live without cooking.

<sup>143</sup>Wednesday, 7.—An exceedingly cold day. In the evening I met with my brother Hyrum and the Twelve Apostles in my office, at their request<sup>144</sup>, to devise means to promote the interests of the General Government. I completed and signed my "Views of the powers and policy of the Government of the United States," which I here insert:—

## <sup>145</sup>VIEWS OF THE POWERS AND POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES. <sup>146</sup>

Born in a land of liberty, and breathing an air uncorrupted with the sirocco of barbarous climes, I ever feel a double anxiety for the happiness of all men, both in time and in eternity.

My cogitations, like Daniel's, have for a long time troubled me, when I viewed the condition of men throughout the world, and more especially in this boasted realm, where the Declaration of Independence "holds these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," but at the same time, some two or three millions of people are held as slaves for life, because the spirit in them is covered with a darker skin than ours; and hundreds of our own kindred for an infraction, or supposed infraction, of some overwise statute, have to be incarcerated in dungeon glooms<sup>147</sup>, or **suffer the more moral**<sup>148</sup> penitentiary<sup>149</sup> **gravitation of mercy, in a nutshell**<sup>150</sup>, while the duelist, the debauchee, and the defaulter for millions, and other criminals, take the uppermost rooms at feasts, or, like the bird of passage, find a more congenial clime by flight.

The wisdom, which ought to characterize the freest, wisest, and most noble nation of the nineteenth century, should, like the sun in his meridian splendor, warm every object beneath its rays; and the main efforts of her officers, who are nothing more or 151 less than the servants of the people, ought to be directed to ameliorate the condition of all, black or white, bond or free; for the best of books says, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

Our common country presents to all men the same advantages, the same <sup>152</sup> facilities, the same prospects, the same honors, and the same rewards: and without hypocrisy, the Constitution when it says, "WE, the PEOPLE of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union,

<sup>142.</sup> Source: This paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 255 (WR) (APR, 445), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>143.</sup> *Source*: JSj [1843-44], 256 (WR) (*APR*, 445), with light editing and detail about weather added from WWj, vol. 4, 7 Feb. 1844 (*WWj* 2:348).

<sup>144.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 256: "<at their request>"

<sup>145.</sup> *Source*: Of the several printings, wording indicates the compilers probably used *VOT*, 26–38. Cf. *NN* 1 (8 May 1844): [214]; and *T&S* 5 (15 May 1844): 528–33. There is also a MS copy in JSc in TB's handwriting with emendations by WWP (Bx 5, fd 17, 7–25; pages numbered 3–19). Probably authored mostly by WWP.

<sup>146.</sup> Book E-1, 1876: omits title

<sup>147.</sup> DHC 6:198: "gloom"

<sup>148.</sup> DHC 6:198: omits "suffer the moral"

<sup>149.</sup> DHC 6:198: "penitentiaries"

<sup>150.</sup> DHC 6:198: omits "gravitation ... shell"

<sup>151.</sup> DHC 6:198:"nor"

<sup>152.</sup> DHC 6:198: omits "same"

establish justice, ensure domestic<sup>153</sup> tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America," meant just what it said, without reference to color or condition, *ad infinitum*.

The aspirations and expectations of a virtuous people, environed with so wise, so liberal, so deep, so broad, and so high a charter of *equal rights*, as appears in said Constitution, ought to be treated by those to whom the administration of the laws are <sup>154</sup> entrusted, with as much sanctity, as the prayers of the Saints are treated in heaven, that love, confidence and union, like the sun, moon and stars should bear witness,

(For ever singing as they shine,) "The hand that made us is divine!"

Unity is power, and when I reflect on the importance of it to the stability of all governments, I am astounded at the silly moves of persons and parties, to foment discord in order to ride into power on the current of popular excitement; nor am I less surprised at the stretches of power, or restrictions of right, which too often appear as acts of legislators, to pave the way to some favorite political scheme, as destitute of intrinsic merit, as a wolf's heart is of the milk of human kindness: a Frenchman would say, "Presque tout aimer richesses et pouvoir": (Almost all men like wealth and power.)

I must dwell on this subject longer than others; for nearly one hundred years ago, that golden patriot, Benjamin Franklin, drew up a plan of union for the then colonies of Great Britain that *now* are such an independent nation, which among many wise provisions for obedient children under their father's more rugged hand, had this 155:—"They have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imports, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just, (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies,) and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people; rather discouraging luxury, than loading industry with unnecessary burthens." Great Britain surely lacked the laudable humanity and fostering clemency to grant such a just plan of union—but the sentiment remains like the land that honored its birth, as a pattern for wise men *to study the convenience of the people more than the comfort of the cabinet*.

And one of the most noble fathers of our freedom and country's glory; great in war, great in peace, great in the estimation of the world, and great in the hearts of his countrymen, the illustrious Washington, said in his first inaugural address to Congress: "I behold the surest pledges that as, on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views or party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests, so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world."

Verily, here shines<sup>156</sup> the virtue and wisdom of a statesman in such lucid rays that had every succeeding Congress followed the rich instruction, in all their deliberations and enactments, for the benefit<sup>157</sup> and convenience of the whole community and the communities of

<sup>153.</sup> Book E-1, 1877: "<domestic>" (JG)

<sup>154.</sup> DHC 6:198:"is"

<sup>155.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:528: replace "had this" with "thus"

<sup>156.</sup> DHC 6:199: "shine"

<sup>157.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:529: "benefits"

which it is composed, no sound of a rebellion in South Carolina; no rupture in Rhode Island; no mob in Missouri expelling her citizens by Executive authority; corruption in the ballot-boxes; a border warfare between Ohio and Michigan; hard times and distress; outbreak upon outbreak in the principal cities; murder, robbery, and defalcation<sup>158</sup>, scarcity of money, and a thousand other difficulties, would have torn asunder the bonds of the Union; destroyed the confidence of man with man<sup>159</sup>; and left the great body of the people to mourn over misfortunes in poverty, brought on by corrupt legislation in an hour of proud vanity, for self-aggrandizement.

The great Washington soon after the foregoing faithful admonition for the common welfare of his nation, further advised Congress that "among the many interesting objects which will engage your attention, that of providing for the common defense will merit particular regard. To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace." As the Italian would say, *Buono aviso*, (good advise.)<sup>160</sup>

The elder Adams, in his inaugural address, gives national pride such a grand turn of justification, that every honest citizen must look back upon the infancy of the United States with an approving smile, and rejoice that patriotism in the <sup>161</sup> rulers, virtue in the people, and prosperity in the Union, once crowded the expectations of hope, unveiled the sophistry of the hypocrite and silenced the folly of foes. Mr. Adams said, "If national pride is ever justifiable or excusable, it is when it springs not from *power* or riches, grandeur or glory, but from conviction of national innocence, information and benevolence."

There is no doubt such was actually the case with our young realm at the close of the last century; peace, prosperity, and union, filled the country with religious toleration, temporal enjoyment and virtuous enterprise; and grandly, too, when the deadly winter of the "Stamp act," the "Tea act," and other *close communion* acts of royalty, had choked the growth of freedom of speech, liberty of the press, and liberty of conscience, did light, liberty and loyalty flourish like the cedars of God.

The respected and venerable Thomas Jefferson, in his inaugural address, made more than forty years ago, shows what a beautiful prospect an innocent, virtuous nation presents to the sage's eye, where there is space for enterprise, hands for industry, heads for heroes, and hearts for moral greatness. He said, "A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye; when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking."

Such a prospect was truly soul-stirring to a good man, but "since the fathers have fallen asleep," wicked and designing men have unrobed the government of its glory,—and the people, if not in dust and ashes, or in sackcloth, have to lament in poverty her departed greatness; while demagogues build fires in the North and South, east and west, to keep up their spirits *till it is better times*; but year after year has left the people to *hope* till the very name of *Congress, or State Legislature*, is as horrible to the sensitive friend of his country, as the house of "Blue Beard" is to children, or "Crockford's" Hell of London, to meek men.

When the people are secure and their rights properly respected, then the four main pillars of prosperity, viz., agriculture, manufactures, navigation, and commerce, need the fostering care of government; and in so goodly a country as ours, where the soil, the climate, the rivers,

<sup>158.</sup> NN 1:[214, T&S 5:529: "defalcations"

<sup>159.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:529: omit "with man"; VOT, 29: "man with man"

<sup>160.</sup> DHC 6:199: omits "(good advice)"

<sup>161.</sup> DHC 6:200: "their"

<sup>162.</sup> Book E-1, 1879: "Crock{\ford's/}"; MS copy, 7, NN 1:[214], T&S 5:529: "Crocketts"; VOT: "Crockford's."

the lakes, and the sea coast; the productions, the timber, the minerals; and the inhabitants are so diversified, that a pleasing variety accommodates all tastes, trades, and calculations, it certainly is the highest point of supervision<sup>163</sup> to protect the whole northern and southern, eastern and western, centre and circumference of the realm, by a judicious tariff. It is an old saying and a true one, "if you wish to be *respected*, respect yourselves."

I will adopt, in part, the language of Mr. Madison's inaugural address, "To cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations, having correspondent dispositions; to maintain sincere neutrality towards belligerent nations; to prefer in all cases amicable discussion and reasonable accommodation of differences to a decision of them by an appeal to arms; to exclude foreign 165 intrigues and foreign partialities, so degrading to all countries, and so baneful to free ones; to foster a spirit of independence too just to invade the rights of others, too proud to surrender our 166 own, too liberal to indulge unworthy prejudices ourselves, and too elevated not to look down upon them in others; to hold the union of the States as the basis of their peace and happiness; to support the Constitution, which is the cement of the union, as well<sup>167</sup> in its limitations as in its<sup>168</sup> authorities; to respect the rights and authorities reserved to the States and to the people, as equally incorporated with, and essential to the success of the general system; to avoid the slightest interference with the rights of conscience, or the functions of religion, so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction; to preserve in their full energy, the other salutary provisions in behalf of private and personal rights, and of the freedom of the press"; 169 so far as intention aids in the fulfillment of duty, are consummations too big with benefits not to captivate the energies of all honest men to achieve them, when they can be brought to pass by reciprocation, friendly alliances, wise legislation, and honorable treaties.

## [DN 7 (27 May 1857): 89-90]

The government has once flourished under the guidance of trusty servants; and the Hon. Mr. Monroe in his day, while speaking of the Constitution, says, "Our commerce has been wisely regulated with foreign nations, and between the States; new States have been admitted into our Union; our Territory has been enlarged by fair and honorable treaty, and with great advantage to the original States; the States respectively protected by the national government, under a mild paternal system against foreign dangers, and enjoying within their separate spheres, by a wise partition of power, a just proportion of the sovereignty, have improved their police, extended their settlements, and attained a strength and maturity which are the best proofs of wholesome laws<sup>170</sup> well administered. And if we look to the condition of individuals, what a proud spectacle does it exhibit? on whom has oppression fallen in any quarter of our Union?<sup>171</sup> who has been deprived of any right of person or<sup>172</sup> property? who restrained from offering his vows in the mode <sup>173</sup>which<sup>174</sup> he prefers, to the Divine Author of his being? It is well known that all these

```
163. NN 1:[214], T&S 5:529: "subversion"; VOT, 30: "supervision"
```

<sup>164.</sup> Book E-1, 1879: "<and>" (US)

<sup>165.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:529: omit "differences to a decision ... exclude foreign"

<sup>166.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:529: replace "our" with "their"

<sup>167.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:529: omit "well"; VOT, 30: "as well as"

<sup>168.</sup> Book E-1, 1879 (darker ink): "{\limitations as in its/}" (US)

<sup>169.</sup> DHC 6:201: moves close quotation mark to end of paragraph

<sup>170.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:530, VOT, 31:"law"

<sup>171.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:530, VOT, 31: omit "on whom ... Union?"; Book E-1, 1880: "<on whom ... Union?>" (JG)

<sup>172.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:530: replace "or" with "and"

<sup>173.</sup> VOT, 31: adds "in"; Book E-1, 1880: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>174.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:530: omit "which"

blessings have been enjoyed in their fullest extent; and I add, with peculiar satisfaction, that there has been no example of a capital punishment being inflicted on any one for the crime of high treason." What a delightful picture of power, policy and prosperity! Truly the wise man's 175 proverb is just: 176" Sedaukauh teromain goy, veh-ka-sade le-u-meem khah-maut 177." Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.

But this is not all. The same honorable statesman, after having had about forty years' experience in the government, under the full tide of successful experiment, gives the following commendatory assurance of the efficiency of the *magna charta* to answer its great end and aim: *to protect the people in their rights*. "Such, then, is the happy government under which we live; a government adequate to every purpose for which the social compact is formed; a government elective in all its branches, under which every citizen may, by his merit, obtain the highest trust recognized by the Constitution; which contains within it no cause of discord; none to put at variance one portion of the community with another; a government which protects every citizen in the full enjoyment of his rights, and is able to protect the nation against injustice from foreign powers."

Again, the younger Adams, in the silver age of our country's advancement to fame, in his inaugural address, (1825) thus candidly declares the majesty of the youthful republic, in its increasing greatness, "The year of jubilee since the first formation of our union has just elapsed; that of the declaration of Independence is at hand. The consummation of both was effected by this Constitution. Since that period, a population of four millions has multiplied to Twelve. A Territory, bounded by the Mississippi, has been extended from sea to sea. New States have been admitted to the Union, in numbers nearly equal to those of the first confederation. Treaties of peace, amity and commerce, have been concluded with the principal dominions of the earth. The people of other nations, the inhabitants of regions acquired, not by conquest, but by compact, have been united with us in the participation of our rights and duties, of our burdens and blessings. The forest has fallen by the ax of our woodsman; the soil has been made to teem by the tillage of our farmers; our commerce has whitened every ocean. The dominion of man over physical nature has been extended by the invention of our artists. Liberty and law have marched<sup>178</sup> hand in hand. All the purposes of human association have been accomplished as effectively as under any other government on the globe, and at a cost little exceeding, in a whole generation, the expenditures of other nations in a single year."

In continuation of such noble sentiments, Gen[eral]. Jackson, upon his ascension to the great chair of the chief magistracy, said, "As long as our government is administered for the good of the people, and is regulated by their will; as long as it secures to us the rights of person and property, liberty of conscience, and of the press, it will be worth defending: and so long as it is worth defending, a patriotic militia will cover it with an impenetrable aegis."

General Jackson's administration may be denominated the *acme* of American glory, liberty and prosperity, for the national debt, which in 1815, on account of the late war, was \$125,000,000, and being<sup>179</sup> lessened gradually, was paid up in his golden day; and preparations were made to distribute the surplus revenue among the several States; and that august patriot, to use his own words in his farewell address, retired, leaving "a great people prosperous and happy, in the full enjoyment of liberty and peace, honored and respected by every nation of the world."

<sup>175.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:530: omit "man's"

<sup>176.</sup> DHC 6:202: omits next sentence

<sup>177.</sup> Book E-1, 1880: "Khakmaut"

<sup>178.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:530, VOT, 32: replace "marched" with "walked"; Book E-1, 1881 (darker ink): "{\marched/}" (RLC)

<sup>179.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:530, VOT, 32: omit "being"; Book E-1, 1881: "<being>" (pos. TB)

At the age, then, of sixty years, our blooming Republic began to decline under the withering touch of Martin Van Buren! Disappointed ambition, thirst for power, pride, corruption, party spirit, faction, patronage; perquisites, fame, tangling alliances, priestcraft, and spiritual wickedness in *high places*, struck hands, and reveled in midnight splendor.

Trouble, vexation, perplexity and contention, mingled with hope, fear and murmuring, rumbled through the Union, and agitated the whole nation as would an earthquake at 180 the center of the earth, the world heaving the sea beyond its bounds, and shaking the everlasting hills: so, in hopes of better times, while jealousy, hypocritical pretensions, and pompous ambition, were luxuriating on 181 the ill-gotten spoils of the people, they rose in their majesty like a tornado, and swept through the land, till General Harrison appeared, as a star among the storm-clouds, for better weather.

The calm came; and the language of that venerable patriot, in his inaugural address, while descanting upon the merits of the Constitution and its framers, thus expressed himself: "There were in it features which appeared not to be in harmony with their ideas of a simple representative democracy or republic. And knowing the tendency of power to increase itself, particularly when executed by a single individual, predictions were made that, at no very remote period, the government would terminate in virtual monarchy.

["]It would not become me to say that the fears of these patriots have been already realized. But as I sincerely believe that the tendency of measures and of men's opinions, for some years past, has been in that direction, it is, I conceive, strictly proper that I should take this occasion to repeat the assurances I have heretofore given, of my determination to arrest the progress of that tendency, if it really exists, and restore the government to its pristine health and vigor.["]

This good man died before he had the opportunity of applying one balm to ease the pain of our groaning country, and I am willing the nation should be the judge, whether General Harrison, in his exalted station, upon the eve of his entrance into the world of spirits, *told the truth or not*: with acting President Tyler's three years of perplexity and pseudo-Whig-democrat reign, to heal the breaches, or show the wounds, *secundum artum*<sup>182</sup>, (according to art.)<sup>183</sup>

Subsequent events, all things considered, Van Buren's downfall, Harrison's exit, and Tyler's self-sufficient turn to the whole, go to show, as a Chaldean might exclaim, "Beram etai elauh beshmayauh gauhah rauzeen": 184 (certainly there is a God in heaven to reveal secrets.)

No honest man can doubt for a moment, but the glory of American liberty, is on the wane; and, that calamity and confusion will sooner or later, destroy the peace of the people. Speculators will urge a national bank as a savior of credit and comfort. A hireling pseudo-priest-hood will plausibly push abolition doctrines and doings, and "human rights," into Congress, and into every other place, where conquest smells of fame, or opposition swells to popularity. Democracy, Whiggery and cliquery will attract their elements and foment divisions among the people, to accomplish fancied schemes and accumulate power, while poverty driven to despair, like hunger forcing its way through a wall, will break through the statutes of men, to save life, and mend the breach in prison glooms.

A still higher grade, of what the "nobility of nations" call "great men," will dally with all rights in order to smuggle a fortune at "one fell swoop": mortgage Texas, possess Oregon, and claim all the unsettled regions of the world for hunting and trapping: and should a humble honest man, red, black, or white, exhibit a better title, these gentry have only to clothe the judge

<sup>180.</sup> MS copy, 11: replaces "at" with "in"

<sup>181.</sup> MS copy, 11: "upon"

<sup>182.</sup> MS copy, 11: "secundem artem"; DHC 6:204: "artem"

<sup>183.</sup> DHC 6:204: omits "(according to art)"

<sup>184.</sup> DHC 6:204: omits "as a Chaldean ... rauzeen"

with richer ermine, and spangle the lawyer's fingers<sup>185</sup> with finer rings, to have the judgment of his peers, and the honor of his lords, as a pattern of honesty, virtue and humanity, while the motto hangs on his nation's escutcheon: "Every man has his price!"

Now, oh! people! people! 186 turn unto the Lord and live; and reform this nation. Frustrate the designs of wicked men. Reduce Congress at least two-thirds 187. Two senators from a State, and two members to a million of population, will do more business than the army that now occupy the halls of the national legislature. Pay them two dollars and their board per diem (except Sundays;) that is more than the farmer gets, and he lives honestly. Curtail the officers of government in pay, number, and power, for the Philistine lords have shorn our nation of its goodly locks in the lap of Delilah.

Petition your State legislatures to pardon every convict in their several penitentiaries, blessing them as they go, and saying to them in the name of the Lord, Go thy way, and sin no more.

Advise your legislators, when they make laws for larceny, burglary, or any felony, to make the penalty applicable to work upon roads, public works, or any place where the culprit can be taught more wisdom and more virtue, and become more enlightened. Rigor and seclusion will never do as much to reform the propensities of man<sup>188</sup>, as reason and friendship. Murder only can claim confinement or death. Let the penitentiaries be turned into seminaries of learning, where intelligence, like the angels of heaven, would banish such fragments of barbarism: imprisonment for debt is a meaner practice than the savage tolerates with all his ferocity. "Amor vincit omnia." **Love conquers all.** <sup>189</sup>

Petition also, ye goodly inhabitants of the slave States, your legislators to abolish slavery by the year 1850, or now, and save the abolitionist from reproach and ruin, infamy and shame.

Pray Congress to pay every man a reasonable price for his slaves out of the surplus revenue arising from the sale of public lands, and from the deduction of pay from the members of Congress.

Break off the shackles from the poor black man, and hire him to labor like other human beings; for "an hour of virtuous liberty on earth, is worth a whole eternity of bondage." Abolish the practice in the army and navy of trying men by court-martial for desertion; if a soldier or marine runs away, send him his wages, with this instruction, that his country will never trust him again; he has forfeited his honor.

Make HONOR the standard with all men; be sure that good is rendered for evil in all cases; and the whole nation, like a kingdom of kings and priests, will rise up in 190 righteousness; and be respected as wise and worthy on earth; and as just and holy for heaven, by Jehovah the author of perfection.

More economy in the national and State governments, would make less taxes among the people; more equality through the cities, towns and country, would make less distinction among the people; and more honesty and familiarity in societies, would make less hypocrisy and flattery in all branches of the community; and open, frank, candid decorum to all men, in this boasted land of liberty, would beget esteem, confidence, union, and love; and the neighbor from any State, or from any country, of whatever color, clime or tongue, could rejoice when he put his foot on the sacred soil of freedom, and exclaim; the very name of "American," is

<sup>185.</sup> DHC 6:204: "finger"

<sup>186.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:531: omit second "people"

<sup>187.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:531, VOT, 34: replace "two thirds" with "one half"; Book E-1, 1882: "{\two thirds/}" (TB)

<sup>188.</sup> DHC 6:205: "men"

<sup>189.</sup> DHC 6:205: omits preceding sentence

<sup>190.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:532: replace "in" with "with"

fraught with *friendship*! Oh! then, create confidence! restore freedom! break down slavery! banish imprisonment for debt, and be in love, fellowship and peace with all the world! Remember that honesty is not subject to law; the law was made for transgressors: wherefore a **Dutchman might exclaim**, "Ein ehrlicher name ist besser als Reichthum," [19] (a good name is better than riches.)

For the accommodation of the people in every State and territory, let Congress show their wisdom by granting a national bank, with branches in each State and Territory, where the capital stock shall be held by the nation for the mother<sup>192</sup> bank; and by the States and Territories, for the branches; and whose officers and directors shall be elected yearly by the people, with wages at the rate of two dollars per day for services; which several banks shall never issue any more bills than the amount of capital stock in her vaults and the interest.

The net gain of the mother<sup>193</sup> bank shall be applied to the national revenue, and that of the branches to the States, and Territories' revenues. And the bills shall be par throughout the nation, which will mercifully cure that fatal disorder known in cities, as *brokerage*, and leave the people's money in their own pockets.

Give every man his constitutional freedom, and the President full power to send an army to suppress mobs; and the States authority to repeal and impugn that relic of folly, which makes it necessary for the Governor of a State to make the demand of the President for troops, in case of invasion or rebellion.

The Governor himself may be a mobber and, instead of being punished as he should be for murder or 194 treason, he may destroy the very lives, rights, and property he should protect. Like the good Samaritan, send every lawyer as soon as he repents and obeys the ordinances of heaven, to preach the gospel to the destitute, without purse or scrip, pouring in the oil and the wine: a learned priesthood is certainly more honorable than "an195 hireling clergy."

As to the contiguous territories to the United States, wisdom would direct no tangling alliance: Oregon belongs to this government honorably, and when we have the red man's consent, let the Union spread from the east to the west sea: and if Texas petitions Congress to be adopted among the sons of liberty, give her the right hand of fellowship; and refuse not the same friendly grip to Canada and Mexico; and when the right arm of freemen is stretched out in the character of a navy, for the protection of rights, commerce and honor, let the iron eyes of power, watch from Maine to Mexico, and from California to Columbia; thus may union be strengthened, and foreign speculation prevented from opposing broadside to broadside.

Seventy years have done much for this goodly land; they have <sup>196</sup> burst the chains of oppression and monarchy; and multiplied its inhabitants from two to twenty millions, with a proportionate share of knowledge, keen enough to circumnavigate the globe, draw the lightning from the clouds, and cope with all the crowned heads of the world.

Then why? oh! why! will a once flourishing people not arise, phoenix-like, over the cinders of Martin Van Buren's power; and over the sinking fragments and smoking ruins of other catamount politicians; and over the windfalls of Benton, Calhoun, Clay, Wright, and a caravan of other equally unfortunate law doctors, and cheerfully help to spread a plaster and bind up the *burnt*, *bleeding wounds* of a sore but blessed country?

The southern people are hospitable and noble; they will help to rid so *free* a country of every vestige of slavery, whenever they are assured of an equivalent for their property. The

<sup>191.</sup> DHC 6:206: omits "a Dutchman ... Reichthum"

<sup>192.</sup> DHC 6:206: replaces "mother" with "Central"

<sup>193.</sup> DHC 6:206: replaces "mother" with "Central"

<sup>194.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:532, VOT, 36: replace "or" with "and"; Book E-1, 1884: "{\or/}"

<sup>195.</sup> NN 1:[214]: omits "an"; T&S 5:532: "a"

<sup>196.</sup> MS copy, 16: replaces "they have" with "it has"

country will be full of money and confidence, when a national bank of twenty millions, and a State bank in every State, with a million or more, gives a tone to monetary matters; and make a circulating medium as valuable in the purses of a whole community, as in the coffers of a speculating banker or broker.

The people may have faults, but they should never<sup>197</sup> be trifled with. I think Mr. Pitt's quotation in the British parliament of Mr. Prior's couplet for the husband and wife, to apply to the course which the King and ministry of England should pursue to the then colonies of the *now* United States, might be a genuine rule of action for some of the *breath-made* men in high places, to use towards the posterity of this 198 noble daring people:

"Be to her faults a little blind; Be to her virtues very kind."

We have had democratic Presidents, Whig Presidents, a pseudo-democratic-Whig President, and now it is time to have a President of the United States; and let the people of the whole Union, like the inflexible Romans, whenever they find a promise made by a candidate, that is not practiced as an officer, hurl the miserable sycophant from his exaltation, as God did Nebuchadnezzar, to crop the grass of the field, with a beast's heart among the cattle.

Mr. Van Buren said in his inaugural address, that he went "into<sup>199</sup> the presidential chair the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of every attempt, on the part of Congress, to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, against the wishes of the slave-holding States; and also with a determination equally decided to resist the slightest interference with it in the States where it exists."

Poor little Matty made this rhapsodical sweep with the fact before his eyes, that the State of New York, his native State, had abolished slavery, without a struggle or a groan. Great God, how independent! From henceforth slavery is tolerated where it exists, constitution or no constitution, people or no people, right or wrong; vox Matti—vox Diaboli, "the voice of Matty"—"the voice of the Devil"; 200 and peradventure, his great "sub-treasury" scheme was a piece of the same mind: but the man and his measures have such a striking resemblance to the anecdote of the Welshman and his cart-tongue, that, when the constitution was so long that it allowed slavery at the capitol of a free people, it could not be cut off; but when it was so<sup>201</sup> short that it needed a *sub-treasury*, to save the funds of the nation, *it could be spliced!* Oh, granny, granny, what a long tail our puss has got! 203 (As a Greek might say, hysteron proteron; the cart before the horse 204; but his mighty whisk through the great national fire, for the presidential chestnuts, burnt the locks of his glory with the blaze of his folly!)

In the United States the people are the government, and their united voice is the only sovereign that should rule, the only power that should be obeyed and the only gentlemen that should

<sup>197.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:533, VOT, 37: "never should"; Book E-1, 1885: "never should" with guideline indicating a reversal of word order

<sup>198.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:533, VOT, 37: replace "this" with "that"; Book E-1, 1885: "th{\at/}"

<sup>199.</sup> DHC 6:207: "in"

<sup>200.</sup> DHC 6:208: omits "the voice of Matty ... Devil."

<sup>201.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:533: omit "so"

<sup>202.</sup> NN 1:[214], T&S 5:533: omit second "granny"

<sup>203.</sup> Remainder of paragraph written by WWP on a slip of paper and attached with sealing wax to MS copy, 18 [image 22]; it was intended to replace the following text, bracketed in pencil and linked by matching symbols: "but the hair was all singed off in poking the fire too obtain the roasting chestnuts for the late Presidency; Hysteron proteron: The cart before the Horse: \so the blaze of his folly, burnt the locks of his glory./" Insertion at eoln by WWP.

<sup>204.</sup> DHC 6:208: omits "As a Greek ... horse"

be honored at home and abroad, on the land and on the sea. Wherefore, were I the President of the United States, by the voice of a virtuous people, I would honor the old paths of the venerated fathers of freedom; I would walk in the tracks of the illustrious patriots who carried the ark of the government upon their shoulders with an eye single to the glory of the people, and when that people petitioned to abolish slavery in the slave states, I would use all honorable means to have their prayers granted, and give liberty to the captive by paying<sup>205</sup> the southern gentlemen a reasonable equivalent for his property, that the whole nation might be free indeed!

When the people petitioned for a national bank, I would use my best endeavors to have their prayers answered<sup>206</sup>, and establish one on national principles<sup>207</sup> to save taxes, and make them the controllers of its ways and means; and when the people petitioned to possess the territory of Oregon or any other contiguous territory, I would lend the influence of a chief magistrate to grant so reasonable a request, that they might extend the mighty efforts and enterprise of a free people from the east to the west sea, and make the wilderness blossom as the rose; and when a neighboring realm petitioned to join the union of sons of liberty<sup>208</sup>, my voice would be, *come*; yea, come Texas, come Mexico, come Canada, and come all the world; let us be brethren, let us be one great family, and let there be a universal peace. Abolish the cruel custom of prisons (except certain cases<sup>209</sup>) penitentiaries, <sup>210</sup>court-martials for desertion; and let reason and friendship reign over the ruins of ignorance and barbarity; yea, I would, as the universal friend of man, open the prisons, open the eyes, open the ears and open the hearts of all people, to behold and enjoy freedom, unadulterated freedom; and God, who once cleansed the violence of the earth with a flood, whose Son laid down his life for the salvation of all his Father gave him out of the world, and who has promised that he will come and purify the world again with fire in the last days, should be supplicated by me for the good of all people.—With the highest esteem, I am a friend of virtue and of the people,

JOSEPH SMITH,

Nauvoo, Illinois, Feb[ruary]. 7, 1844.

<sup>205.</sup> NN 1:[214]: replaces "paying" with "buying"; T&S 5:533: replaces "paying" with "giving"

<sup>206.</sup> Book E-1, 1886: "{\answered/}" (prob. RLC)

<sup>207.</sup> Book E-1, 1886: "{\national principles/}" (RLC)

<sup>208.</sup> DHC 6:208: "union of liberty's sons"

<sup>209.</sup> MS copy, 19: "<except certain cases>" (WWP)

<sup>210.</sup> Book E-1, 1886: adds ellipses over erasure

# WESTERN MOVEMENT OF CHURCH CONTEMPLATED

#### February-March 1844

[DN 7 (27 May 1857): 89-90 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>[Wednesday, February 7, 1844.] A piece of doggerel appears in the *Warsaw Message* of this date entitled "Buckeye's Lamentations for the want of more Wives," evidently the production of Wilson Law, and breathing a very foul and malicious spirit.

<sup>2</sup>Thursday, 8.—Held mayor's court, and tried two Negroes for attempting to marry white women; fined one \$25, and the other \$5. In the evening there was a political meeting in the Assembly room, when br[other]. Phelps publicly read for the first time, my "Views of the Powers and Policy of the General Government." I addressed the meeting as follows:—

<sup>3</sup>I would not have suffered my name to have been used by my friends on anywise, as President of the United States, or <sup>4</sup>candidate for that office, if I and my friends could have had the privilege of enjoying our religious and civil rights as American citizens, even those rights which the Constitution guarantees unto all her citizens alike, but this we<sup>5</sup> as a people have been denied from the beginning. Persecution has rolled upon our heads from time to time, from portions of the United States, like peals of thunder, because of our religion, and no portion of the government as yet has stepped forward for our relief; and under<sup>6</sup> view of these things I feel it to be my right and privilege to obtain what influence and power I can lawfully in the United States for the protection of injured innocence, and if I lose my life in a good cause I am willing to be sacrificed on the altar of virtue, righteousness and truth, in maintaining the laws and Constitution of the United States, if need be, for the general good of mankind.

<sup>1.</sup> In Book E-1, 1887, this paragraph appears at the end of the entry for 8 Feb. with this note: "[Let this be the last paragraph of the 7th]" (LH). At the end of the entry for 7 Feb. on p. 1886 appears another note: "[Last paragraph of the 8th to come in here on the 7th]" (LH). Source: Based on Warsaw Message 1 (7 Feb. 1844): [1] (transcription in vol. 8, VI.11). Two handwritten copies of this item, one in WR's hand, are located in JSHD, Bx 2.

<sup>2.</sup> Source: [Si [1843-44], 257 (WR) (APR, 445).

<sup>3.</sup> Source: WWj, vol. 4, 8 Feb. 1844 (WWj 2:349).

<sup>4.</sup> Book E-1, 1886: adds erasure

<sup>5.</sup> DHC 6:210: omits "we"

<sup>6.</sup> DHC 6:210: replaces "under" with "in"

<sup>7</sup>I was followed by Elders Hyde and Taylor, and a unanimous vote was taken to maintain my political views.

<sup>8</sup>Friday, 9—**At home.** Held Mayor's court in my dining-room, on the case "Nauvoo v[ersus]. William Withers," for assault. Case withdrawn on my recommendation.

This evening a public meeting was held; I extract from the Neighbor:—

#### <sup>9</sup>PUBLIC MEETING.

On Friday the 9th inst[ant].<sup>10</sup> a public meeting was held in the Assembly room<sup>11</sup>, at<sup>12</sup> which a public address of General Joseph Smith's to the citizens of the United States was read by Judge Phelps. The address is certainly an able document, big with meaning and interest, clearly pointing out the way for the temporal salvation of this Union, showing what would be our best policy, pointing out the rocks and quick-sand where our political bark is in danger of being wrecked, and the way to escape it, and evincing a knowledge and foresight of our political economy, worthy of the writer.

Appropriate remarks were made by several gentlemen after the reading of the address.

 $^{13} Saturday,\, 10.$  —At home. Held court, Nauvoo vs W[illia]m Withers for assault. Suit aborted, parties settled.

<sup>14</sup>Isaac Morley came and delivered to my clerks [Phelps and Richards]<sup>15</sup>, one barrel of flour worth \$4.50 of which he had donated \$2.50 himself, Gardner Snow \$1.00 and Henry Dame \$1.00. Edwin Whiting<sup>16</sup> sent two or three gallons of soap. The brethren at Lima also sent a small hone, four brooms, and a pound or two of butter. This was done at the request of the Twelve Apostles, so that the clerks might continue to write.

I instructed the marshal to inform Mr. Cole, who kept a select school in the Assembly room, that I must for the future have that room for my own use.

Prayer-meeting in the Assembly room; prayed for sister Richards and others who were sick.

<sup>17</sup>A conference was held at Tuscaloosa county, Alabama; Elder John Brown, president, and George W. Stewart, clerk. Three branches were represented containing 9 elders, 2 priests, 3 teachers, 3 deacons and 123 members.

<sup>18</sup>Sunday, 11.—Snow on the ground; thaw commenced in the afternoon. I was at home. **Pr[ayer]**. **Meeting adjourned till Saturday next.** 

<sup>7.</sup> Source: WWj, vol. 4, 8 Feb. 1844 (WWj 2:349). Cf. JSj [1843-44], 257 (WR) (APR, 445), which reads: "Elders Hyde and Taylor made a speech and myself also."

<sup>8.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 258 (WR) (APR, 445), with light editing, elaboration, and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>9.</sup> Source: RDft 8:9 directs scribe to copy NN 1 (14 Feb. 1844): [166]. Cf. rept. T&S 5 (15 Feb. 1844): 441.

<sup>10.</sup> NN 1:[166]: replaces "the 9th inst." with "evening last"

<sup>11.</sup> NN 1:[166]: replaces "Assembly Room" with "room over Joseph Smith's store"

<sup>12.</sup> Book E-1, 1887: "\at/" (US)

<sup>13.</sup> Source: Following four paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 259 (WR) (APR, 445), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>14.</sup> This paragraph canceled in Book E-1, 1887, and not published in DN and DHC. Text here from Book E-1.

<sup>15.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 259: adds "Phelps and Richards"

<sup>16.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 259: "<E Whiting>"

<sup>17.</sup> Source: Based on "Minutes of a conference ...," T&S 5 (1 Mar. 1844): 462.

<sup>18.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 260 (WR) (APR, 446), with light editing and detail about weather from CHOj 1:3, 11 Feb. 1844 (TB) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.12). Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type.

<sup>19</sup>Monday, 12.—I sat in the city council, and recommended the repeal of the ordinances entitled "An extra ordinance for the extra case of Joseph Smith," "An ordinance to prevent unlawful search or seizure of persons<sup>20</sup> or property, by foreign process, in the city of Nauvoo," and "An ordinance regulating the currency," and they were repealed accordingly. The memorial to Congress<sup>21</sup>, passed Dec[ember]. 21, 1843, was again read, and signed by the councilors, aldermen, mayor, recorder and marshal.

<sup>22</sup>I <sup>23</sup>instructed councilor Orson Pratt to<sup>24</sup> call all the Illinois representatives together, and<sup>25</sup> tell them our sufferings have been such that we must have that document passed, and we *will* have it.

"You must go in for it. Go to John Quincy Adams and ask him to<sup>26</sup> call the delegation from Massachusetts<sup>27</sup> separate from the Illinois delegation, and demand the same. Go to<sup>28</sup> Henry Clay and other prominent men. Call public meetings in the city of Washington. Take the saloon, publish the admittance<sup>29</sup> so much per ticket, invite the members of both houses to come and hear you<sup>30</sup>, and roar upon them. You may<sup>31</sup> take all my writings you think anything of and read to them<sup>32</sup>, &c., and you shall prosper in the name of God: Amen."

<sup>33</sup>The recorder presented the report of the attendance of the city council, from which it appears that I have sat with them 11 sessions, from the 14th <sup>34</sup>Oct[ober]., 1843 to the 16th January, 1844, inclusive.

<sup>35</sup>Councilor O[rson]. Pratt nominated Geo[rge]. P. Stiles as councilor during his absence, which was confirmed by the council. **Mr. Stiles accepted the appointment.** 

<sup>36</sup>I burned \$81 of city scrip according to ordinance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>Thawing; streets very dirty.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>Tuesday, 13.—I was at home.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Settled with Theodore Turley and gave him the deed of a lot.

<sup>19.</sup> *Source*: Following five paragraphs reporting the activities of the Nauvoo City Council are based on JSj [1843-44], 261 (WR) (*APR*, 446); NCCM, Rough Book [1844], 1-3 (WR) (*NCHCM*, 221-24); and NCCP, 203-4 (TB) (*NCHCM*, 224-27). Cf. *NN* 1 (14 Feb. 1844): [167]. First paragraph based on JSj with details about the repealed ordinances added from NCCP, and details about the Memorial added from NCCM [1844], 2.

<sup>20.</sup> Book E-1, 1887: "person"

<sup>21.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 261: "<to Congress>"

<sup>22.</sup> This and next paragraph closely follow NCCM, 2.

<sup>23.</sup> NCCM, 2: replaces "I" with "\The/ Mayor"; Book E-1, 1887: "{\I/} [eoe]"

<sup>24.</sup> NCCM, 2: "<instructed councillor Pratt to>"

<sup>25.</sup> NCCM, 2: omits "together, and"

<sup>26.</sup> NCCM, 2: omits "ask him to"

<sup>27.</sup> NCCM, 2: replaces "Massachusetts" with "his state"

<sup>28.</sup> NCCM, 2: omits "Go to"

<sup>29.</sup> NCCM, 2: omits "the admittance"

<sup>30.</sup> NCCM, 2: omits "of both houses ... you"

<sup>31.</sup> NCCM, 2: omits "You may"

<sup>32.</sup> NCCM, 2: omits "to them"

<sup>33.</sup> This paragraph based on NCCM, 2, which states that the attendance report covered "from Aug[ust] 12, 1843 to Feb[ruary] 9 inclusive", with elaboration about JS's attendance added (cf. NCR, Bx 2, fd 7).

<sup>34.</sup> DHC 6:212: adds "of"

<sup>35.</sup> This paragraph closely follows NCCM, 2, with deleted material added in bold type.

<sup>36.</sup> Source: Closely follows JSj [1843-44], 261 (WR) (APR, 446).

<sup>37.</sup> Source: Based on CHOj 1:3, 12 Feb. 1844 (TB) (transcription in vol. 8,VI.12).

<sup>38.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 262 (WR) (APR, 446).

<sup>39.</sup> Source: Undetermined.

Having received an invitation from br[other]. J[oseph]. L. Heywood to visit Quincy. 40 I wrote him in reply:

<sup>41</sup>Nauvoo, February 13, 1844.

Dear br[other]. Heywood:—I sit down at this time to acknowledge the receipt of, and reciprocate the friendly feelings manifest in yours of the 7th inst[ant]., and although surrounded by a press of business shall take pleasure in spending a few moments to reply.

I would take the greatest pleasure imaginable in coming down to Quincy on a visit to see you and all my friends in your city, would business and circumstances permit, but it would be a matter of impossibility almost for me to leave home at the present time in consequence of a multitude of business which I have daily to attend to. Moreover wisdom and prudence seem to forbid my coming on account of the bitter feeling which manifests itself in various places between this <sup>42</sup>and Quincy, not that I have any apprehensions for my personal safety, for the same kind hand which hath hitherto been my shield and support would save me from the power of my wicked persecutors, but <sup>43</sup>something might grow out of it which would prompt my adversaries to get out another illegal writ, and would eventually, probably <sup>44</sup>, cost me some <sup>45</sup> three or four thousand dollars, as in other cases, and under which I have still to labor to disadvantage. Under these considerations, therefore, I am compelled to decline paying you a visit for the present, at the same time, in connection with Mrs. Smith, I tender my warmest acknowledgments for the invitation.

I am pleased to hear of the prosperity of your branch, and hope it will continue; for although I never feel to force my doctrines<sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup>upon any person, I rejoice to see prejudice give way to truth, and the traditions of men dispersed by the pure principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

I should be please to have the privilege of forming an acquaintance with your partner, Mr. [Oliver]<sup>48</sup> Kimball, and his lady, and should they ever come up this way I hope they will call and see me.

As respects things in Nauvoo I have nothing to say but good. Although the mobocrats of this county breathe out their shame with a continual foam, and threaten extermination, &c., the citizens of Nauvoo are at peace, they fear no danger, for the report<sup>49</sup> of mobs have<sup>50</sup> become so common, that the Mormons pay no attention to it whatever. Each man minds his own business and all are making improvements as fast as they can. In fact things in general seem prosperous and pleasing, and I never saw a better feeling amongst the Saints than at the present time.

My family have been some<sup>51</sup> sick of late and continue so, especially my youngest boy<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>40.</sup> See Joseph L. Heywood, Quincy, IL, to JS, Nauvoo, IL, 7 Feb. 1844, in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 6, 50-53.

<sup>41.</sup> Source: Retained copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 7, 3-6 (WC) (PWJS, 595-96).

<sup>42.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "place"

<sup>43.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "you know"

<sup>44.</sup> Book E-1, 1888: "{\probably/}" (pos. RLC)

<sup>45.</sup> MS letter, 1: "<some>"

<sup>46.</sup> DHC 6:213: "doctrine"

<sup>47.</sup> MS letter, 2: adds "(or rather the doctrines revealed to me of God)"

<sup>48.</sup> Brackets this editor's.

<sup>49.</sup> MS letter, 2: "sound <report>"

<sup>50.</sup> DHC 6:213: "has"

<sup>51.</sup> DHC 6:213: "somewhat"

<sup>52.</sup> MS letter, 2: "but are now improving in health and are out of danger <and continue so, especially my youngest boy>"

Accept, dear sir, the warmest respects of myself and Mrs. Smith, and please present the same to your lady. In the meantime I remain your friend and brother,

JOSEPH SMITH.

<sup>53</sup>President Brigham Young returned from Bear Creek settlements where he had been preaching for the last few days.

<sup>54</sup>Wednesday, 14.—At home through the day. In the evening the Assembly room was filled by the brethren, when my "Views of the powers and policy of the Government of the United States" was again read. I afterwards spoke on the same subject at a considerable length.

<sup>55</sup>Thursday, 15.—At home. A beautiful day.

I insert the following article from the Times and Seasons:—

#### <sup>56</sup>WHO SHALL BE OUR NEXT PRESIDENT?

This is an inquiry which to us as a people is a matter of the most paramount importance, and requires our most serious, calm, and dispassionate reflection. Executive power when correctly wielded is a great blessing to the people of this great commonwealth, and forms one of the firmest pillars of our confederation. It watches the interests of the whole community with a fatherly care; it wisely balances the other legislative powers when over-heated by party spirit, or sectional feeling; it watches with jealous care our interests and commerce with foreign nations, and gives tone and efficacy to legislative enactments.

The President stands at the head of these United States and is the mouth-piece of this vast republic. If he be a man of an enlightened mind and a capacious soul; if he is a virtuous man, a statesman, a patriot and a man of unflinching integrity; if he possess the same spirit that fired the souls of our venerable sires, who founded this great commonwealth, and wishes to promote the universal<sup>57</sup> good of the whole republic, he may indeed be made a blessing to community.

But if he prostrates his high and honorable calling to base and unworthy purposes; if he makes<sup>58</sup> use of the power which the people have placed in his hands for their interests to gratify his ambition, for the purpose of self-aggrandizement or pecuniary interest; if he meanly panders<sup>59</sup> with demagogues, loses sight of the interests<sup>60</sup> of the nation and sacrifices<sup>61</sup> the union on the altar of sectional interests or party views, he renders himself unworthy of the dignified trust reposed in him, debases the nation in the eyes of the civilized world and produces misery and confusion at home. "When the wicked rule, the people mourn."

There is perhaps no body of people in the United States who are at the present time more interested about the issue of the presidential contest than are the Latter Day Saints. And our situation in regard to the two great political parties is a most novel one. It is a fact well

<sup>53.</sup> Source: Based on BYj [1840-44], vol. 3, 13 Feb. 1844 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.2).

<sup>54.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1843-44], 263 (WR) (APR, 446), and CHOj 1:3, 14 Feb. 1844 (TB) (transcription in vol. 8,VI.12).

<sup>55.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1843-44], 264 (WR) (APR, 446), and CHOj 1:3, 15 Feb. 1844 (TB) (transcription in vol. 8,VI.12).

<sup>56.</sup> Source: T&S 5 (15 Feb. 1844): 439-41. See also NN 1 (14 Feb. 1844): [166].

<sup>57.</sup> DHC 6:214: omits "universal"

<sup>58.</sup> DHC 6:214: "make"

<sup>59.</sup> DHC 6:214: "pander"

<sup>60.</sup> DHC 6:214: "interest"

<sup>61.</sup> DHC 6:215: "sacrifice"

understood that we have suffered great injustice from the State of Missouri; that we have petitioned to the authorities of that State for redress in vain; that we have also memorialized Congress, under the late administration, and have obtained the heartless reply that "Congress has no power to redress your grievances."

After having taken all the legal and constitutional steps that we can, we are still groaning under accumulated wrongs. Is there no power anywhere to redress our grievances? Missouri lacks the disposition, and Congress both lacks the disposition and power (?) and thus fifteen thousand inhabitants of these United States can with impunity be dispossessed of their property, have their houses burned, their property confiscated, many of their numbers murdered, and the remainder driven from their homes and left to wander as exiles in this boasted land of freedom and equal rights, and after appealing again and again to the legally-constituted authorities of our land for redress, we are coolly told by our highest tribunals, "we can do nothing for you."

We have paid hundreds of thousands of dollars into the coffers of Congress for their lands, and they stand virtually pledged to defend us in our rights, but they have not done it. If a man steals a dollar from his neighbor, or steals a horse or a hog, he <sup>62</sup>can obtain redress; but we have been robbed by wholesale, the most daring murders have been committed, and we are coolly told that we can obtain no redress. If a steamboat is set on fire on our coast by foreigners, even when she is engaged in aiding and abetting the enemies of that power, it becomes a matter of national interference and legislation; or if a foreigner, as in the case of McLeod, is taken on our land and tried for supposed crimes committed by him against our citizens, his nation interferes, and it becomes a matter of negotiation and legislation; but our authorities can calmly look on and see the citizens of a county butchered with impunity; they can see two counties dispossessed of their inhabitants, their houses burned and their property confiscated, and when the cries of fifteen thousand men, women and children salute their ears, they deliberately tell us that we can obtain no redress.

Hear it therefore ye mobbers! proclaim it to all the scoundrels in the Union! let a standard be erected around which shall rally all the renegades of the land: assemble yourselves and rob at pleasure, murder till you are satiated with blood, drive men, women and children from their homes, there is no law to protect them, and Congress has no power to redress their grievances, and the great father of the Union (the President) has not got an ear to listen to their complaints.

What shall we do under this state of things? In the event of either of the prominent candidates, Van Buren or Clay, obtaining the presidential chair we should not be placed in any better situation.

In speaking of Mr. Clay, his politics are diametrically opposed to ours; he inclines strongly to the old school of federalists, and as a matter of course would not favor our cause, neither could we conscientiously vote for him. And we have yet stronger objections to Mr. Van Buren, on other grounds. He has sung the old song of Congress—"Congress has no power to redress your grievances."

But did the matter rest here it would not be so bad. He was in the presidential chair at the time of our former difficulties. We appealed to him on that occasion, but we appealed in vain, and his sentiments are yet *unchanged*.

But all these things are tolerable in comparison to what we have yet to state. We have been informed from a respectable source that there is an understanding between Mr. Benton, of Missouri, and Mr. Van Buren, and a conditional compact entered into, that if Mr. Benton will use his influence to get Mr. Van Buren elected, that Van Buren, when elected, shall use

<sup>62.</sup> DHC 6:215: adds "[the neighbor]"

his executive influence to wipe away the stain from Missouri by a further persecution of the Mormons, and wreaking out vengeance on their heads either by extermination or by some other summary process. We could scarcely credit the statement, and we hope yet for the sake of humanity that the suggestion is false, but we have too good reason to believe that we are correctly informed.

If then this is the case can we conscientiously vote for a man of this description, and put the weapons into his hands to cut our throat with? We cannot; and however much we might wish to sustain the democratic nomination we cannot—we will not vote for Van Buren. Our interests, our property, our lives and the lives of our families are too dear to us to be sacrificed at the shrine of party spirit and to gratify party feelings. We have been sold once in the State of Missouri, and our liberties bartered away by political demagogues, through executive intrigue, and we wish not to be betrayed again by Benton and Van Buren.

Under these circumstances the question again arises, who<sup>63</sup> shall we support? GENERAL JOSEPH SMITH. A man of sterling worth and integrity and of enlarged views; a man who has raised himself from the humblest walks in life to stand at the head of a large, intelligent, respectable and increasing society, that has spread not only in this land, but in distant nations; a man whose talents and genius are of an exalted nature, and whose experience has rendered him every way adequate to the onerous duty. Honorable, fearless and energetic; he would administer justice with an impartial hand, and magnify, and dignify the office of chief magistrate of this land, and we feel assured that there is not a man in the United States more competent for the task.

One great reason that we have for pursuing our present course is, that at every election we have been made a political target for the filthy demagogues in the country to shoot their loathsome arrows at. And every story has been put into requisition to blast our fame from the old fabrication of "walk on the water" down to "the murder of ex-Governor Boggs." The journals have teemed with this filthy trash, and even men who ought to have more respect for themselves; men contending for the gubernatorial chair have made use of terms so degrading, so mean, so humiliating, that a Billingsgate fisherwoman would have considered herself disgraced with. We refuse any longer to be thus bedaubed for either party. We tell all such to let their filth flow in its own legitimate channel, for we are sick of the loathsome smell.

Gentlemen, we are not going either to "murder ex-Governor Boggs nor a Mormon in this State for not giving us his money," nor are we going to "walk on the water," "nor drown a woman," nor "defraud the poor of their property," nor send "destroying angels after General Bennett to kill him," nor "marry spiritual wives," nor commit any other outrageous act this election to help any party with; you must get some other persons to perform these kind offices for you for the future. We withdraw.

Under existing circumstances we have no other alternative, and if we can accomplish our object, well; if not, we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that we have acted conscientiously and have used our best judgment; and if we have to throw away our votes, we had better do so upon a worthy rather than upon an unworthy individual, who might make use of the weapon we put in his hand to destroy us with.

Whatever may be the opinions of men in general in regard to Mr. Smith, we know that he need<sup>64</sup> only to be known to be admired; and that it is the principles of honor, integrity, patriotism and philanthropy that has<sup>65</sup> elevated him in the minds of his friends, and the same

<sup>63.</sup> DHC 6:216: "Whom"

<sup>64.</sup> DHC 6:217: "needs"

<sup>65.</sup> DHC 6:217: "have"

principles if seen and known would beget the esteem and confidence of all the patriotic and virtuous throughout the Union.

Whatever therefore be the opinions of other men our course is marked out, and our motto from henceforth will be GENERAL JOSEPH SMITH.

<sup>66</sup>Friday, 16.—At home. This evening I spent two hours in the office in conversation with Bro[ther] Phelps. [I] directed him to write a communication on Gov[ernor] Ford's Letter in the Warsaw Signal. <sup>67</sup>
<sup>68</sup>P.M. [William Clayton] at Pres[iden]t J[oseph]'s. Settled with br[other]. Whitney, gave him deed of several town lots <sup>69</sup> and took his receipt in full.

[DN 7 (3 June 1857): 97-98]

<sup>70</sup>Saturday, 17.—**At home.** I wrote the following article:—

#### <sup>71</sup>PACIFIC INNUENDO.

The very candid, pacific, and highly creditable *advice*, which Governor Ford has done himself the honor to address to "the citizens of Hancock county, Mormons and all," and which appears in the *Warsaw Signal*, of the 14th inst[ant]., is, like the balm of Gilead, well calculated to ease the pain, which has troubled the heads and hearts of the Carthagenians, Warsawvains<sup>72</sup>, and other over-jealous bodies for *weal and woe*.

It certainly must be admitted, on all hands, that Governor Ford has exalted himself as a mediator, patriot, lawyer, governor, peacemaker, and friend of all; not only to magnify the law and make it honorable, but also in pointing out the  $path^{73}$  of peace.

Such is what the Latter Day<sup>74</sup> Saints have ever sought at the hands of those in authority; and with an approving conscience, clear as the crystal spring; and with a laudable<sup>75</sup> intention, warm as the summer zephyr, and with a charitable prayer, mellow as the morning dew, it is now our highest consolation to hope that all difficulties will cease; and give way to reason, sense, peace and goodwill.

The Saints, if they will be humble and wise, can now *practice* what they *preach*, and soften by good examples, rather than harden by a distant course of conduct, the hearts of the people.

<sup>66.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 265 (WR) (APR, 446), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type; italic added.

<sup>67.</sup> This refers to WWP's authorship of "Pacific Innuendo", given below. Governor Ford's letter, dated Springfield, IL, 29 Jan. 1844, and published in the *Warsaw Signal*, 14 Feb. 1844, appears in *T&S* 5 (15 Feb. 1844): 443-44; *NN* 1 (21 Feb. 1844): [170]; *VOT*, 42-43.

<sup>68.</sup> Source: WCj [1843-44], 16 Feb. 1844 (NTNLF, 408), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>69.</sup> WCj [1843-44]: replaces "of several town lots" with "for S[outh] ½ L[ot] 1 B[lock] 124 & N[orth] ½ & S[outh] E[ast] ½ L[ot] 4 B[lock] 124"

<sup>70.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 266 (WR) (APR, 446), which mentions only that JS was "at home". Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>71.</sup> Source: RDft 8:11 directs scribe to copy *T&S* 5 (15 Feb. 1844): 442-43. Cf. rept. *NN* 1 (21 Feb. 1844): [170]; and *VOT*, 39-42. There are also two MS copies: JSc, Bx 5, fd 17, 36-43 (WWP), which is a draft; and Bx 5, fd 17, 44-47, which is a fair copy (TB). Numbering in these MS copies is inconsistent. This article was probably authored mostly by WWP.

<sup>72.</sup> Book E-1, 1892: "Warsaw {\vains/}"; DHC 6:218: "Warsawvians"

<sup>73.</sup> DHC 6:218: "part"

<sup>74.</sup> WWP draft, 1:"<Day>"

<sup>75.</sup> WWP draft, 1:"an <laudable>"

For general information it may be well to say that there has never been any cause for alarm as to the Latter Day Saints. The legislature of Illinois granted a liberal charter for the city of Nauvoo; and let every honest man in the Union, who has any knowledge of her, say whether she has not flourished beyond the most sanguine anticipations of all; and while they witness her growing glory, let them solemnly testify whether Nauvoo has *willfully injured* the country, county, or a single individual *one cent*.

With the strictest scrutiny publish the facts whether a particle of law has been evaded or broken: virtue and innocence need no artificial covering. Political views and party distinctions never should disturb the harmony of society; and when the whole truth comes before a virtuous people, we are willing to abide the issue.

We will here refer to the *three last dismissals*, upon writs of habeas corpus, of Joseph Smith, when arrested under the requisitions of Missouri.

The first, in June, 1841, was tried at Monmouth, before Judge Douglas, of the fifth judicial circuit;<sup>76</sup> and as no exceptions have <sup>77</sup>been taken to that decision, by this<sup>78</sup> State or<sup>79</sup> Missouri, but Missouri had previously<sup>80</sup> entered a *nolle prosequi* on all the old indictments against the Mormons in the difficulties of 1838, it is taken and granted *that that decision was just!* 

The second, in December, 1842, was tried at Springfield before Judge Pope in the U.S. District Court; and from that honorable discharge, as no exceptions from any source have been made to those proceedings, it follows as a matter of course, that that decision was just!!

And the third, in July, 1843, was tried at the city of <sup>81</sup> Nauvoo, before the municipal court of said city; and as no exceptions to that discharge have been taken, and as the Governor says there is "evidence on the other side to show that the sheriff of Lee county *voluntarily* carried Mr. Reynolds (who had Mr. Smith in custody) to the city of Nauvoo, without any<sup>82</sup> coercion on the part of any one," it must be admitted *that that decision was just!!!* 

But is any man still<sup>83</sup> unconvinced of the justness of these strictures relative to the two<sup>84</sup> last cases, let the astounding fact go forth, that *Or[r]in Porter Rockwell*, who<sup>85</sup> Boggs swore was the principal in his <sup>86</sup>assassination, and as accessory to which Mr. Smith was arrested, *has returned home*, "clear of that<sup>87</sup> sin." In fact, there was not a witness to get up an indictment against him<sup>88</sup>.

The Messrs. Averys, who were unlawfully transported out of this State, have returned to their families in peace, and there seems to be no ground for contention, no cause for jeal-ousy, and no excuse for a surmise that any man, woman, or child will suffer the least inconvenience from General Smith, the charter of Nauvoo, the city of Nauvoo, or even any of her citizens.

There is nothing for a bone of contention! even those ordinances which appeared to excite the feeling of some people, have recently been *repealed*—so that, if the "intelligent" inhabitants

```
76. WWP draft, [3]:"<of the 5th [judicial] circuit>"
```

<sup>77.</sup> WWP draft, [3]: adds "even"

<sup>78.</sup> DHC 6:219: replaces "this" with "the"

<sup>79.</sup> DHC 6:219: replaces "or" with "of"

<sup>80.</sup> WWP draft, [3]: "did, soon after < had previously>"

<sup>81.</sup> WWP draft, [3]: "<the city [of]>"

<sup>82.</sup> WWP draft, [3]: omits "any"; TB copy, [2]: "the <any>"

<sup>83.</sup> DHC 6:219: omits "still"

<sup>84.</sup> Book E-1, 1893: "\two/" (US)

<sup>85.</sup> DHC 6:219: "whom"

<sup>86.</sup> DHC 6:219: adds "[attempted]"

<sup>87.</sup> DHC 6:219: omits "that"

<sup>88.</sup> WWP draft, [4]: omits "against him"

of Hancock county want peace, want to abide by the Governor's advice, want to have a character **abroad grow out of their character**<sup>89</sup> at home, and really mean to<sup>90</sup> follow the Savior's golden rule, "To do unto others as they would wish others to do unto them." They will be still now, and let their own works praise them in the gates of justice, and in the eyes of the surrounding world. Wise men ought to have understanding enough to conquer men with kindness.

"A soft answer turneth away wrath," says the wise man, and it will be greatly to the credit of the Latter Day Saints to show the love of God, by now kindly treating those who<sup>91</sup> may have, in an unconscious moment, done them wrong; for truly said Jesus, "*Pray for thine enemies*."

Humanity towards all, reason and refinement to enforce virtue, and good for evil, are so eminently designed to cure more disorders of society than an appeal to "arms," or even *argument* untempered with *friendship*, and the "one thing needful," that no vision for the future, guideboard for the distant, or expositor for <sup>92</sup> the present, need trouble any one with what he ought to do.

His own good, his family's good, his neighbor's good, his country's good, and all good, seem to whisper to every person; the Governor has told you what to do; *now do it*.

The Constitution expects every man to do his duty, and when he fails the law urges him; or should he do too much, the same master rebukes him.

Should reason, liberty, law, light, and philanthropy now guide the destinies of Hancock county with as much sincerity as has been manifested for her notoriety, or welfare; there can be no doubt that peace, prosperity, and happiness will prevail, and that future generations, as well as the present one, will call Governor Ford A PEACEMAKER.—The Latter Day Saints will, at all events, and profit by the instruction; and call upon honest men to help them cherish all the love, all the friendship, all the courtesy, all the kindly feelings, and all the generosity that ought to characterize *clever people*, in a clever neighborhood, and leave candid men to judge which tree exhibits<sup>93</sup> the best fruit, the one with the most clubs and sticks thrown into its boughs, and the grass trodden down under it, or the one with no sticks in it, some dead limbs, and rank grass growing under it; for by their signs ye can know their fruit, and by the fruit ye know the trees.

Our motto then, is *peace with all*. If we have joy in the love of God, let us try to <sup>94</sup>give a reason of that joy, which all the world cannot gainsay or resist. And may be, like, as when Paul started with recommendations to Damascus, to persecute the Saints, some one who has raised his <sup>95</sup> hand against us with letters to men in high places, may see a light at noonday, above the brightness of the sun, and hear the voice of Jesus saying, "It is hard for thee <sup>96</sup> to kick against the pricks."

Intelligence is sometimes the<sup>97</sup> messenger of safety, and willing to aid the Governor in his laudable endeavors to cultivate peace and honor the laws, believing that very few of the<sup>98</sup> citizens of Hancock county will be found in the negative of such a goodly course; and considering his views a kind of manifesto, or olive leaf, which shows that there<sup>99</sup> is rest for the soles of the Saints' feet, we give it a place in the *Neighbor*, wishing it God speed, and saying, *God bless* 

```
89. DHC 6:219: omits "abroad ... character"
90. WWP draft, [4]: "<to>"
91. WWP draft, [5]: replaces "who" with "that"
92. WWP draft, [5]: "<for>"
93. WWP draft, [6]: "bear <exhibits [signs?]>"; TB copy, [3]: "{\exhibit/}"
94. WWP draft, [7]: adds "make"
95. WWP draft, [7]: "<his>"
96. WWP draft, [7]: "<for thee>"
97. WWP draft, [7]: "<the>"
98. TB copy, [3]: "<of the>"
99. Book E-1, 1894: "there" overwrites "this"
```

good men and good measures, <sup>100</sup>and as Nauvoo<sup>101</sup> has been, so it will continue to be, a good city, affording a good market to a good country, and let those who do not mean to try the way of transgressors, say *Amen*.

<sup>102</sup>The High Council met and settled several cases of difficulty betwixt brethren.

## <sup>103</sup>[William Clayton] at Pres[iden]t. J[oseph']s all day. Evening with [Reynolds] Cahoon at J[oseph]'s. Emma talked a good deal about B[righam]. Young and others.

<sup>104</sup>The Anti-Mormons held a convention at Carthage, the object being to devise ways and means of expelling the Saints from the State. Among other resolutions was one appointing the 9th March next as a day of *fasting and prayer*, wherein the *pious* of all orders are requested to pray to Almighty God that he would speedily bring the false prophet, Joseph Smith, to deep repentance, or that he will make a public example of him and his leading accomplices.

<sup>105</sup>The ice broke up in the river.

<sup>106</sup>Sunday, 18.—Beautiful day. Southwest<sup>107</sup> wind. <sup>108</sup>

<sup>109</sup>A very large assembly of the Saints met at the stand near the Temple, when I preached a lengthy discourse.

Four p.m., went to my office with Hyrum and two gentlemen from St. Louis. Heard Dr. Richards read my correspondence with Senator Calhoun, and Phelps read my "views of the power and policy of the General Government."

At 7 attended prayer-meeting 110 in the Assembly Room. Sister [Marinda] Hyde was there.

<sup>111</sup>Monday, 19.—At 9 a.m., went to my office with Dr. Bernhisel, who proposed some alterations in my views of the Government; Phelps read the same, and the doctor seemed better pleased with it than before.

<sup>112</sup>To the Editor of the *Neighbor*:—

Sir:—I wish to say to you, as there seems to be a prospect of peace, that it will be more love-like, <sup>113</sup>God-like, and man-like, to say nothing about the *Warsaw Signal*.

If the editor breathes out that old sulphurous blast, let him go and besmear his reputation, and the reputation of those that uphold him, with soot and dirt; but as for us, and all honest men, we will "act well our part, for there the honor lies."

We will honor the advice of Governor Ford, cultivate peace and friendship with all,

<sup>100.</sup> Remainder of document omitted in WWP draft, [7], but appears in TB copy, [3]-[4], in WWP's handwriting.

<sup>101.</sup> TB copy, [3]: "it < Nauvoo>"

<sup>102.</sup> Source: Based on NHCM, Book 4, 25-26 (NHCM [2005], 132-33; NCHCM, 485-86).

<sup>103.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 17 Feb. 1844 (IC, 126; DMQP, 16).

<sup>104.</sup> Source: "A Day of Fasting and Prayer," NN 1 (28 Feb. 1844): [174]. See also Warsaw Signal, 21 Feb. 1844.

<sup>105.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:3, 17 Feb. 1844 (TB) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>106.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:3, 18 Feb. 1844 (TB) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>107.</sup> Book E-1, 1895: "South<west>" (pos. JG)

<sup>108.</sup> On weather, JSj [1843-44], 267 (WR) (APR, 446), reads: "Fine warm weather for a week with cold nights. The ice left the south shore of the city this morning—of many ends [domain?] extant."

<sup>109.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 267 (WR) (APR, 446), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>110.</sup> Book E-1, 1895: "atten\ded/ pr\ayer/ meeting" (prob. RLC)

<sup>111.</sup> Source: [Si [1843-44], 268 (WR) (APR, 446).

<sup>112.</sup> Source: NN 1 (21 Feb. 1844): [170].

<sup>113.</sup> DHC 6:221: adds "more"

mind our own business, and come off with flying colors, respected, because in respecting others, we respect ourselves.

Respectfully, I am,

JOSEPH SMITH.

Nauvoo, Feb. 19, 1844. 114

<sup>115</sup>A conference was held in Halifax, Halifax co[unty]., Nova Scotia, Elder Robert Dickson, president. Two branches were represented, consisting of 30 members, 3 elders, 1 priest, 1 teacher, and 2 deacons.
<sup>116</sup>The wild geese commenced flying north.

<sup>117</sup>Tuesday, 20.—**At home.** At 10 a.m., went to my office, where the Twelve Apostles and some others met in council with brothers Mitchell Curtis and Stephen Curtis, who left the Pinery on Black River 1st of <sup>118</sup> January; they were sent by Lyman Wight and Bishop Miller to know whether Lyman should preach to the Indians, the Menominees and Chippeways having requested it.

<sup>119</sup>The Chippeways had given brother Wight some wampum as a token of peace, and the brethren had given them half a barrel<sup>120</sup> of flour and an ox to keep the Indians from starving; and Wight had gone through to Green Bay with them, to make a road.

I told them to tell bro[ther]. Wight I had no counsel to give <sup>121</sup> him on the subject <sup>122</sup>; he is there on his own ground, and must act on his own responsibility, and do what he thinks best in relation to the Indians, understanding the laws and nature of the subject as well as I can here <sup>123</sup>, and he shall never be brought into difficulty about it by us.

I instructed the Twelve Apostles to send out a delegation and investigate the locations of California and <sup>124</sup>Oregon, and hunt out <sup>125</sup> a good location, where we can remove to after the Temple is completed, and where we can build a city in a day, and have a government of our own; get up into the mountains, where the devil cannot dig us out, and live <sup>126</sup> in a healthy <sup>127</sup> climate, where we can live as old as we have a mind to <sup>128</sup>.

 $^{129} \rm Dr.$  [Willard] Richards received a letter from Ja[me]s A. Bennet which pleased me much.  $^{130}$  At office.

<sup>131</sup>Visited at James Irvins this P.M. and evening.

<sup>114.</sup> This line appears in NN 1:[170], but omitted in MSHiJS.

<sup>115.</sup> Book E-1, 1895: adds "<[See Addenda page 7]>" (LH). This paragraph added in Book E-1, Addenda, 7. *Source*: Based on "Minutes of a Conference ...," *T&S* 5 (15 July 1844): 582-83.

<sup>116.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:4, 19 Feb. 1844 (TB) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>117.</sup> Source: Following seven paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 269 (WR) (APR, 446-47), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>118.</sup> DHC 6:222: adds "of"

<sup>119.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 269: adds "I told them to tell"

<sup>120.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 269: replaces "barrel" with "box"

<sup>121.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 269: "shed blood <give>"

<sup>122.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 269: omits "on the subject"

<sup>123.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 269: omits "in relation to ... here"

<sup>124.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 269: adds "Mex[ico]"

<sup>125.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 269: replaces "hunt out" with "find"

<sup>126.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 269: omits "get up into the mountains ... live"

<sup>127.</sup> DHC 6:222: "healthful"

<sup>128.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 269: omits "where we can live ... mind to"

<sup>129.</sup> This paragraph does not appear in MSHiJS, DN or DHC, but inserted interlinearly in JSj [1843-44], 269.

<sup>130.</sup> See James A. Bennett, New York, NY, to W. Richards, Nauvoo, IL, 1 Feb. 1844, WRc, Bx 3, fd 20, 9.

<sup>131.</sup> This paragraph does not appear in MSHiJS, DN, or DHC, but written sideways in right margin in JSj [1843-44], 269.

Warm. The ice floating down the river.

<sup>132</sup>A meeting of the citizens of Hancock county was held at the court-house in Carthage. Passed a resolution that the 2nd Saturday of March be appointed for a general wolf-hunt, being the same day selected by the convention of the 17th inst[ant]. for a day of fasting and prayer for my destruction.

<sup>133</sup>Wednesday 21.—The Rev. Mr. De Wolfe, Episcopalian <sup>134</sup>, lectured in the Assembly Room in the evening. I attended, and after the sermon, at his request, spoke to the people, showing them, that to get salvation we must not only do some things, but everything which God has commanded. Men may preach and practice everything except those things which God commands us to do, and will be damned at last: we may tithe mint and rue, and all manner of herbs, and still not obey the commandments of God, the object with me is to obey and teach others to obey God, in just what he tells us to do. It mattereth not whether the principle is popular or unpopular, I will always maintain a true principle, even if I stand alone in it.

<sup>135</sup>My Pacific Innuendo, written on the 17th inst[ant]., appeared in the *Neighbor* of today, in connection with Gov[ernor]. Ford's letter of the 29th <sup>136</sup>January. **Also [Joseph Smith's] letter to Mr. [John] Taylor to let** *Warsaw Signal* alone. <sup>137</sup>

Ice left the west bank of the river, opposite the lower brick house.

Very warm and pleasant.

Council of the Twelve met in my office and selected 8 men to fulfil the exploring expedition. I mentioned to them on the 20th and they adjourned to meet at the assembly room [on the] evening [of the] 23[rd]: I insert the minutes:—

<sup>138</sup>At a meeting of the Twelve, at the Mayor's office, Nauvoo, February 21, 1844, 7 o'clock, p.m., <sup>139</sup>B[righam]. Young, Parley P. Pratt, O[rson]. Pratt, W[ilford]. Woodruff, J[ohn]. Taylor, Geo[rge]. A. Smith, W[illard]. Richards, and four others being present, called by previous notice, by instruction of President Joseph Smith on the 20th inst[ant]. <sup>140</sup>, for the purpose of selecting a company to <sup>141</sup>explore Oregon and California, and select a site for a new city for the Saints. <sup>142</sup>

Jonathan Dunham, Phineas H. Young, David D. Yearsley, and David Fullmer<sup>143</sup> volunteered to go, <sup>144</sup>and Alphonzo Young. <sup>145</sup>James Emmett, George D. Watt, <sup>146</sup> and Daniel Spencer were requested to go<sup>147</sup>.

<sup>132.</sup> Source: Based on "A Day of Fasting and Prayer," NN 1 (28 Feb. 1844): [174].

<sup>133.</sup> Source: JSj [1843-44], 270 (WR) (APR, 447), and WWj, vol. 4, 21 Feb. 1844 (WWj 2:351).

<sup>134.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 270: replaces "Episcopalian" with "Churchman"

<sup>135.</sup> Book E-1, 1896: adds erasure of about two words. *Source*: Following four paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 270 (WR) (*APR*, 447), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type; italic added.

<sup>136.</sup> DHC 6:223: adds "of"

<sup>137.</sup> Cf. NN 1 (21 Feb. 1844): [170].

<sup>138.</sup> Source: QTAM, 21 Feb. 1844. Cf. WWj, vol. 4, 21 Feb. 1844 (WWj 2:351); and "Names to go west with Daniel Spencer," in JScSup, fd 14, 87-88.

<sup>139.</sup> QTAM: adds "present"

<sup>140.</sup> QTAM: "<on the 20th inst>"

<sup>141.</sup> QTAM: adds "survey"

<sup>142.</sup> QTAM: adds "It was voted that"

<sup>143.</sup> QTAM: "<Phinehas H. Young, David D. Yearsley, & David Fullmer>"

<sup>144.</sup> QTAM: "Policeman voted that David Fulmer be one Surveyer"

<sup>145.</sup> QTAM: "Physician Phinehas H. Young volunteered Printer"

<sup>146.</sup> QTAM: adds "James Emmet Trapper and Hunter David D. Yearsley [Trapper and Hunter] George D. Watt"

<sup>147.</sup> QTAM: omits "and Daniel Spencer were requested to go"

Voted the above persons  $^{148}$   $^{149}$ be notified to meet with the  $^{150}$ council on Friday evening next at the Assembly Room.

WILLARD RICHARDS, Clerk.

<sup>151</sup>Thursday, 22.—At home.

Ice continues to run in the river. Very pleasant, cool nights.

<sup>152</sup>Friday, 23.—W. W. Phelps received a letter from John Whitmer in relation to certain records, and a book containing some of the early history of the Church, which had been written by my clerks, and was church property, and which had been fraudulently detained from my possession by John Whitmer, to which Dr. Richards replied.

<sup>153</sup>Nauvoo Feb. 23, 1844.

Sir. Your Letter of the 8th of January to W. W. Phelps came in to our beloved Brother Joseph Smith's office this day. As you mentioned something about the church records it becomes necessary to reply. We have already compiled about 800 pages of church history. (Large Demi, closely written. One page, probably, contains about 4 times the amount of matter of 1 which you <sup>154</sup>wrote.) which covers all the ground of which you took notes, therefore any thing which you have in the shape of church history would be of little or no consequence to the church at large.

You enquire about Bro. Phelps' prospects. He owns no property in Nauvoo, but labors diligently for the church, and like all other righteous men hardly<sup>155</sup> gets a comfortable living, as the time has scarcely<sup>156</sup> arrived for the "meek to possess the earth."

Yours Respectfully,
Willard Richards.
Recorder and Historian for the whole<sup>157</sup>
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Mr. John<sup>158</sup> Whitmer Far West, Mo.

<sup>159</sup>Met with the Twelve in the Assembly Room, concerning the Oregon and California<sup>160</sup> exploring expedition, Hyrum and Sidney present. I told them I wanted an exploration of all that

<sup>148.</sup> QTAM: "<persons>"

<sup>149.</sup> DHC 6:223: adds "to"

<sup>150.</sup> QTAM: adds "quorum"

<sup>151.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 271 (WR) (APR, 447).

<sup>152.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1843-44], 272 (WR) (APR, 448), with elaboration.

<sup>153.</sup> *Source*: Book E-1, 1897, adds several blank lines with penciled note: "to copy letter if can be found" (TB). RDft 8:13 instructed scribe to "leave blank to copy both letters if they can be found" (LH). Cf. reviser's notes in vol. 7, IV.8, under date, which instructs "to fill with letters if found" (JG). Evidently the compilers could not locate these items. A "copy" of WR's letter is located in WRc, Bx 3, fd 2, 3-6 (WR), and is here supplied. Underlining changed to italic.

<sup>154.</sup> MS letter: adds "kept"

<sup>155.</sup> MS letter: "barely <hardly>"

<sup>156.</sup> MS letter: "hardly <scarcely>"

<sup>157.</sup> MS letter: "<whole>"

<sup>158.</sup> MS letter: "J<ohn>"

<sup>159.</sup> Source: Remainder of entry from JSj [1843-44], 272 (WR) (APR, 448), and QTAM, 23 Feb. 1844 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.4).

<sup>160.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 272: omits "and California"; added from QTAM.

mountain<sup>161</sup> country; perhaps it would be best to go direct to Santa Fe.<sup>162</sup> "Send 25 men; let them preach the gospel wherever they go. Let that man go that can raise \$500, a good horse and mule, a double barrel gun, one-barrel rifle and the other smooth bore, a saddle <sup>163</sup>and bridle, a pair of revolving pistols, Bowie-knife, and a good Sabre<sup>164</sup>. Appoint a leader, and let them beat up for volunteers. I want every man that goes to be a king and a priest; when he gets on the mountains, he may want to talk with his God; when with the savage nations have power to govern, &c. If we don't get volunteers, wait till after the election."

<sup>165</sup>Geo[rge]. D. Watt said, "Gentlemen, I shall go." Samuel Bent volunteered.

Samuel Bent	volunteered.
Joseph A. Kelting,	do.
David Fullmer,	do.
James Emmett,	do.
Daniel Spencer,	do.
Samuel Rolfe,	do.
Daniel Avery,	do.
Sam[uel]. W. Richards	, do.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup>Very pleasant [day].

Seth Palmer, Amos Fielding, Charles Shumway and John S. Fullmer volunteered to go to Oregon and California  $^{168}$ .

Fifteen hundred copies of my "Views" out of press.

Very pleasant the past two weeks; the pleasantest [most pleasant] <sup>169</sup> February I ever saw.

Evening I attended prayer-meeting in the Assembly Room. We prayed that "Gen[eral]. [Joseph] Smith's views of the powers and policy of the United States<sup>172</sup>" might be spread far and wide, and be the means of opening the hearts of the people. I gave some important instructions, and prophesied that within five years we should be out of the power of our old enemies, whether they were apostates

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup>Saturday, 24.—At home; had an interview with bro[ther]. Phelps at 9 o'clock.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup>President [Brigham] Young went to Knowlton's settlement on Bear Creek, and preached.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup>Sunday, 25.—I preached at the Temple Block. Hyrum also preached.

<sup>161.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 272: omits "mountain"

<sup>162.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 272: omits "perhaps it would be ... Santa Fe"; added from QTAM.

<sup>163.</sup> In Book E-1, 1897-98, text written on every other line to end of paragraph.

<sup>164.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 272: replaces "and a good Sabre" with "&c."; added from QTAM.

<sup>165.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 272: omits this line, which was added from QTAM. JSj also omits last five names. The names of eight men are listed in QTAM as volunteering on 23 Feb., whereas Samuel W. Richards is listed under 24 Feb. DHC 6:224 arranges names into a sentence, which adds "and" before last name and concludes with "volunteered to go".

<sup>166.</sup> Source: From deleted portion of JSj [1843-44], 272 (WR) (APR, 448).

<sup>167.</sup> Source: This day's entry (except last paragraph) from JSj [1843-44], 273 (WR) (APR, 448).

<sup>168.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 273: omits "and California". In addition to these men, QTAM, 24 Feb. 1844 (transcription in vol. 8,VI.4), adds Samuel W. Richards, who is listed in MSHiJS under 23 Feb. (see above).

<sup>169.</sup> This and next brackets this editor's.

<sup>170.</sup> Source: Based on BYj [1840-44], vol. 3, 24 Feb. 1844 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.2).

<sup>171.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1843-44], 274 (WR) (APR, 448), with mention of JS giving "important instructions" from WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 25 Feb. 1844 (IC, 126; DMQP, 16), and prophecy from WWj, vol. 4, 25 Feb. 1844 (WWj 2:351). Cf. JSj [1843-44], 257 (WR) (APR, 445), under 6 Feb. 1844, where JS prophesied that "5 years would not roll round before the company would all be able to live without cooking."

<sup>172.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 274: "<power & policy of the U.S.> United States"

or of the world, and told the brethren to record it, that when it comes to pass they need not say they had forgotten the saying.

Some rain in the evening, cloudy and foggy.

<sup>173</sup>Monday, 26.—At home, a cold wind from the north. Rainy, dull day.

In the afternoon held court at the Mansion, City of Nauvoo v[ersu]s. Orsimus F. Bostwick, on complaint of Hyrum Smith, for slanderous language concerning him and certain females of Nauvoo. Bostwick was fined \$50.00 and costs. Francis M. Higbee, his attorney, gave notice he should appeal to the municipal court, and then to the circuit court. I told Higbee what I thought of him for trying to carry such a suit to Carthage; it was to stir up the mob, and bring them upon us.

Prayer-meeting in the Assembly Room in the afternoon. My uncle John Smith and lady [Clarissa]<sup>174</sup> were present, were anointed and received blessings, and in the evening Father [Isaac] Morley was also blessed.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>176</sup>Ira S. Miles volunteered to join the mountain exploring expedition.

<sup>177</sup>Tuesday, 27.—At home. Cool and clear; river clear of ice. In the afternoon visited the printing office.

Mailed my ["]views of powers and policy, ["] &c., to the President and Cabinet, Supreme Judges, Senators, Representatives, principal newspapers in the United States, (all the German<sup>178</sup>,) and many postmasters and individuals. **In all about 200.** 

<sup>179</sup>Almon L. Fullmer and Hosea Stout volunteered to go on the western exploring expedition.

<sup>180</sup>Wednesday, 28.—At home. Rainy day.

#### [William W.] Phelps writing on O[rsimus] F. Bostwick for women. 181

At 4 p.m., steamboat *Gen[eral]*. *Brooke* passed up the river, first boat this season. No ice in sight. In the evening I sent bro[ther]. Coolidge to bro[ther]. Phelps, to call the brethren and pray for bro[ther]. Coolidge's sick child, as he thought it could not live till morning. Elder John Taylor and others<sup>182</sup> prayed for him.

<sup>183</sup>Dr. Alphonzo Young published an appeal to his native State of Tennessee, giving a history of our Missouri troubles, and asking the influence of that State to obtain redress.

The Neighbor of today publishes the following:—

<sup>173.</sup> *Source*: This day's entry (except last paragraph) from JSj [1843-44], 275 (WR) (*APR*, 448-49), with detail about weather from WWj, vol. 4, 26 Feb. 1844 (*WWj* 2:352), and CHOj 1:4, 26 Feb. 1844 (TB) (transcription in vol. 8,VI.12).

<sup>174.</sup> This and next brackets this editor's.

<sup>175.</sup> WW recorded: "<Father John Smith & wife Isaac Morley & wife Recd their 2d Anointing & sealings>" (WWj, vol. 4, 26 Feb. 1844; WWj 2:352).

<sup>176.</sup> Source: See list at end of QTAM, 23 Feb. 1844 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.4).

<sup>177.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 276 (WR) (APR, 449), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>178.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 276: replaces "German" with "Governors"

<sup>179.</sup> Source: From list at end of QTAM, 23 Feb. 1844 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.4).

<sup>180.</sup> Source: Following four paragraphs from JSj [1843-44], 277 (WR) (APR, 449), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>181.</sup> On 29 Feb. 1844, TB recorded that he spent the day "copying a defence on the Innocence of Women" (CHOj 1:4). On 7 Mar., WWP read his "A Voice of Innocence from Nauvoo" at a public meeting (see DHC 6:241; chap. 10), which was published in *NN* 1 (20 Mar. 1844): [186]. Cf. MS draft in JSc, Bx 5, fd 17, 28-35 (WWP).

<sup>182.</sup> JSj [1843-44], 277: replaces "and others" with "Phelps & Richards"

<sup>183.</sup> Source: Based on "An Appeal to the State of Tennessee," NN 1 (28 Feb. 1844): [173].

#### <sup>184</sup>FOR PRESIDENT, JOSEPH SMITH.

Having now raised the name of our General and Prophet to the head of our columns, it becomes us, as Latter Day Saints, to be wise<sup>185</sup>, prudent, and energetic, in the cause that we pursue; and not let any secondary influences control our minds, or govern our proceedings.

The step that we have taken is a bold one, and requires our united efforts, perseverance, and diligence; but important as it may be, it is no greater than others have taken, and they have conceived that they had a right, without molestation, to pursue that course, and to vote for that man whose election they in their wisdom thought would be most conducive to the public weal.

As American citizens, then, we presume that all will concede to us this right; and whatever may be their views respecting the policy of such a step, they will acknowledge that we act legally, justly, and constitutionally in pursuing our present course.

Some have nominated Henry Clay, some Col[onel]. Johnson, others John C. Calhoun, others Daniel Webster, and others Martin Van Buren.

Those several committees unquestionably thought that they had each of them made the wisest selection, in naming the man of their choice: they selected their several candidates, because they thought that they were the wisest, the greatest statesmen, and the most competent to fill the presidential chair, whilst they severally thought that the other candidates were incompetent.

We have been <sup>187</sup> governed by the same principles; and if others think they have made the wisest selection, so do we; if others think they have nominated the greatest statesman, so do we; and while those several committees think that none of the nominations made are so good as their own, we think that the man of our choice is the most able, the most competent, the best qualified, and would fill the presidential chair with greater dignity to the nation; and that his election would be conducive of more happiness and prosperity at home and abroad, than that of any other man in these United States.

This is a thing that we, as Latter Day Saints, know, and it now devolves upon us, as an imperative duty, to make others acquainted with the same things; and to use all our influence at home and abroad, for the accomplishment of this object.

Mr. Smith is not so generally known personally as are several of the above-named candidates; and although he has been much spoken of as a man, he has been a great deal calumniated and misrepresented, and his true character is very little known.

It is for us to take away this false coloring; and by lecturing, by publishing, and circulating his works, his political views, his honor, integrity and virtue, <sup>188</sup>stop the foul mouth of slander, and present him before the public in his own colors, that he may be known, respected, and supported.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup>Thomas S. Edwards volunteered to join the exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup>Thursday, 29.—At home. Called at my office, and gave brother Phelps the Zanesville Gazette

<sup>184.</sup> Source: Based on NN 1 (28 Feb. 1844): [174]. Rept. T&S 5 (1 Mar. 1844): 455.

<sup>185.</sup> DHC 6:226: omits "wise"

<sup>186.</sup> DHC 6:226: omits "that"

<sup>187.</sup> DHC 6:227: omits "been"

<sup>188.</sup> DHC 6:227: adds "to"

<sup>189.</sup> Source: From list at end of QTAM, 23 Feb. 1844 (transcription in vol. 8,VI.4).

<sup>190.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1843-44], 278 (WR) (APR, 449), with editing and elaboration. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

of Jan[uary]. 31, containing the speech of Cassius M. Clay, delivered in Scott county, Kentucky, December 30, 1843, on annexing Texas to the United States; and instructed him to reply to the same, and gave him the subject matter, and directed the manner I wished it done; and then rode out with Porter Rockwell.<sup>191</sup>

The Ohio steamer<sup>192</sup> went up the river. Rainy night.

<sup>197</sup>Letters from the elders show a rapid progress of the work of the Lord in different parts of the Union. Elder John E. Page has gone to Washington, for the purpose of proclaiming to the rulers of our nation the principles of eternal truth. By a letter received from him, we learn he has been preaching and baptizing in Boston and vicinity.

<sup>198</sup>The High Council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints at Nauvoo, to the Saints of this <sup>199</sup>Stake,—<sup>200</sup>greeting:

Beloved brethren:—Realizing as we do, the importance of the work in which we are engaged, we<sup>201</sup> deem it expedient to lay before you such matters from time to time, as in our opinion<sup>202</sup> will be beneficial to the Saints,<sup>203</sup> and the Spirit in us may seem to require. We<sup>204</sup> would remind <sup>205</sup>our brethren, the elders, who have at sundry times been sent forth as flaming heralds, messengers of the everlasting gospel, who proclaim a message of salvation<sup>206</sup> to their fellow-men, thereby gathering <sup>207</sup>and bringing up to Zion the scattered elect of God, to be taught more perfectly the principles of salvation; that whilst their message is abroad,<sup>208</sup> we have<sup>209</sup> had our mission to remain at Nauvoo, and to participate with the Saints in the blessing of poverty, if such it may be called<sup>210</sup>, amid sickness and distress, in the vexations and turmoils of the unruly and ungodly, for which no man has paid us, for days, weeks, months

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup>Moses Smith and Rufus Beach volunteered to join the Oregon exploring expedition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup>Friday, March<sup>195</sup> 1.—Very frosty night, showery day. West wind.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup>Spent the day in counseling.

<sup>191.</sup> Book E-1, 1900: adds erasure of a line and a half

<sup>192.</sup> DHC 6:227: "steamer Ohio"

<sup>193.</sup> Source: From list at end of QTAM, 23 Feb. 1844 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.4).

<sup>194.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:4, 1 Mar. 1844 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>195.</sup> Book E-1, 1900: omits "March"; "March 1" in margin.

<sup>196.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 1 (WR) (APR, 450).

<sup>197.</sup> *Source*: Based on "Varieties," *T&S* 5 (1 Mar. 1844): 457-58. Cf. J. E. Page to JS and the Twelve, 1 Mar. 1844, in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 6, 76-79 (typescript in JH, 1 Mar. 1844).

<sup>198.</sup> Source: RDft 8:18 directs scribe to copy T&S 5 (1 Mar. 1844): 458-59. MS original, which received significant emendation, located in LR 3102 24 (WR with signatures).

<sup>199.</sup> DHC 6:228: adds "[Nauvoo]"

<sup>200.</sup> MS original, [1]: adds "of Zion"; Book E-1, 1900: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>201.</sup> MS original, [1]: omits "the importance ... we"

<sup>202.</sup> MS original, [1]: "opinions"

<sup>203.</sup> MS original, [1]: omits "will be beneficial to the Saints,"

<sup>204.</sup> MS original, [1]: replaces "We" with "and"

<sup>205.</sup> MS original, [1]: adds "you that while"

<sup>206.</sup> MS original, [1]: omits "who proclaim a message of salvation"

<sup>207.</sup> MS original, [1]: adds "out"

<sup>208.</sup> MS original, [1]: omits "whilst their message is abroad,"

<sup>209.</sup> MS original, [1]: "<have>"

<sup>210.</sup> MS original, [1]: "<if such it may be called>"

and years; that our time has been spent in endeavoring to settle difficulties, set in order the things needful to salvation; in trying to reconcile and cement the feelings of our brethren to each other in the spirit of the gospel, whilst at times, circumstances of a more painful nature have been presented.

Individuals have been brought before us, charged with high crimes in violation of the laws of heaven, on whom much patient exertion in the labors of love have by us been bestowed, to reclaim them from the error and evil of their doings.

We regret to have it to say, that in some instances our efforts have been<sup>211</sup> fruitless, for after we have found in them an obstinate and unyielding spirit<sup>212</sup> to the principles of right, <sup>213</sup>we have (reluctantly) <sup>214</sup>been compelled to sever them from the Church as withered branches.

<sup>215</sup>Such persons not unfrequently manifest their wickedness by their trifling with, and bidding defiance to all, and every good rule, regulation and law, set forth for the guidance of all Saints.

One singular<sup>216</sup> trait<sup>217</sup> of their depravity is frequently manifested<sup>218</sup> by their going to some ignorant<sup>219</sup> elder and getting re-baptized into the Church, not having first<sup>220</sup> made the least satisfaction, (as was required) to such as they have injured.

We have to say that <sup>221</sup>baptism in such cases <sup>222</sup>is not valid, and cannot profit; we here continue to say, let such expelled person<sup>223</sup> first be reconciled to his injured brother, and bring forth fruit<sup>224</sup> mete for repentance, or in case of dissatisfaction with our decision, take an appeal and reverse it, if found wrong.

Expelled persons, not complying with these rules (which <sup>225</sup>are in accordance with the order of heaven) whom we have<sup>226</sup> been once necessitated to withdraw fellowship from, cannot be restored in any illegal way, and<sup>227</sup> we would say that all such clandestine creeping<sup>228</sup> into the Church, is climbing up some<sup>229</sup> other way, and that such persons can only be considered as thieves and robbers,<sup>230</sup> we would also<sup>231</sup> remind the elders that it is improper for them to

```
211. MS original, [1]: replaces "have been" with "seemed"
```

<sup>212.</sup> MS original, [1]: "<spirit>"

<sup>213.</sup> MS original, [1]: adds "whereby"

<sup>214.</sup> MS original, [1]: adds "have to"

<sup>215.</sup> MS original, [1]: omits this paragraph

<sup>216.</sup> DHC 6:228: "single"

<sup>217.</sup> MS original, [1]: "another singularity <trait>"

<sup>218.</sup> MS original, [1]: replaces "frequently manifested" with "their often seen by <such in> <in> such <such> Expelled persons by their trifling with, and bidding defiance to all and every good rule, regulation and law set forth for the guidance of all saints— <is>"

<sup>219.</sup> MS original, [1]: "<some> expelled Excluded"; T&S 4:458: replaces "ignorant" with "excluded"

<sup>220.</sup> MS original, [1]: "<first>"

<sup>221.</sup> MS original, [1]: "<such>"

<sup>222.</sup> MS original, [1]: adds "we think"

<sup>223.</sup> MS original, [1]: "persons"; Book E-1, 1901: "person{s}"

<sup>224.</sup> MS original, [2]: "fruits"

<sup>225.</sup> MS original, [2]: adds "we believe"

<sup>226.</sup> MS original, [2]: replaces "whom we have" with "we having"

<sup>227.</sup> MS original, [2]: omits "cannot be restored ... and"

<sup>228.</sup> MS original, [2], T&S 4:459: "creepings"; DHC 6:229 replaces "creeping" with "entering"

<sup>229.</sup> MS original, [2]: replaces "climbing up some" with "coming up an other"

<sup>230.</sup> MS original, [2]: replaces "and that such persons ... robbers" with "from the system of salvation, and is wrong"

<sup>231.</sup> MS original, [2]: omits "also"

re-baptize any such expelled persons, while they remain thus obstinate, <sup>232</sup> and that it will<sup>233</sup> subject them to censure, and bring them to <sup>234</sup> trial before a proper tribunal of the church.

We, therefore, hope for the<sup>235</sup> future, that certain officious<sup>236</sup>, forward-feeling elders will be more<sup>237</sup> prudent in such cases hereafter<sup>238</sup>.

<sup>239</sup>We remain, yours in the bonds of the new and everlasting covenant, <sup>240</sup>

WILLIAM <sup>241</sup>MARKS, CHARLES C. RICH,

Presidents.

SAMUEL BENT,
L. D[UNBAR]. WILSON,
DAVID FULLMER,
THOMAS GROVER,
NEWEL KNIGHT,
LEONARD SOBY,
JAMES ALLRED,
ALPHEUS CUTLER,
GEORGE W. HARRIS,
AARON JOHNSON,
W[ILLIAM]. HUNTINGTON, Sen.,
H[ENRY]. G. SHERWOOD,

Counselors.

HOSEA STOUT, Clerk.

<sup>242</sup>The *Times and Seasons* of March 1st, presents my name to the public as candidate for President of the United States.

<sup>243</sup>Jonathan Dunham filed his bonds with the recorder, and took<sup>244</sup> the oath of office as wharf-master of the city of Nauvoo.

<sup>245</sup>Elder W[ilford]. Woodruff very sick; the 37th anniversary of his birthday.

<sup>246</sup>Saturday, 2.—At home. Ten a.m., held mayor's court at my office. Privately in presence of Richards and Phelps, reproved Elder<sup>247</sup> S. B. Stoddard, for giving appearance of evil, in attempting to

<sup>232.</sup> MS original, [2], T&S 4:459: add "as aforesaid"

<sup>233.</sup> MS original, [2]: "<it> would"

<sup>234.</sup> MS original, [2]: replaces "bring them to" with "charge for

<sup>235.</sup> MS original, [2]: replaces "for the" with "that in"

<sup>236.</sup> MS original, [2]: "<officio<u>s>"

<sup>237.</sup> MS original, [2]: "<more>"

<sup>238.</sup> MS original, [2]: "cares < cases>" and omits "hereafter"

<sup>239.</sup> MS original, [2]: adds "while"

<sup>240.</sup> MS original, [2]: "in the bonds of the Everlasting [covenant?] < Gospel> done by order of said Council"

<sup>241.</sup> Book E-1, 1901: adds erasure of middle initial

<sup>242.</sup> Source: T&S 5 (1 Mar. 1844): 455. Cf. NN 1 (28 Feb. 1844): [174].

<sup>243.</sup> Source: "Recorder's Office," NN 1 (13 Mar. 1844): [182]. Cf. Bond in NCR, Bx 2, fd 29, image 40.

<sup>244.</sup> Book E-1, 1901: "<took>" (US) followed by a lacuna (hole) in outer edge of the paper

<sup>245.</sup> Source: Based on WWj, vol. 4, 1 Mar. 1844 (WWj 2:352).

<sup>246.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 2 (WR) (APR, 450), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>247.</sup> JSj [1844], 2: replaces "Elder" with "Bro."

be bail for Orsimus F. Bostwick; brother Stoddard afterwards explained to my satisfaction. **Interview** with Richards and Phelps. Cold night.

<sup>248</sup>President B[righam]. Young visited Macedonia, accompanied by his brother L. D. Young, and preached there on the Sabbath.

<sup>249</sup>Sunday, 3.—Ground covered with snow. Attended prayer-meeting **a little while** in the evening<sup>250</sup>.

<sup>251</sup>Monday, 4.—I suggested the name of James Arlington Bennett, of Long Island, as a candidate for Vice-President.

At early candle-light the First Presidency, Twelve Apostles, Temple Committee, and others, met in council.

I insert the minutes:—

<sup>252</sup>George Coray came in, and said he was sent by Lyman Wight, to get sheep, &c.<sup>253</sup>, to carry to the pine country, to receipt for it<sup>254</sup>, or agree to pay lumber.

President Joseph suggested that<sup>255</sup> it was best to let the Nauvoo House remain as it is, until the Temple is completed, as<sup>256</sup> we need the Temple more than anything else.

Elder Haws said there was some dissatisfaction about being sent from the Pinery without accounts, &c., and could not have credit on tithing; and one month at the Pinery is only called fifteen days here.

Pres[iden]t. Joseph<sup>257</sup> told them that they should have their number of days in full; "we will let the Nauvoo House stand until the Temple is done, and we will put all our forces on the Temple—turn all our lumber towards the Temple. **Stock the lumber we want for the Temple**,<sup>258</sup> and cover it up<sup>259</sup> this fall, and sell the remainder to get blasting powder, fuse, rope, steel<sup>260</sup>, &c.

["]And when the Temple is completed, no man shall pass the threshold, till he has paid five dollars; and every stranger shall pay five dollars towards liquidating the cash debts on the Temple<sup>261</sup>, and I will not have the house dirtied.

["]Let Woodworth go to the Pinery, take the things wanted, and bring back the lumber, and his wages go on as usual.

<sup>248.</sup> Source: Based on BYj [1840-44], vol. 3, 2 Mar. 1844 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.2).

<sup>249.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 3 (WR) (APR, 450), and CHOj 1:5, 3 Mar. 1844 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.12), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type.

<sup>250.</sup> JSj [1844], 3: omits "in the evening"

<sup>251.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 4 (WR) (APR, 450), with light editing.

<sup>252.</sup> *Source*: Following minutes (seven paragraphs) based on JSj [1844], 4-6 (WR) (APR, 451), as lightly edited in RDft 8:19-20 (US). Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type.

<sup>253.</sup> RDft 8:19: "and other things \&c/"

<sup>254.</sup> JSj [1844], 4: "to receipt it"; RDft 8:19: " $\frac{\text{rece[ip]ted}}{\text{to receipt for it}}$ " (US); DHC 6:230: replaces "it" with "them"

<sup>255.</sup> JSj [1844], 4: replaces "suggested that" with "said he did not know but"; RDft 8:19 (pencil): "said he did not know, but <suggested > that" (US)

<sup>256.</sup> JSj [1844], 4: omits "as"; RDft 8:19 (pencil): "<as>"

<sup>257.</sup> JSj [1844], 4, RDft 8:19: replace "Prest. Joseph" with "I"; Book E-1, 1902 (darker ink): " $\{\Prest.\ Joseph/\}$ " (LH)

<sup>258.</sup> JSj [1844], 5: adds bolded text; RDft 8:19 (pencil): "Stock the lumber we <what we> want for the temple"

<sup>259.</sup> JSj [1844], 5: omits "up"; RDft 8:19 (pencil): "<up>"; DHC 6:230: replaces "up" with "in"

<sup>260.</sup> JSj [1844], 5: omits "blasting" and "fuse, rope, steel"; RDft 8:19: "<blasting> powder <fuse, <rope> steel>" (prob. LH)

<sup>261.</sup> JSj [1844], 5: omits "toward liquidating ... Temple"; RDft 8:19: "<towards liquidating ... Temple>" (LH)

["]Let a special conference be called on the 6th of April, and all the elders called home who can come: let the people of this city come together on Thursday, at 9 o'clock in the morning. After two or three lectures, we will call on the people to fill up the box with liberal contributions, to procure cash materials for the Temple<sup>262</sup>."

<sup>263</sup>I instructed a letter to be written to James Arlington Bennett to consult, him on the subject of nominating him for Vice-President, Election in Nauvoo, start the Herald and give a \$1,000 [contribution] to the Temple. Temple committee offered to make [blasting] powder. Dr. Richards wrote [James] Arlington Bennet on his election to Vice Presidency. I here insert the letter:—

<sup>264</sup>Nauvoo, March 4, 1844.

Dear General:—Yours of the 1st of Feb[ruary]. was duly received, and produced the most pleasing sensations among your friends here<sup>265</sup>, and especially with the<sup>266</sup> Prophet, who said, "Tell General Bennett<sup>267</sup> I am perfectly satisfied with his explanation, and as to 'temper' I had not even thought of it."

You suggest that "brother Joseph's correspondence with<sup>268</sup> Mr. Calhoun would appear in some degree to contradict the noble sentiments<sup>269</sup> expressed in that able document" to yourself; but if you will <sup>270</sup>notice that <sup>271</sup>his communication to you <sup>272</sup>was written<sup>273</sup> as an individual, and that<sup>274</sup> to Mr. Calhoun, <sup>275</sup>as the voice of the<sup>276</sup> people he represents, I think you will discover no discrepancy; but<sup>277</sup> if so, tell me particulars without delay, and you shall have an explanation<sup>278</sup>.

I have recently mailed to you, Gen[eral]. Smith's ["]views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the U[nited]. S[tates].,["] which were drawn forth<sup>279</sup> in consequence of his friends<sup>280</sup> selecting him as a candidate for the next Presidency<sup>281</sup>, which he very reluctantly acquiesced<sup>282</sup> in, and it seems, would *not*, only to support a<sup>283</sup> favorite maxim, "the people must

<sup>262.</sup> JSj [1844], 6: omits "with liberal contributions ... Temple"; RDft 8:20: inserts "\with <liberal > contributions ... Temple/" at eoln (LH)

<sup>263.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 6 (WR) (APR, 451), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>264.</sup> Source: WRc, Bx 3, fd 2, 7-11.

<sup>265.</sup> MS letter, 1: "here in the "beautiful" City <here>"

<sup>266.</sup> MS letter, 1: "the prophet, \with/ the mind of the"; "with" w.o. "in"

<sup>267.</sup> MS letter, 1: "the General <Bennet>"

<sup>268.</sup> MS letter, 1: "Gen Smith's letter to <Brother Joseph's correspondence with>"

<sup>269.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "contained in his"

<sup>270.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "recollect it"

<sup>271.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "in"

<sup>272.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "he"

<sup>273.</sup> MS letter, 1: "writ\e/n<del>g for</del>"; "e" w.o. "i"

<sup>274.</sup> MS letter, 1: "in that of Mr \that/"; "that" w.o. "and"

<sup>275.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "as an"

<sup>276.</sup> MS letter, 1: "the" overwrites "a"

<sup>277.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<But>"

<sup>278.</sup> MS letter, 1: "for I have no time to re-read old letters < and you shall have an explanation>"

<sup>279.</sup> MS letter, 1:"from him <forth>"

<sup>280.</sup> MS letter, 1:"\His/ Mormons <Friends>";"His" w.o. "the"

<sup>281.</sup> MS letter, 1: "presiden\cy/ term"; "cy" w.o. "tial"

<sup>282.</sup> MS letter, 1: "accepted <acquiesced>"

<sup>283.</sup> MS letter, 1: "his <a>"

govern"<sup>284</sup>; but having once been prevailed upon to suffer his name to go abroad as a candidate, it is desirable to him of course, as to every <sup>285</sup>patriot, that those who have brought him forward should use all honorable means to sustain him in the canvass; and if I had not felt disposed to uphold him before the people, I never would have been the first to urge<sup>286</sup> his nomination; and during the short space, since his name has been published<sup>287</sup>, his friends have been<sup>288</sup> astonished at the flood of influence that is rolling <sup>289</sup>through the western States in his favor<sup>290</sup>, and in many instances where we might have least<sup>291</sup> expected it.

<sup>292</sup>I need not assert what<sup>293</sup> the wisest of the wise admit without argument, that Gen[eral]. Smith is the greatest statesman of the 19th century<sup>294</sup>; then why should not the nation <sup>295</sup>secure to themselves <sup>296</sup>his superior<sup>297</sup> talents, that they may rise higher and higher<sup>298</sup> in the estimation of the crowns of the nations<sup>299</sup>, and exalt themselves through his wisdom?<sup>300</sup>

Your friends here consider your letter about the Governorship of Illinois, just like "every man in your quarter, mere sport," child's sport<sup>301</sup>, for who would stoop to the play<sup>302</sup> of a <sup>303</sup>single State, when the WHOLE NATION was on the board? a cheaper game?

<sup>304</sup>Gen[eral]. Smith says if he must be President, James<sup>305</sup> Arlington Bennett must be Vice-President. To this<sup>306</sup> his friends are agreed, agreed in everything, and in this consists our power<sup>307</sup>; consequently, your name will appear in our next paper as our candidate for Vice-President of the United States. You will receive our undivided support, and we expect the same in return for Gen[eral]. Smith for the Presidency, and we will go it with the rush of a<sup>308</sup> whirlwind, so peaceful, so gentle, that it will not be felt by the nation<sup>309</sup> till the battle's<sup>310</sup> won.

```
284. MS letter, 1: "Majority < People > must \Govern/ so long as they go < Move > right"; "Govern" w.o. illegible
        285. MS letter, 2: adds "honor high minded"
        286. MS letter, 2 (pencil): "nominate him [illegible] <urge>"
        287. MS letter, 2: "gone forth, for the presidential chair <br/>been published>"
        288. MS letter, 2: "are <have been>"
       289. MS letter, 2: adds "forth in his favor"
        290. MS letter, 2: "<in his favor>"
       291. MS letter, 2: "least might have <least>"
        292. MS letter, 2: adds "That Gen Smith is the greatest statesman of the 19th century."
        293. MS letter, 2: "for <what>"
        294. MS letter, 2: "admit the fact without argument, <admit <without argument> that Gen Smith is the great-
est statesman of the 19th century, > and says the General, if I must be the President of the"
       295. MS letter, 2: adds "and the world have the be"
       296. MS letter, 2: adds "the"
        297. MS letter, 2: "exalted <Superior>"
       298. MS letter, 2: "so high\er/ <& higher>"
        299. MS letter, 2: "nation" overwrites "[world?]"
        300. MS letter, 2: "<and exalt themselves—through his wisdom?>"
        301. MS letter, 2: "child\rens/ sport < play> < innocent sport> " < childs sport>"
        302. MS letter, 2: "to the in earnest, to the game <play>"
        303. MS letter, 2: "state"
        304. MS letter, 2: adds "And I have the inform <honor to say to you that> say that I have been saluted by your
friends in Nauvoo. And"
       305. DHC 6:231: omits "James"
       306. MS letter, 2: "and <To this>"
       307. MS letter, 2: "<and in this consists our power>"
       308. MS letter, 3: "of a still <of a> peaceful <and gentle>"
        309. MS letter, 3:"<by the nation>"
       310. MS letter, 3: "victory's <Battles>"; DHC 6:232: "battle is"
```

<sup>311</sup>Dear General, if <sup>312</sup>glory, honor, force<sup>313</sup>, and power <sup>314</sup>in righteous principles<sup>315</sup> are desired by you, now is your time; you are safe in following the counsel of that man who holds communion with heaven; and I assure you, if you act well your part, *victory's the prize*.

Bro[ther]. Arlington<sup>316</sup>, look well to "Gen[eral]. Smith's Views," and his letter to Calhoun, and comprehend<sup>317</sup> him fully. Say to the *New York Herald*, now is the time for your exaltation, raise your standard high, sound your trumpet long and loud, support Gen[eral]. Smith and myself at the next election; and when we are exalted, you shall not be forgotten.<sup>318</sup>

Hold forth no false<sup>319</sup> shadows to honest men; yet<sup>320</sup> though there is but one *best* piece to the fatted calf, yet there are many *good* slices; therefore you will not forget the *Advertiser*, *Niles Register*, *Globe*, &c., &c.

Get up an electoral ticket; New York<sup>321</sup>, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and any State within your reach. Open your mouth wide, and God shall fill it: Cut your quill, and the ink shall flow freely.

Commence at your own mansion and stay not, only for electioneering purposes<sup>322</sup>, till by some popular route you reach Nauvoo; <sup>323</sup>and if you preach Mormonism, it will help you; at<sup>324</sup> every stage, tavern, boat and company, expose the wickedness of Martinism, in saying if "he is elected President, he will annihilate the Mormons," and proclaim the<sup>325</sup> sycophancy of the candidates generally, and uphold <sup>326</sup>Joseph <sup>327</sup>against every aspersion, and you shall triumph gloriously.

We have many things to say to you, which we must keep till we see you face to face.

All is right at Nauvoo. We are now fitting out a noble company to explore Oregon and California, and <sup>328</sup>progressing rapidly with the Great Temple, which we expect to roof this season, though there is yet a chance, at the "*eleventh hour*," for you to bring in your thousand, and secure your "penny".

On the 6th of April is our special conference at Nauvoo; I wish you could be here on that occasion, but the time is too<sup>329</sup> short. From that period our elders will go forth by hundreds

<sup>311.</sup> This paragraph added at bottom of Book E-1, 1903, and keyed to this location (RLC). In MS letter, the paragraph appears at the end of the letter (p. 4) and keyed to this location by an asterisk.

<sup>312.</sup> MS letter, 4: adds "force"

<sup>313.</sup> MS letter, 4: "<force>"

<sup>314.</sup> MS letter, 4: adds "founded"

<sup>315.</sup> MS letter, 4: "righteousness < principles>"

<sup>316.</sup> MS letter, 3: "Dear Gen. <Bro Arlington>"

<sup>317.</sup> MS letter, 3: "understand <comprehend>"

<sup>318.</sup> MS letter, 3: "Remember my friend Joseph & me in adversity and when luxury crowns our board you-shall partake of the [illegible] <raise your standard high <sound your trumpet long & loud,> support Gen Smith and myself at the next Election.—and when we are exalted, you shall <not> be remembered. forgotten.>"

<sup>319.</sup> MS letter, 3: "<false>"

<sup>320.</sup> MS letter, 3:"<yet>"

<sup>321.</sup> MS letter, 3: "in your state <New York>"

<sup>322.</sup> MS letter, 3: "<only for electioneering purposes>"

<sup>323.</sup> MS letter, 3: "without delay <with no de[lay]>, only for electioneering purposes"

<sup>324.</sup> MS letter, 3: "your mission < most of any thing [illegible] >, \at/"; "at" w.o. "that"

<sup>325.</sup> MS letter, 3: "sycophancy < wickedness of > Martin Van Buren & the <ism, in saying if he is elected president, he will annihilate the Mormons. & proclaim the >"

<sup>326.</sup> MS letter, 3: adds "the character of"

<sup>327.</sup> MS letter, 3: adds "Smith"

<sup>328.</sup> MS letter, 4: adds "making great exertions"

<sup>329.</sup> MS letter, 4: "<too>"

or thousands, and search the land, preaching religion and politics; and if God goes with them, who <sup>330</sup>can withstand their influence?

My words are the words of your friends here. Come and see us.

Brother Joseph's, <sup>331</sup>Young's and Bernhisel's <sup>332</sup>respects to you. Mrs. Richards' kind respects with mine to yourself, <sup>333</sup>and <sup>334</sup>to<sup>335</sup> all yours.

Most respectfully yours,

W[ILLARD]. RICHARDS.

<sup>336</sup>The Temple Committee proposed to establish a powder manufactory.

<sup>330.</sup> MS letter, 4: adds "shall hinder?"

<sup>331.</sup> MS letter, 4, reads "<Smiths>"; Book E-1, 1904: adds erasure

<sup>332.</sup> MS letter, 4: "send con[gratulations?]"

<sup>333.</sup> MS letter, 4: "and [two illegible words] < Mr Smith [illegible] > "; Book E-1, 1904: adds ellipses over erasure of three words

<sup>334.</sup> DHC 6:233: adds "love"

<sup>335.</sup> MS letter, 4, Book E-1, 1904: omit "to"

<sup>336.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 6 (WR) (APR, 451).

#### 10.

### JOSEPH SMITH'S DISCOURSE ON ELIAS March 1844

#### [DN 7 (3 June 1857): 97-98 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>Tuesday, [March] 5 [1844].—I saw Hiram<sup>2</sup> Kimball at Bryant's store, and gave him a lecture on his resisting the ordinances of the city, (by telling the captains of the steamboats they need not pay wharfage, &c.)

Rode out with Emma.

At 2 p.m., met with the city council. I called to see whether the laws of the city [regarding wharfage fees] should be maintained which the Council decided should be and Water Street be opened from my store to the northern limits of the city. Heard Dr. [Willard] Richards read his letter to [James] Arlington Bennet informing him of his nomination to the Vice Presidency, Dated 4th March. I copy the minutes.

#### <sup>3</sup>SPECIAL SESSION.<sup>4</sup>

March 5, 1844, 2 p.m.

Names of members called; quorum present.

Mayor stated that he had called the council, because that when the wharf-master called on the steamboats for wharfage, the officers of the<sup>5</sup> boats declined paying, assigning as a reason that<sup>6</sup> Hiram<sup>7</sup> Kimball and ——<sup>8</sup> Morrison had told them that they owned the land, and they need pay no wharfage to the city, and he called the council to know their views on the subject, as he had told Hiram<sup>9</sup> Kimball that he should see the ordinances executed; and if the boats<sup>10</sup> did

<sup>1.</sup> *Source*: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 7 (WR) (APR, 451), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>2.</sup> DHC 6:234: "Hyrum"

<sup>3.</sup> Source: NCCM, Rough Book [1844], 3-5 (WR) (NCHCM, 227-29). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>4.</sup> In Book E-1, 1904, "Special Session" appears between date and time.

<sup>5.</sup> NCCM [1844], 3 (pencil): "<officers of the>"

<sup>6.</sup> NCCM [1844], 3 (pencil): "because <assigning as a reason that>"

<sup>7.</sup> DHC 6:234: "Hyrum"

<sup>8.</sup> Book E-1, 1904: adds space for first name

<sup>9.</sup> NCCM [1844], 3 (pencil): inserts "\H./" at boln; Book E-1, 1904: "H\iram/" (pos. LH); DHC 6:234: "Hyrum"

<sup>10.</sup> NCCM [1844], 3: "they <boats>"

not pay<sup>11</sup> he should blow them up, and all those who upheld them in resisting the ordinances<sup>12</sup>. <sup>13</sup>"Every measure is taken to palsy the hands of the officers of the city, and I want to know how to remedy the evil, or whether I shall<sup>14</sup> abandon the ordinances, &c."

Ald[erman]. Harris said that it was the mayor's duty to enforce the ordinances of the city, and that no man has a right to build a wharf, without leave from the city council<sup>15</sup>.

Coun[cilor]. Phelps suggested the propriety of licensing those who owned <sup>16</sup>wharves <sup>17</sup>, to collect a tax for the landing of the boat.

Ald[erman]. Wells concurred.

Mayor said the land on the water's edge was a street.

Ald[erman]. Wells suggested the propriety of having the street worked as soon as may be. Coun[cilor]. <sup>18</sup> Phelps said <sup>19</sup> that <sup>20</sup> if Water street extended <sup>21</sup> round the city, then Kimball had been constructing a nuisance.

Mayor spoke in<sup>22</sup> explanation, and said that Kimball said<sup>23</sup> if the city would make a wharf, he would give up what he had done.

Coun[cilor]. O[rson]. Spencer said he wished the mayor to execute the law of the city.

Coun[cilor]. B[righam]. Young concurred.

Coun[cilor]. W. W. Phelps proposed that Water street be worked the whole length.

Coun[cilor]. Taylor said, "I<sup>24</sup> go in for executing the laws of the city."

Marshal stated that<sup>25</sup> Morrison said he had a bond for a deed to low water mark, and the city could not take his personal rights, and he objected to the boats paying wharfage.

Coun[cilor]. O[rson]. Pratt said if Kimball or Morrison, or any one else, has built wharves<sup>26</sup> since that street was laid out, they could get no damage<sup>27</sup>.

Coun[cilor]. Daniel Spencer considered the ordinance passed good, and it<sup>28</sup> ought to be enforced.

Coun[cilor]. H[yrum]. Smith, believed it was our duty to stand up to the ordinances.

Motioned<sup>29</sup> by B[righam]. Young <sup>30</sup>that the city council instruct the Mayor, to order the supervisor to open Water street from Joseph Smith's store north, to the north line of the city<sup>31</sup>.

```
11. NCCM [1844], 3: "<pay>"
```

<sup>12.</sup> NCCM [1844], 3: "<in resisting the ordinances>"

<sup>13.</sup> NCCM [1844], 3: adds "and"; Book E-1, 1904: adds erasure

<sup>14.</sup> NCCM [1844], 3: "he should <I shall>"

<sup>15.</sup> NCCM [1844], 3 (pencil): inserts "\council/"at eoln

<sup>16.</sup> NCCM [1844], 3: adds "land or"

<sup>17.</sup> Book E-1, 1904 (darker ink): "whar{\ves/}" (US)

<sup>18.</sup> NCCM [1844], 3 (pencil): inserts "\Co./" at boln

<sup>19.</sup> NCCM [1844], 3 (pencil): "<said>"

<sup>20.</sup> DHC 6:235: omits "that"

<sup>21.</sup> NCCM [1844], 3 (pencil): "was existed all <extended>"

<sup>22.</sup> NCCM [1844], 3:"by <in>"

<sup>23.</sup> NCCM [1844], 3: "<that Kimball said>"

<sup>24.</sup> NCCM [1844], 4: "he \I/"

<sup>25.</sup> NCCM [1844], 4: "<that>"

<sup>26.</sup> NCCM [1844], 4: "warfs"; Book E-1, 1905 (darker ink): "whar{\ves/}" (US)

<sup>27.</sup> DHC 6:235: "damages"

<sup>28.</sup> NCCM [1844], 4: omits "it"; Book E-1, 1905: "\it/" (US)

<sup>29.</sup> DHC 6:235: "Moved"

<sup>30.</sup> NCCM [1844], 4: "(See Motion) that water street be"

<sup>31.</sup> NCCM [1844], 4 (pencil): inserts "\store < north> to the North line of the city Com/" at eoln

Coun[cilor]. Phelps approved of <sup>32</sup> the motion, that the road might be cleared from rafts, and the rafts might also pay license.

Coun[cilor]. Warrington said the upper stone house was in the street.

Mayor said that was the greatest nuisance there was in the street.

Coun[cilor].<sup>33</sup> O[rson]. Spencer was in favor<sup>34</sup>.

Motion carried unanimously.

### Phelps said he had read the decision the post master general,<sup>35</sup> that a letter has no right to go out of a vessel until it has passed the Post Office.

The Governor having refused to issue commissions to the aldermen elect of the city, Councilor Whitney inquired who were aldermen.<sup>36</sup>

The Mayor explained, that if the Governor refuses to grant a commission, it does not disqualify the officer elect from acting in his office; consequently there is no virtue in the commission, but the virtue of the office consists in the election.

Coun[cilor]. Young thought they were aldermen all the time, or none of the time.

Mayor said he wanted all the aldermen to be added to the city council.

Moved by O[rson] Spencer<sup>37</sup> that a committee <sup>38</sup>be appointed to revise the list of members of this Council.

B[righam]. Young Spoke. Coun[cilor] Taylor spoke of the corruption of the Clerk, or Governor in granting one commission and denying the other Elect.

Counselor Phelps <sup>39</sup>proposed to add all the old Alderman and save litigation.

O[rson]. Pratt read from the Charter.

Motioned and carried that all the old aldermen be added to the list of members of this Council.

Alderman Wells said he conside red the election made the aldermen, and not the commission

Mayor said if  $he^{40}$  had been elected alderman, and filed  $his^{41}$  bonds,  $he^{42}$  would act as councilor and magistrate.

Adjourned to the next regular meeting. 4 P.M.

<sup>43</sup>Noah Packard sent a memorial to the Governor, Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts, his native State; <sup>44</sup>setting forth in detail the sufferings of the Saints in Missouri, and their expulsion from that State, <sup>45</sup>he concludes by a patriotic appeal which we copy.

<sup>32.</sup> NCCM [1844], 4 (pencil): "\of/"

<sup>33.</sup> NCCM [1844], 4: replaces "Coun[cilor]." with "A[lderman]"

<sup>34.</sup> DHC 6:235: adds "[i.e., of the motion to open Water street]"

<sup>35.</sup> NCCM [1844], 4: "<the decision the post master general>"

<sup>36.</sup> NCCM [1844], 4, replaces this paragraph with the following: "The question arose by N[ewel] K. Whitney. & W[illia]m Marks, who were Aldermen".

<sup>37.</sup> NCCM [1844], 5: "<by O Spencer>"

<sup>38.</sup> NCCM [1844], 5: adds "of"

<sup>39.</sup> NCCM [1844], 5: adds "spoke"

<sup>40.</sup> NCCM [1844], 5: "he" overwrites "I"

<sup>41.</sup> NCCM [1844], 5: "his" overwrites "my"

<sup>42.</sup> NCCM [1844], 5: "he" overwrites "I"

<sup>43.</sup> Source: Based on "House—No. 64. Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Memorial," T&S 5 (1 May 1844): 514-19.

<sup>44.</sup> Book E-1, 1906: adds "after"

<sup>45.</sup> Remainder of paragraph canceled in Book E-1, 1906, and omitted in DN and DHC.

<sup>46</sup>Your memorialist comes to your honorable body, to tell you that the civil and religious liberties sought for and found by the pilgrims on Plymouth rock, and maintained by the blood of our fathers, have been sacrificed by relentless tyrants, upon the altar of jealousy. He comes to tell you, like Babylon of old, our nation is assailed by the jealous tyrant of mankind at one end; and that your assistance is wanted in the national hall, in defense of the temple of freedom, erected by your fathers.—He comes to tell your honorable body, that the sons of his native state are denied the liberty of conscience and the right of protection under the wide-spread wings of our national escutcheon, and that the blood of the patriotic heroes of the revolution who have been slain in Missouri for enjoying their religious rights, the boon of heaven to man, is crying from the ground; and with the dying groans of ravished females and infant innocence, are ascending with the prayers of the widows of the patriots of the revolution, into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Yea, their blood, their groans, their tears and the prayers of suffering innocence, together with the prayers of your memorialist, are now crying in the ears of your honorable body, through this, my silent messenger, saying "redress"; redress the wrongs of your memorialist, and those of his brethren, and wipe disgrace from the stained banner of our national republic; and perpetrate the glorious laurels so nobly won to my native state, when on Bunker's Hill, our fathers in unequal combat first sustained the shock, and dared assert the rights of man amidst the clatter of clashing steel, the blaze of arms, and the more deep-toned thunder of the tyrant's cannon. May the departed spirits of the brave Warren and his associates, whisper in the ears of your honorable body, saying, redress the wrongs of the innocent; and maintain by legislation, those rights of man so dearly bought by our blood that flowed on Bunker's height. Let not the names of a Hancock and Adams, written by their own hands, and attached to the declaration of independence, be obliterated or dimmed by the slackness or timidity of the sons of Massachusetts.

Under all these circumstances your memorialist prays to be heard by your honorable body, touching all the matters of his memorial; saying to you, that except our prayers are heard, our rights restored and maintained, and ample redress made, as far as it can be by the legislative powers of the United States of America, <sup>47</sup>wrath of an offended God will be poured out upon the whole nation; and her statesmen and legislatures shall be awakened from their dreams, by a voice in their ears, saying thou art no longer worthy to wield the destinies of the brave, noble, patriotic and virtuous sons and daughters of Columbia's soil.

And as in duty bound your memorialist will ever pray.

NOAH PACKARD.

Russell, Mass., March 5, 1844.

 $[...]^{49}$ 

<sup>50</sup>Wednesday, 6 —Went to my office, and thence with brother Phelps to Mr. Bryant's, to see him about his uniting with Hiram Kimball and others to resist the ordinances of the city.

<sup>51</sup>The *Neighbor* publishes the name of James Arlington Bennett as candidate for Vice-President.

<sup>46.</sup> The last part of Noah Packard's memorial was copied into Book E-1, 1906, but subsequently canceled and not published in *DN* or DHC. *Source*: *T&S* 5 (1 May 1844): 518-19.

<sup>47.</sup> Book E-1, 1906: adds "the"

<sup>48.</sup> Book E-1, 1906: "legislators"

<sup>49.</sup> There are three blank lines at top of Book E-1, 1907. The entry for this day in RDft 8:21 has following penciled insertion: "a vessel sails from L[iver]pool with Saints (leave a line or two blank for it)." On 5 Mar. 1844, the *Glasgow* left Liverpool with 150 passengers (cf. *T&S* 5 [1 June 1844]: 559).

<sup>50.</sup> Source: Closely follows JSj [1844], 8 (WR) (APR, 452).

<sup>51.</sup> Source: Based on NN 1 (6 Mar. 1844): [178].

#### [DN 7 (10 June 1857): 105-7]

<sup>52</sup>Thursday, 7.—A splendid day, <sup>53</sup> wind from the southwest.

#### <sup>54</sup>MINUTES OF A GENERAL MEETING. <sup>55</sup>

<sup>56</sup>[Reported by Elders Willard Richards and Wilford Woodruff.]

 $^{57}$ A vast assembly of Saints met at the Temple of the Lord at 9 o'clock a.m., by a special appointment of President Joseph  $^{58}$  Smith, for the purpose of advancing the progress of the Temple, &c.

The Patriarch, Hyrum Smith, was present, also<sup>59</sup> of the <sup>60</sup>Twelve Apostles, B[righam]. Young, H[eber]. C. Kimball, P[arley]. P. Pratt, O[rson]. Pratt, W[illard]. Richards, W[ilford]. Woodruff, John Taylor, and Geo[rge]. A. Smith<sup>61</sup>; also the Temple Committee, and about<sup>62</sup> eight thousand Saints.

The Chorister was called to the stand by president Young.<sup>63</sup> A hymn was <sup>64</sup>sung by the choir<sup>65</sup>; prayer by Elder<sup>66</sup> P[arley]. P. Pratt, when another hymn was sung.

<sup>67</sup>Elder Young arose and said the Patriarch was near.

<sup>68</sup>Patriarch Hyrum Smith took the stand and said<sup>69</sup>, "The object of the meeting is<sup>70</sup> to stir up your minds by way of remembrance. It is necessary to have a starting-point, which<sup>71</sup> is to build the Temple.

["]With the assistance of the sisters, we expect to get the nails and glass, and with the assistance of the brethren, we expect to do the rest. I will proclaim in public and in private, that the sisters bought the glass and nails by penny subscription. Choose ye this day whom ye will serve.

<sup>52.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:5, 7 Mar. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>53.</sup> Book E-1, 1907 (darker ink): "<day,>" (LH)

<sup>54.</sup> Source: RDft 8:21 instructs scribe to "see Grimshaw's hand writing 21a & copy" (TB), which is now located in JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, 1-17 (JG). This is an amalgamation of JSj [1844], 9-25 (WR) (APR, 452-57; WJS, 321-23, 325-26), WWj, vol. 4, 7 Mar. 1844 (WWj 2:353-59; WJS, 323-25, 326), and a partial and lightly edited version copied from WWj into NSB, 25-30 (LH), about 1854-55. Cf. NN 1 (13 Mar. 1844): [182]. JG's version of the minutes was read to BY on 18 Sept. 1855 by TB, and approved (CHOj 18:140). For transcription, see vol. 7, I.8, under date.

<sup>55.</sup> DHC 6:236: adds "in the Interest of the Temple"

<sup>56.</sup> Book E-1, 1907, removes brackets.

<sup>57.</sup> Following three paragraphs from WWj.

<sup>58.</sup> WWj: omits "Joseph"; MS sermon, 1: "<Joseph>"

<sup>59.</sup> MS sermon, 1:"<The Patriarch ... also>"

<sup>60.</sup> MS sermon, 1: adds "quorum of the <following were present>"

<sup>61.</sup> MS sermon, 1: "were present; < Apostles namely B. Young ... Geo A. Smith>"

<sup>62.</sup> WWj: replaces "about" with "six or"; MS sermon, 1: "from six to <about>"

<sup>63.</sup> Bolded text from omitted portion of WWj. MS sermon, 1: adds "The Choir was called to the stand by President Young."

<sup>64.</sup> MS sermon, 1: adds "then"

<sup>65.</sup> WWj: omits "by the choir"; MS sermon, 1: "<by the Choir> and"

<sup>66.</sup> MS sermon, 1:"<Elder>"

<sup>67.</sup> Bolded text from omitted portion of WWj.

<sup>68.</sup> Source: HS's sermon was taken from NSB, 25 (LH).

<sup>69.</sup> MS sermon, 1: "After remarks by Elder Young [see sermon book page 25] < Patriarch Hyrum Smith took the Stand and remarked <said>: The object < [see sermon book page 25] > upon it.>"

<sup>70.</sup> NSB, 25: "was <is>"

<sup>71.</sup> WWj: omits "which"; NSB, 25: "<which>"

["]We shall call upon this vast multitude for a donation to buy powder and fuse-rope<sup>72</sup> to blast the rocks in the quarry<sup>73</sup>. We want the brethren to at least<sup>74</sup> do as much as the sisters.

["]We do not intend to finish the Nauvoo House this season, but to take all the hands and and finish the Temple this summer, or the walls of it, and get the roof on by December, and do off the inside next winter, and about a year from this spring we will dedicate it.

["]We can do anything we undertake; we have power, and we can do great things. In five years to come, the work will progress more than it has done for ten years past.

["]Isaiah said we should perform a marvelous work and a wonder. I don't wonder he said so, if he saw this vast multitude, and I think this people is abundantly able to build this Temple, and much depends upon it for<sup>76</sup> our endowments and sealing powers, and many blessings depend upon it.["]

<sup>77</sup>President Joseph Smith then arrived, took the stand<sup>78</sup>, arose<sup>79</sup>, and, after requesting Orson Pratt to come to the stand and take his post, said:—

<sup>80</sup>["]I do not know whether the object of the meeting has been told you<sup>81</sup> or not. I apologize for not coming sooner.

["]I have had so much on my mind since I saw you that I hardly know where to begin or what to say; but one of the grand objects I had in view in calling this meeting was, to make a few remarks relative to the laws and ordinances of the city<sup>82</sup>, and the building of <sup>83</sup> the Temple.

["]The reason I want to speak of the city ordinances<sup>84</sup> is, that the officers have difficulty in administering them<sup>85</sup>.

["]We are republicans, and wish to have the people rule; but they must<sup>86</sup> rule in righteousness. Some would complain with what God himself would do.

["]The laws or ordinances<sup>87</sup> are enacted by the city council<sup>88</sup> on petition of the people<sup>89</sup>, and they can all be repealed if they wish it, and petition accordingly<sup>90</sup>.

["]At all events<sup>91</sup> the people ought not to complain of the officers; but if they are not satisfied, they should<sup>92</sup> complain to the lawmakers by petition<sup>93</sup>.

```
72. DHC 6:236: "fuse-ropes"
```

<sup>73.</sup> WWj: omits "to blast the rocks in the quarry"

<sup>74.</sup> WWj: omits "at least"; NSB, 25: "<at least>"

<sup>75.</sup> WWj: omits "take all the hands and"; NSB, 25: "<take all the hands and>"

<sup>76.</sup> WWj: omits "for"; NSB, 25: "<it for>"

<sup>77.</sup> This paragraph based on WWj.

<sup>78.</sup> MS sermon, 1:"<then arrived, took the stand, and>"; taken from WWj.

<sup>79.</sup> WWj, NSB, 25: add "in the midst of the Saints"

<sup>80.</sup> Following eight paragraphs from WWj.

<sup>81.</sup> WWj, NSB, 25: omit "you"; MS sermon, 1: "<you>"

<sup>82.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: omit "of the city"; MS sermon, 1: "<of the city>"

<sup>83.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: omit "the" and "of"; MS sermon, 1: "<the> building <of>"

<sup>84.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: replace "city ordinances" with "laws"; MS sermon, 1: "laws <city ordinances>"

<sup>85.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: replace "them" with "the laws"

<sup>86.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: omit "they must"

<sup>87.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: omit "or ordinances"

<sup>88.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: omit "by the city council"

<sup>89.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: omit "of the people"

<sup>90.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: omit "and petition accordingly"; MS sermon, 1: "<and petition accordingly>"

<sup>91.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: replace "At all events" with "but"

<sup>92.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: replace "if they are not satisfied ... should" with "but"

<sup>93.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: omit "by petition"; MS sermon, 1: "<br/>by petition>"

["]I am instructed by the city council to tell this people, that if there is any law<sup>94</sup> passed by us<sup>95</sup> which you dislike<sup>96</sup>, we will repeal it; for we are your servants. Those who<sup>97</sup> complain of our rights and charters <sup>98</sup> are wicked and corrupt<sup>99</sup>, and the devil is in them.

["]The reason I called up this subject<sup>100</sup> is, we have a gang of <sup>101</sup> simple <sup>102</sup>fellows here <sup>103</sup> who do not know where their elbows or heads are; if you preach virtue to them, they will oppose that <sup>104</sup>; or if you preach a Methodist God to them, they will oppose that <sup>105</sup>; and the same if you preach <sup>106</sup> anything else; and if there is any case tried by the authorities of Nauvoo<sup>107</sup>, they want it appealed to Carthage to the circuit court <sup>108</sup>. Mr. Orsimus <sup>109</sup> E<sup>110</sup> Bostwick's case had to go to Carthage; our lawyers will appeal<sup>111</sup> anything to the circuit court<sup>112</sup>.

<sup>113</sup>["]I want the people to speak out, and say whether such men should be tolerated and supported in our midst; and <sup>114</sup> I want to know if the citizens will sustain me when my hands are raised to heaven for and in behalf of <sup>115</sup> the people.

<sup>116</sup>["]From this time I design to bring such characters who act against the interests of the city, before a committee of the whole<sup>117</sup>, and I will have the voice of the people, which is republican, and is likely to be the voice of God; and as long as I have a tongue to speak, I will expose the iniquity of the lawyers and wicked men.

<sup>118</sup>["]I fear not their boiling over, nor the boiling over of hell—their thunders nor the <sup>119</sup> lightning of their forked tongues <sup>120</sup>.

<sup>94.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: replace "there is any law" with "you do not like any law we have"; MS sermon, 1: "<del>you do not like</del> <there is any law>"

<sup>95.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: omit "by us"; MS sermon, 1: "them <us>"

<sup>96.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: omit "which you dislike"

<sup>97.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: replace "Those who" with "Any that"

<sup>98.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: add "it is because they"

<sup>99.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: omit "and corrupt"; MS sermon, 1: "<and corrupt>"

<sup>100.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: "called it up" and omit "this subject"

<sup>101.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26, MS sermon, 1: omit "gang of"; Book E-1, 1908 (different ink): "<gang of>" (LH)

<sup>102.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26, MS sermon, 1: add "gang of"; Book E-1, 1908: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>103.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: omit "here"

<sup>104.</sup> MS sermon, 1:"you <that>"

<sup>105.</sup> MS sermon, 2: "you <that>"

<sup>106.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: replace "and the same if you preach" with "or"

<sup>107.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: omit "by the authorities of Nauvoo"; MS sermon, 2: "<br/>by the authorities of Nauvoo>"

<sup>108.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: omit "to the circuit court"; MS sermon, 2: "<to the Circuit Court>"

<sup>109.</sup> MS sermon, 2: "O."; Book E-1, 1908: "O<rsimus>" (pos. LH)

<sup>110.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: omit "Orsamus F."

<sup>111.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: replace "appeal" with "send"; MS sermon, 2: "send <earry > <appeal>" (TB)

<sup>112.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: replace "the circuit court" with "Carthage"; MS sermon, 2: "Carthage < the Circuit Court>" (TB)

<sup>113.</sup> First sentence from JSj [1844], 10; remainder of paragraph from WWj.

<sup>114.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: omit "I want the people ... and"

<sup>115.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: replace "and in behalf of" with "for"; MS sermon, 2: "<and in behalf of>" (TB)

<sup>116.</sup> First sentence mixes JSj [1844], 10, and WWj; remainder of paragraph from WWj.

<sup>117.</sup> In WWj, NSB, 26, preceding sentence reads: "I will araign the person before the people that act against the interest of the City." JSj [1844], 10: "From this time I design to bring such characters before the committee of a whole."

<sup>118.</sup> This paragraph from WWj.

<sup>119.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: replace "nor the" with "and forked"; MS sermon, 2: "and forked <nor the>" (TB)

<sup>120.</sup> WWj, NSB, 26: omit "of their forked tongues"; MS sermon, 2: "<of their forked tongues>" (TB)

<sup>121</sup>["]If these things cannot be put a stop to, I will give such men into the hands of the Missouri<sup>122</sup> mob; the hands of the officers of the city<sup>123</sup> falter and are palsied by their conduct<sup>124</sup>.

<sup>125</sup>["]There is another person I will speak about; he is a Mormon, a certain man who lived here before we came here; the two first letters of his name are Hiram Kimball; <sup>126</sup>when a man is baptized and becomes a member of the church, I have a right to talk about him, and reprove him in public or private, whenever it is necessary, or he deserves it<sup>127</sup>.

<sup>128</sup>["]When the city passed an ordinance to collect wharfage from <sup>129</sup> steamboats, he goes and tells the captains of the steamboats that he owned the landing, and that they need not pay wharfage <sup>130</sup>.

<sup>131</sup>["]I despise the man who will betray you with a kiss,<sup>132</sup> and I am determined to use up such<sup>133</sup> men, if they will not stop their operations. If this is not true, let him come forward, and throw off the imputation.

<sup>134</sup>["]When they appeal<sup>135</sup> to Carthage, I will appeal to this people, which is the highest court. I despise the lawyers who hag[gle]<sup>136</sup> on <sup>137</sup>lawsuits, and I would rather die a thousand deaths than<sup>138</sup> appeal to Carthage.

<sup>139</sup>["]Kimball and Morrison say they own the wharves, but the fact is<sup>140</sup> the city own them, 64 feet from high water mark; from the printing office to the north limits of the city is public ground, as<sup>141</sup> Water street runs along the beach, and the beach<sup>142</sup> belongs to the city, and not to individuals.

143["]Another thing: I want to speak about the lawyers of this city. I have good feelings

<sup>121.</sup> This paragraph omitted in NSB, 26, but inserted interlinearly in MS sermon, 2 (JG), from JSj [1844], 10.

<sup>122.</sup> JSj [1844], 10: omits "Missouri"; MS sermon, 2: "<Missouri>"

<sup>123.</sup> JSj [1844], 10: "<city>"

<sup>124.</sup> JSj [1844], 10: inserts "\by the con/=<duct of such men.>" at eoln

<sup>125.</sup> NSB, 26: omits this paragraph, the first two sentences of which are from JSj [1844], 10-11.

<sup>126.</sup> Remainder of paragraph deleted in NSB, 26, but added interlinearly in MS sermon, 2 (TB).

<sup>127.</sup> Book E-1, 1908 (different ink): "<whenever ... it>" (JG)

<sup>128.</sup> This paragraph from JSj [1844], 11. NSB, 26, reads: "I despise the man that will betray you with a kiss. Here is Hiram Kimball [who] has set at naught the ordinances of the city, by saying that he owns the wharf, and steam boats need not pay them."

<sup>129.</sup> JSj [1844], 11: replaces "collect wharfage from" with "tax"; MS sermon, 2: "tax <collect wharfage from>"

<sup>130.</sup> JSj [1844], 11: replaces "wharfage" with "tax"; MS sermon, 2: "tax < wharfage >"

<sup>131.</sup> First part of paragraph ("I despise ... kiss") from WWj, remainder from JSj [1844], 11.

<sup>132.</sup> NSB, 26: moves "I despise the man ... kiss" to beginning of previous paragraph and omits remainder of this paragraph

<sup>133.</sup> DHC 6:238: replaces "such" with "these"

<sup>134.</sup> This paragraph from JSj [1844], 11, except last part ("I would rather die ... Carthage"), which is based on WWj. In WWj and NSB, 26, first part of paragraph read: "Wherefore this body is the highest court, what appeal to Carthage?"

<sup>135.</sup> JSj [1844], 11: "the\y/ people"

<sup>136.</sup> JSj [1844], 11: "lay" or "lag"; MS sermon, 2: "lay < hag>"; DHC 6:238: "haggle"

<sup>137.</sup> MS sermon, 2: "their"

<sup>138.</sup> MS sermon, 2: "not <rather die a thousand deaths than>"

<sup>139.</sup> This paragraph is from JSj [1844], 11, except last part ("Water street ... individuals") from WWj. In WWj and NSB, 26, first part of paragraph read: "Kimball nor Morrison does not own the wharfage."

<sup>140.</sup> JSj [1844], 11: omits "the fact is"; MS sermon, 2: "<the fact is>"

<sup>141.</sup> JSj [1844], 11: omits "is public ground, as"; MS sermon, 2: "<is public ground, as>"

<sup>142.</sup> MS sermon, 2: "<the beach>"

<sup>143.</sup> First part of paragraph ("Another thing ... feelings") from JSj [1844], 12, remainder from WWj. In JSj, second part of paragraph reads: "and I will reprove them and the prophets always did say wo unto you ye lawyers."

towards them<sup>144</sup>; nevertheless<sup>145</sup> I will reprove the lawyers and doctors anyhow. Jesus did, and every prophet has, and if I am a prophet I shall do it, at any rate, I shall do it, for I profess to be a prophet.

<sup>146</sup>["]The maritime<sup>147</sup> laws <sup>148</sup>of the United States have ceded up the right <sup>149</sup>to regulate all<sup>150</sup> tolls, wharfage, &c.<sup>151</sup>, to the respective corporations who have jurisdiction<sup>152</sup>, and not to individuals.

<sup>153</sup>["]Our lawyers have read so little that they are ignorant of this; they have never stuck their noses into a book on maritime law in their lives, and as Pope says,

"Shallow draughts intoxicate the brain; Drink deep, or taste not the pierian spring<sup>154</sup>."

 $^{155}$ ["]Our city lawyers $^{156}$  are fools to undertake to practice law, when they know nothing about it.

 $[...]^{157}$ 

<sup>158</sup>["]I want from this time forth every fool to stay at home, and let<sup>159</sup> the steamboats and captains alone. No vessel could land anywhere, if subject to individual laws. <sup>160</sup>

<sup>161</sup>["]The corporation owns the streets of the city, and have<sup>162</sup> as much<sup>163</sup> right to tax the boats to make wharves, as to tax citizens to make roads. Let every man in this city stay at home, and let the boat-captains, peace-officers, and everybody alone.

<sup>164</sup>["]How are we to keep peace in the city, defend ourselves against mobs, <sup>165</sup> and keep innocent blood from being shed? By striking a blow at everything that rises up in disorder.

<sup>166</sup>["]I will wage an eternal warfare <sup>167</sup> with those that oppose me while I am laboring

<sup>144.</sup> JSj [1844], 12: omits "towards them"; MS sermon, 2: "<towards them>"

<sup>145.</sup> NSB, 26: omits "Another thing ... nevertheless"; taken from JSj [1844], 12.

<sup>146.</sup> The paragraph amalgamates WWi and JSi [1844], 12.

<sup>147.</sup> WWj, NSB, 27: omit "maritime"; taken from JSj [1844], 12.

<sup>148.</sup> WWj, NSB, 27: add "and constitution"

<sup>149.</sup> WWj, NSB, 27: add "to corporate cities"

<sup>150.</sup> MS sermon, 3: "<right to regulate all>"; based on WWj.

<sup>151.</sup> WWj, NSB, 27: "all wharfage of shipping, steam boats &c."

<sup>152.</sup> WWj, NSB, 27: replace "to the respective ... jurisdiction" with "all laws of taxation are subject to the city"

<sup>153.</sup> This paragraph omitted in WWj and NSB, 27, but added at *eoln* and interlinearly in MS sermon, 3 (JG); based on JSj [1844], 12, which reads: "Shallow drafts intoxicate the brain &c."

<sup>154.</sup> MS sermon, 3: "bowl <spring>"

<sup>155.</sup> This paragraph omitted in NSB, 27, but added interlinearly in MS sermon, 3 (JG).

<sup>156.</sup> MS sermon, 3: "Men < City lawyers>"

<sup>157.</sup> MS sermon, 3:"[Look at the Recorder] | [Leave two lines]"; Book E-1, 1909, has two blank lines with diagonal line running through it.

<sup>158.</sup> First sentence from WWj, second from JSj [1844], 12.

<sup>159.</sup> MS sermon, 3: "<let>"

<sup>160.</sup> NSB, 27: omits "No vessel could ... laws"; taken from JSj [1844], 12.

<sup>161.</sup> This paragraph is from JSj [1844], 12-13.

<sup>162.</sup> DHC 6:239: replaces "have" with "has"

<sup>163.</sup> JSj [1844], 12: replaces "as much" with "a"; MS sermon, 3: "a <as much>"

<sup>164.</sup> First part of paragraph ("How ... mobs") is from JSj [1844], 13, last part from WWj.

<sup>165.</sup> First part of sentence in WWj and NSB, 27, read: "How can we keep off mobs ..."

<sup>166.</sup> First part of paragraph ("I will wage ... city") from WWj, remainder from JSj [1844], 13.

<sup>167.</sup> NSB, 27: "was"; MS sermon, 3: "war<fare>"

in behalf of the city. <sup>168</sup>I will disgrace every man by publishing him on the house top, who will not be still, and mind his <sup>169</sup> own business. Let them entirely <sup>170</sup> alone, and they will use <sup>171</sup> themselves up.

<sup>172</sup>["]I was visited by an old gentleman this morning, who told me<sup>173</sup> that the spirit of mobocracy was about subsiding. A couple of merchants in this city (I will not tell their names,) have told the country<sup>174</sup> people not to<sup>175</sup> bring butter, eggs, &c., to Nauvoo for sale<sup>176</sup>; at least, so the people abroad say.

["]Now, if they will not let the people bring <sup>177</sup>their produce, the people will not buy their goods; and the result will be, the merchants will get a <sup>178</sup> spirit of mobocracy <sup>179</sup>.

<sup>180</sup>["]Another<sup>181</sup> man, (I will not call his name) has been writing to the *New York Tribune* some of the most disgraceful things possible to name<sup>182</sup>. He says in that article<sup>183</sup>, that there are a great many donations<sup>184</sup> to<sup>185</sup> the Temple, which have been appropriated<sup>186</sup> to<sup>187</sup> other purposes.

<sup>188</sup>["]His object evidently was to stigmatize the trustee, and excite<sup>189</sup> prejudice against us abroad. <sup>190</sup> But I pledge myself that <sup>191</sup>whoever has contributed <sup>192</sup> any old shoes, harness, horses, wagons <sup>193</sup>, or anything else, if he will come forward <sup>194</sup> I will show <sup>195</sup>that every farthing is <sup>196</sup> on the book, and has been appropriated for the building of the Temple.

- 168. Remainder of paragraph deleted in NSB, 27.
- 169. MS sermon, 3: "their <his>"
- 170. MS sermon, 3: "<eternally>"
- 171. MS sermon, 3: "to use < and they will use>"
- 172. This and next paragraph omitted in WWj and NSB, 27; taken from JSj [1844], 13.
- 173. JSj [1844], 13:"<who told me>"
- 174. MS sermon, 3: "<country>" (TB)
- 175. MS sermon, 3: "they need not <to>"
- 176. JSj [1844], 13: omits "for sale"; MS sermon, 3: "<for sale>"
- 177. JSj [1844], 13, MS sermon, 3: add "in"
- 178. MS sermon, 3: replaces "a" with "the"
- 179. JSj [1844], 13: omits "and the result ... mobocracy"
- 180. First sentence of the paragraph from JSj [1844], 14, second amalgamates JSj and WWj.
- 181. NSB, 27: replaces "Another" with "A."
- 182. NSB, 27: omits "some of the most ... name"
- 183. NSB, 27: omits "in that article"
- 184. MS sermon, 3: "appropriations < donations>"
- 185. WWj, NSB, 27: replace "there are a great many donations to" with "much has been appropriated for the building"
  - 186. Book E-1, 1910 (darker ink): "app{\ropriate/}d" (prob. RLC)
  - 187. WWj, NSB, 27: replace "appropriated to" with "spent for"; MS sermon, 3: "spent for <appropriated to>"
  - 188. First sentence of paragraph from JSj [1844], 14, remainder from WWj.
  - 189. MS sermon, 3: "turn <excite>"
  - 190. NSB, 27: omits "His object ... abroad"
  - 191. MS sermon, 3: adds "any"
- 192. NSB, 27: replaces "whoever has contributed" with "any man that has paid"; MS sermon, 3: "paid <contributed>"
  - 193. WWj, NSB, 27: omit "wagons"; taken from JSj [1844], 14.
  - 194. WWj, NSB, 27: omit "forward"
  - 195. WWj, NSB, 27: add "him on Book"
  - 196. WWj, NSB, 27: replace "is" with "has gone"

<sup>197</sup>["]I pledge myself that <sup>198</sup> if he finds the first farthing that we cannot show where it has been appropriated, I will give him my head for a football.

<sup>199</sup>["]He also states that the Temple cannot be built, it costs so much: who does not know that we can put the roof on the building this season, if we have a mind to<sup>200</sup>? By turning all the means from<sup>201</sup> the Nauvoo House, and doubling our diligence, we can do it.

 $^{202}$ ["]There are men in our midst who are trying to build up themselves at our expense, and others  $^{203}$ who are watching for iniquity, and will make a man an offender for a word. The best way for such men is to be still. If I did not love men I would not reprove them, but would work in the dark as they do.

<sup>204</sup>["]As to who is the author of the article in the *Tribune*, read it, and you will see for yourselves. He is not a lawyer—he is nearer related to a doctor—a small man. (Mr. McNeil inquired if he was the man.) No; I do not know you; you are a stranger. But I will rest myself, and give way for others.["]

<sup>205</sup>Pres[iden]t. Hyrum Smith arose and made a few remarks<sup>206</sup>. He compared the lawyers to polliwogs, wigglers, and toads; he said they would dry up next fall. "Those characters I presume<sup>207</sup> were made in gizzard making time, when it was cheaper to get gizzards than souls, for if a soul cost \$5, a gizzard would cost nothing; like tree toads they change color to suit the object they are upon<sup>208</sup>; they ought to be ferreted out like rats: you could describe them as you would a hedgehog; they are in every hedge stinking like the skunk<sup>209</sup>."

<sup>210</sup>Charles Foster asked if Joseph meant him.

Joseph said, "I will reply by asking<sup>211</sup> you a question."

Foster, "That is no way."

Joseph, "Yes, that is the way the Quakers do, but Jesus said, 'whose image and superscription is this[?]' Why did you apply the remarks to yourself? Why did you ask if we meant you?"

Foster, "Then I understand you meant me."

Joseph, "You said it."

Foster, "You shall hear from me."

Joseph as mayor, "I fine you \$10 for that threat, and for disturbing the meeting."

Doctor Foster spoke in palliation of his brother Charles, and asked Joseph to await, &c. He said, "He has not threatened you." Joseph said, "He has." Doctor Foster said, "No one has

<sup>197.</sup> This paragraph amalgamates WWj and JSj [1844], 14. WWj, NSB, 27: "I will pledge my head for a foot ball that this is true." JSj [1844], 14: "< let him come forward> the first farthing and we cannot show where it has been appropriated, I will give him my head for a foot ball."

<sup>198.</sup> MS sermon, 3: "<I pledge myself that>"; taken from WWj.

<sup>199.</sup> This paragraph omitted in WWj and NSB, 27, but is from JSj [1844], 14-15.

<sup>200.</sup> JSj [1844], 15: omits "if we have a mind to"; MS sermon, 4: "<if we have a mind to>"

<sup>201.</sup> MS sermon, 4: "of <from>"

<sup>202.</sup> First sentence of this paragraph from WWj, remainder from JSj [1844], 15.

<sup>203.</sup> WWj, NSB, 27: add "in our midst"

<sup>204.</sup> Except for last sentence, this paragraph is from JSj [1844], 15. Last sentence from WWj (cf. NSB, 27).

<sup>205.</sup> This paragraph amalgamates and elaborates WWj and a sketchy JSj [1844], 15-16.

<sup>206.</sup> NSB, 27: "made some singular remarks quite romantic"

<sup>207.</sup> WWj, NSB, 27: replace "I presume" with "he thought"; MS sermon, 4: "he thought <I presume>"

<sup>208.</sup> MS sermon, 4: "than in soul making time <to get gizzard than souls <for a soul costs ... nothing> ... upon>". Internal insertion in left margin.

<sup>209.</sup> WWj, NSB, 27: replace "to get gizzards than souls ... skunk" with "than in soul making time"

<sup>210.</sup> The following exchange between JS and Charles Foster is from JSj [1844], 16-17, and is abbreviated in WWj and NSB, 27, which read: "A Brother of Dr Foster threatened the mayor & the mayor fined him \$10."

<sup>211.</sup> JSj [1844], 16: omits "reply by" and reads "ask"; MS sermon, 4: " <reply by > ask\ing/" (TB)

heard him threaten you"; when<sup>212</sup> hundreds cried, "I have!" Doctor F[oster]. continued to speak, when the mayor called him to order, or, said he, "I will fine you".

<sup>213</sup>W[illia]m. W. Phelps then read Gen[eral]. Smith's ["]Views of the Powers and Policy of the General Government of the United States,["] after which it was voted unanimously, with one exception, to uphold Gen[eral]. Smith for the Presidency of the United States.

An article was also read by W. W. Phelps<sup>214</sup>, entitled, "A voice of innocence from Nauvoo", <sup>215</sup> and all the assembly said "Amen" twice.

<sup>216</sup>Doctor Foster read a letter from Thomas Ford, Governor of Illinois.

A meeting of the Female Relief Society was appointed<sup>217</sup>.

<sup>218</sup>At 30 minutes past 12, the meeting adjourned till 2 p.m.

<sup>219</sup>During intermission the Twelve met with the seventies, and they passed a resolution to build the hall of the seventies one story higher for the Presidency.

<sup>220</sup>When<sup>221</sup> the people assembled according to adjournment, choir sang a hymn; prayer by Elder O[rson]. Pratt. Singing.

<sup>222</sup>President Brigham Young addressed the congregation<sup>223</sup>. <sup>224</sup>He said, "I wish to speak upon<sup>225</sup> the duty of <sup>226</sup>lawyers, as they have been spoken of this morning<sup>227</sup>. They were first among the children of Israel to explain the laws of Moses to the common people.

<sup>228</sup>["]I class myself as a lawyer in Israel. My business is to make peace among the people<sup>229</sup>; and when any man who calls himself a lawyer, takes a course to break peace instead of making it, he is out of the line<sup>230</sup> of his duty. A lawyer's duty is to read the law well himself, <sup>231</sup>then tell the people what it is, and let them act upon<sup>232</sup> it, and keep peace<sup>233</sup>; and let them receive pay like any laboring man.<sup>234</sup>

- 212. MS sermon, 4: inserts "\when/" at boln
- 213. This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 17. This paragraph in WWj reads: "President Joseph Smith's views of the government was then read, which was received with universal applause. Gen Smith is now nominated by the Saints as a candidate for President of the U.S.A. next election. An article was also read headed a voice of innocence from Nauvoo" (cf. NSB, 27-28).
  - 214. MS sermon, 5: "<by W W. Phelps>"
  - 215. See NN 1 (20 Mar. 1844): [186], or MS copy in JSc, Bx 5, fd 17, 28-35 (WWP).
- 216. Following two bolded paragraphs canceled in MS sermon, 5, and not copied into MSHiJS, or published in *DN* or DHC. First paragraph from JSj [1844], 17; second from WWj (cf. NSB, 28).
  - 217. WWj: adds "to attend to the above writing", that is, "The Voice of Innocence from Nauvoo."
  - 218. This paragraph from JSj [1844], 18.
  - 219. This paragraph appears only in WWj and NSB, 28.
  - 220. This paragraph based on JSj [1844], 18.
  - 221. MS sermon, 5: "At 2 p.m. < when>"
  - 222. First and third sentences of this paragraph from JSj [1844], 18, second from WWj.
  - 223. WWj, NSB, 28: replace "congregation" with "assembly"; taken from JSj [1844], 18.
  - 224. WWi, NSB, 28: add "relative to different subjects"; MS sermon, 5: adds "on different subjects"
  - 225. WWj, NSB, 28: replace "upon" with "of"; MS sermon, 5: "of <upon>"
  - 226. WWj, NSB, 28: add "the class of"
  - 227. WWj, NSB, 28: "as men have been spoken of in their capacity"; MS sermon, 5: "<this morning>" (TB)
  - 228. First and third sentences of this paragraph from WWj; remainder from JSj [1844], 18.
  - 229. NSB, 28: omits "My business ... people"; taken from JSj [1844], 18.
  - 230. WWj, NSB, 28: replace "line" with "way"
  - 231. MS sermon, 5: adds "and"
  - 232. MS sermon, 5: "go act \up/on"
  - 233. Preceding sentence in WWj and NSB, 28, read: "Any doctor of the laws should read the law and make peace."
  - 234. WWj, NSB, 28: omit preceding sentence; taken from JSj [1844], 18.

<sup>235</sup>["]It is desirable for justices of the peace, when men call for writs, to inquire into the merits of <sup>236</sup> the case, and tell the parties <sup>237</sup> how to settle it; and thus put down lawsuits. To cure lawing, let us pay attention to our own <sup>238</sup> business.

["]When we hear a story, never tell it again; and it will be a perfect cure. If your brother mistreats you, let him alone; if your enemy cheats you, let it go; cease to deal with men who abuse you; if all men had taken the straightforward<sup>239</sup> course that some have, we should not have such disorderly<sup>240</sup> men in our midst.

["]I have no objection to any man coming here, but I will have nothing to do with men who will abuse me at midnight and at noonday. Our difficulties and persecutions have always arisen from men right in our midst.

["]It is the lust of individuals to rob us of everything, and to take advantage of divisions that may arise among us<sup>241</sup> to build themselves up<sup>242</sup>. I feel that I want every man should stay, and lift up holy hands without dubiety<sup>243</sup>, wrath, or doubting<sup>244</sup>.

<sup>245</sup>["]To the men who own land here I would say<sup>246</sup>, do not think you can sell your lands here, and then go off and spend it somewhere else<sup>247</sup> in abusing the Mormons.<sup>248</sup> I tell you nay; for know it, ye people, that Israel is here, and they are the head, and not the tail; and the people must learn it: all those who have gone from us, have gone from the head to the tail.<sup>249</sup>

<sup>250</sup>["]The grand object before us is to build the Temple this season.

["]We have heard the effects of slander, and we want a cure and balm; and I carry one with me all the while, and I want all of you<sup>251</sup> to do the same. I will tell you what it is; it is to mind our<sup>252</sup> own business, and let others alone; and suffer wrong rather than do wrong; if any one takes<sup>253</sup> your property away, let them alone, and have nothing to do with them.

["]A Spirit has been manifest to divide the Saints; it was manifest in the last election: it was said if they did not look out, the Saints on the flat would beat the Saints on the hill.

["]Great God! how such a thing looks! that the Saints should be afraid of beating one another in the election, or being beat. I would ask, who built up this city? Would steamboats have landed here, if the Saints had not come? Or could you, even the speculators, have sold

<sup>235.</sup> Following four paragraphs from JSj [1844], 18-19; omitted in NSB, 28.

<sup>236.</sup> JSj [1844], 18: omits "the merits of"

<sup>237.</sup> JSj [1844], 19: replaces "the parties" with "them"

<sup>238.</sup> DHC 6:241: omits "own"

<sup>239.</sup> JSj [1844], 19: omits "straightforward"; MS sermon, 5: "<straight forward>" (TB)

<sup>240.</sup> JSj [1844], 19: omits "disorderly"; MS sermon, 5: "<disorderly>" (TB)

<sup>241.</sup> MS sermon, 6: "in our midst <among us>" (TB)

<sup>242.</sup> JSj [1844], 19: "and build themselves up in our division"

<sup>243.</sup> MS sermon, 6: "<dubiety>"

<sup>244.</sup> JSj [1844], 19: "without wrath or dubiety"

<sup>245.</sup> First sentence of this paragraph from JSj [1844], 20, remainder from WWj (cf. NSB, 28). In JSj, second part of paragraph reads: "Israel is the head and not the tail."

<sup>246.</sup> JSj [1844], 20: omits "I would say"

<sup>247.</sup> JSj [1844], 20: omits "somewhere else"; MS sermon, 6: "<somewhere else>"

<sup>248.</sup> In WWj, preceding sentence reads: "Can these speculators sell their lands to the Saints for a great price, and then go away, and enjoy it somewhere else?" (cf. NSB, 28).

<sup>249.</sup> NSB, 28: "<and the people must learn ... tail>"

<sup>250.</sup> Following seven paragraphs from WWj.

<sup>251.</sup> NSB, 28: omits "of you"; MS sermon, 6: "<of you>" (TB)

<sup>252.</sup> DHC 6:241: replaces "our" with "your"

<sup>253.</sup> DHC 6:241: "take"

your<sup>254</sup> lands for anything here, if the Saints had not come?<sup>255</sup> They might have sold for a few bear and wolf skins, but not for money.

["]If any of 256 you wish to know how to have your bread fall butter-side up, butter it on both sides, and then it will fall butter-side up. Oppose this work, and it will roll over you.

["]When did this work ever stop since it began? Never! The only thing the Saints now want to know is, what does the Lord want of us, and we are ready to do it.

["]Well, then, build the Temple of the Lord—keep the law of God, ye Saints, and the hypocrite and scoundrel will flee out of your midst, and tremble, for the fire of God will be too hot for them.

<sup>257</sup>["]I expect the Saints are so anxious to work, and so ready to do right, that God has whispered to the Prophet, 'Build the Temple, and let the Nauvoo House alone at present.' I would not sue a man if he owed me five hundred, or a thousand dollars, should<sup>258</sup> he come to me and say he would not pay me.["]

<sup>259</sup>Elder John Taylor remarked<sup>260</sup> that it was said by some discontented persons<sup>261</sup> that the municipal officers of the city were acting in an arbitrary manner, which was false. He then went to explain the principles of democracy, until it was announced that it would be desirable to set a contribution on foot immediately to get fuse rope and blasting<sup>262</sup> powder, as a boat was coming down the river<sup>263</sup>, and the messenger was waiting to go down to St. Louis.

Elder Taylor paused awhile for this purpose, and a collection amounting to about<sup>264</sup> 60 dollars was made. He then continued his speech. "When society was first organized they found themselves without Legislature, Congress, House of Lords, or anything of the kind; every man was lord over his own house.

["]Difficulties began to arise, and the people<sup>265</sup> began to contend, and combine together in governments; by-and-by, some<sup>266</sup> two or three requested that they might return to their original customs, and the government said they might. This was the situation of this city in the main, when we asked for a charter.<sup>267</sup>

 $^{268}$ ["]Of General Joseph $^{269}$  Smith some are afraid, and think it doubtful about his election, and, like the ostrich, stick their heads under a bush, and leave their bodies out, so that we can

```
254. WWj, NSB, 28: replace "your" with "their"; MS sermon, 6: "their <your>"
```

<sup>255.</sup> Book E-1, 1912 (darker ink): "<Or could you ... come?>" (JG)

<sup>256.</sup> Book E-1, 1912: replaces "of" with "if"

<sup>257.</sup> This paragraph from JSj [1844], 20; omitted in WWj and NSB, 29.

<sup>258.</sup> JSj [1844], 20: replaces "should" with "and"

<sup>259.</sup> Following four paragraphs comprising John Taylor's sermon are from JSj [1844], 20-21. NSB, 29, abbreviates JT's sermon as follows: "Elder Taylor followed with an address upon political matters", which is from the first sentence of WW's brief notes. According to WWj, "He [JT] traced the History of governments for many Centuries & traced the form of governments from ancient days to the present time."

<sup>260.</sup> JSj [1844], 20: replaces "remarked" with "said"; MS sermon, 7: "said <remarked>"

<sup>261.</sup> JSj [1844], 20: omits "discontented persons"; MS sermon, 7: "< discontented persons>" (TB)

<sup>262.</sup> JSj [1844], 21: omits "rope" and "blasting"; MS sermon, 7: "<rope> and <blasting>" (TB)

<sup>263.</sup> JSj [1844], 21: omits "the river"; MS sermon, 7: "<the river>" (TB)

<sup>264.</sup> JSj [1844], 21: replaces "about" with "50 or"; MS sermon, 7: "50 or <about>"

<sup>265.</sup> JSi [1844], 21: omits "began to arise ... people"

<sup>266. [</sup>Sj [1844], 21: "some" or "soon"; MS sermon, 7: "<some>"

<sup>267.</sup> JSj [1844], 21:"\we asked for/ <a charter &c>"

<sup>268.</sup> WWj mentions this part of J. Taylor's sermon: "He spoke of our Charters & General Smith being a Candidate for the Presidential Chair & we must do what we can to elect him. We will not be cowards in this thing. A coward is like an Ostrich. He will hide his head under cover & leaves his body out in sight to be seen as we pass along. So cowards here after will be called an Ostrich. He also made some remarks concerning the building of the Temple."

<sup>269.</sup> JSj [1844], 21: omits "Joseph"; MS sermon, 7: "<Joseph>" (TB)

all see them; and after this it will be a by-word, 'that man is an ostrich, who hides his head in this cause<sup>270</sup>." He spoke also on going on with the Temple.

<sup>271</sup>President B[righam]. Young said<sup>272</sup>, "Those<sup>273</sup> who have not paid their property tithing we shall call upon, and take dinner; and we had rather be saved that trouble, and have them come up and<sup>274</sup> pay; you will want a blessing in the Temple, when it is done."

<sup>275</sup>Elder [Reynolds] Cahoon said if any one had any doubt about the state of the temple, let them call and see the books and where they have paid their tithing show it entered on the book paid in full for the year &c.

<sup>276</sup>President Joseph<sup>277</sup> Smith remarked: "In relation to those who give in property for the Temple; we want them to bring it<sup>278</sup> to the proper source, and to<sup>279</sup> be careful into whose<sup>280</sup> hands it comes<sup>281</sup>, that it may be entered into<sup>282</sup> the church books, so that those whose names are found in the church books shall have the first claim to receive their endowments in the Temple<sup>283</sup>. I intend to keep the door at the dedication myself, and not a man shall pass who has not paid his bonus.

<sup>284</sup>["]As to politics, I care but little about the presidential chair; I would not give half as much for the office of President of the United States<sup>285</sup>, as I would for the one I now hold as Lieut[enant].-General of the Nauvoo Legion<sup>286</sup>.

<sup>287</sup>["]We have as good a right to make a political party to gain power to defend ourselves, as for demagogues to make use of our religion to get power to destroy us; in other words, as the world has used the power of government to oppress and persecute us, it is right for us to use it for the protection of our rights; we will whip the mob by getting up a candidate for <sup>288</sup> President. <sup>289</sup>

<sup>290</sup>["]When I get hold of the eastern papers, and see how popular I am, I am afraid myself that I shall be elected; but if I should be, I would not say, 'Your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you.'

<sup>270.</sup> JSj [1844], 21: possibly reads "corner"

<sup>271.</sup> Except last sentence, this paragraph from JSj [1844], 22; last sentence from WWj. In NSB, 29, first part of paragraph closely follows WWj, and reads: "Concerning the building of the Temple Elder Young remarked that he should visit those who did not pay up their Tithing."

<sup>272.</sup> JSj [1844], 22: replaces "said" with "spoke"; MS sermon, 7: "spoke <said>" (TB)

<sup>273.</sup> JSj [1844], 22: replaces "Those" with "Men"

<sup>274.</sup> MS sermon, 7: "to <and>"

<sup>275.</sup> This paragraph omitted in MSHiJS, but appears in JSj [1844], 22.

<sup>276.</sup> This paragraph amalgamates JSj [1844], 22, and WWj as follows: "President ... source" from WWj; "and to be careful ... first claim" from JSj; "to receive ... temple" from WWj; "I intend ... bonus" from JSj.

<sup>277.</sup> WWj: omits "Joseph"

<sup>278.</sup> WWj, NSB, 29: replace "them to bring it" with "it brought"; MS sermon, 7: "it brought < them to bring it>"

<sup>279.</sup> MS sermon, 7: "<to>"

<sup>280.</sup> JSi [1844], 22: "<whose>"

<sup>281.</sup> MS sermon, 7: adds "into"

<sup>282.</sup> NSB, 29: replaces "entered into" with "put on"

<sup>283.</sup> JSj [1844], 22: "first claim in that house"; WWj: "So that in the endowment those whose names are on the Book Shall have the preference" (cf. NSB, 29).

<sup>284.</sup> This paragraph from WWj.

<sup>285.</sup> WWj, NSB, 29: omit "of President of the United States"; MS sermon, 8: "<of President of the U.S.>" (TB)

<sup>286.</sup> WWj, NSB, 29: omit "as Lieut.-General of the Nauvoo Legion"; MS sermon, 8: "<as Lieut.-General of the Nauvoo Legion>" (TB)

<sup>287.</sup> First and third sentences of this paragraph from JSj [1844], 23.

<sup>288.</sup> MS sermon, 8: "<candidate for>" (TB)

<sup>289.</sup> NSB, 29: omits preceding sentence; taken from JSj [1844], 23.

<sup>290.</sup> This paragraph from WWj. In JSj [1844], 23, the first sentence reads: "When I look into the Eastern papers and see how popular I am I am afraid I shall be President."

<sup>291</sup>["]What I have<sup>292</sup> said in my views in<sup>293</sup> relation to the annexation of Texas, is with some unpopular; the people are opposed to it. Some of<sup>294</sup> the Anti-Mormons are good fellows. I say it, however<sup>295</sup>, in anticipation that<sup>296</sup> they will repent. They object to Texas on account of slavery; why, it is the very reason she ought to be received, so that we may watch over them; for of the two evils we should reject the greatest.<sup>297</sup>

<sup>298</sup>["]Governor<sup>299</sup> Houston,<sup>300</sup> of Texas, says, 'if you refuse to receive us into the United States, we must go to the British Government for protection<sup>301</sup>.'

<sup>302</sup>["]This would certainly be bad policy for this nation; the British are now throughout that whole country, trying to bribe all they can; and the first thing they would do, if they got possession<sup>303</sup>, would be to set the Negroes and the Indians to fight<sup>304</sup>, and they would use us up. British officers are now<sup>305</sup> running all over Texas to establish British influence in that country<sup>306</sup>.

<sup>307</sup>["]It will be more honorable for us to receive Texas, and set the Negroes free, and use the Negroes and Indians against our foes. Don't let Texas go, lest our mothers, and the daughters of the land should laugh us in the teeth; and if these things are not so, God never spoke by any prophet since the world began<sup>308</sup>.

<sup>309</sup>["]How much better it is for the nation<sup>310</sup> to bear a little expense than to have the Indians and British upon us and destroy us all. We should grasp <sup>311</sup>all the Territory we can. I know much that I do not tell. I have had bribes offered me, but I have rejected them.

["]The Government will not receive any advice or counsel<sup>312</sup> from me—they are self-sufficient; but they must go to hell, and work out their own<sup>313</sup> salvation with fear and trembling.

<sup>291.</sup> First two sentences from WWj; third and fourth from JSj [1844], 23; remainder based on WWj, with some wording from JSj [1844], 24.

<sup>292.</sup> WWj, NSB, 29: omit "have"; MS sermon, 8: "<have>" (TB)

<sup>293.</sup> WWj, NSB, 29: omit "my views in"; MS sermon, 8: "<my views in>" (TB)

<sup>294.</sup> JSj [1844], 23: omits "Some of"; MS sermon, 8: "<Some of>" (TB)

<sup>295.</sup> JSj [1844], 23: omits "however"; MS sermon, 8: "<however>" (TB)

<sup>296.</sup> JSj [1844], 23: omits "that"; MS sermon, 8: "<that>"

<sup>297.</sup> Preceding three sentences based on WWj, with some wording from JSj [1844], 24. WWj reads: "The opposition is because it is filled up with Slavery. Now I wish to turn the argument. It is the very reason why it ought to be received in order to watch over them. Of the greatest two evils we should reject the greatest" (cf. NSB, 29). JSj reads: "object to Texas on account of slavery. Tis the very reason why she should be received."

<sup>298.</sup> This paragraph amalgamates WWi and JSi [1844], 24.

<sup>299.</sup> WWj, MS sermon, 8: replace "Governor" with "President"; Book E-1, 1913 (darker ink): "{\Governor/}" (LH)

<sup>300.</sup> WWj, NSB, 29: replace "Governor Houston" with "The President"; JSj [1844], 24: "Houston"

<sup>301.</sup> JSj [1844], 24, WWj, NSB, 29: omit "Government for protection"; MS sermon, 8: "<Government for protection>" (TB)

<sup>302.</sup> First two sentences of this paragraph from WWj (cf. NSB, 29), remainder from JSj [1844], 24.

<sup>303.</sup> JSj [1844], 24: omits "if they got possession"

<sup>304.</sup> JSi [1844], 24: omits "to fight"

<sup>305.</sup> MS sermon, 8: "<now>" (TB)

<sup>306.</sup> JSj [1844], 24: replaces "establish British ... country" with "pick a quarrel with us"; MS sermon, 8: "pick a quarrel wit

<sup>307.</sup> This paragraph from JSj [1844], 24-25; omitted in WWj and NSB, 29.

<sup>308.</sup> Book E-1, 1913: "<began>" (JG)

<sup>309.</sup> This and next paragraph from WWj.

<sup>310.</sup> WWj: omits "for the nation"; MS sermon, 8: "<for the nation>" (TB)

<sup>311.</sup> MS sermon, 8: adds "at"; Book E-1, 1913: adds erasure

<sup>312.</sup> WWj, NSB, 30: replace "advice or council" with "thing"

<sup>313.</sup> NSB, 30: "<own>"

<sup>314</sup>["]The South holds the balance of power; by annexing Texas I can do away <sup>315</sup>this evil. As soon as Texas was annexed, I would liberate the slaves<sup>316</sup> in two or three States, indemnifying their owners<sup>317</sup>, and send the Negroes to Texas, and from Texas to Mexico, where all colors are alike. And if that was not sufficient, I would call upon Canada, and annex it<sup>318</sup>.["]

<sup>319</sup>Joseph stated the Mormon Zion has endured all animus [...] <sup>320</sup>.

<sup>323</sup>The barque *Fanny*, Capt[ain]. Patterson<sup>324</sup>, arrived at New Orleans with 210 souls<sup>325</sup>, led by Elder William Kay, they express <sup>326</sup>in a letter to the *Millennial Star*, that no people ever had a more prosperous voyage, than the Lord has favored this company with, and such a captain and crew for kindness could scarcely be met with, the captain frequently administering from the cabin stores unto the necessities of all who required it.

<sup>327</sup>Elder John E. Page published an address to the inhabitants of Washington.

At 10 a.m., my scribe W[illard]. Richards called to tell me that James Arlington Bennett was a native of Ireland, and therefore was not constitutionally eligible to be the Vice-President; he wanted to know who should be nominated for Vice-President, I told him to counsel with others on that point, when he said he would call a council this evening.

At 7 p.m., the First Presidency, the Twelve, Bishop Miller, Levi Richards, W. W. 330 Phelps, and Lucian Woodworth assembled in the mayor's office, when W. W. Phelps read the following pacific communication, which I had previously dictated him to write:—

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>321</sup>He also made many other useful remarks &c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>322</sup>Singing by the choir. Prayer by President B. Young.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>328</sup>Friday, 8.—Very heavy rain all night, accompanied by thunder.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>329</sup>Bishop Miller arrived from the Pinery this morning.

<sup>314.</sup> First two sentences from JSj [1844], 25; first part of the third sentence ("As soon as Texas  $\dots$  owners") based on WWj (cf. NSB, 30); remainder from JSj [1844], 25.

<sup>315.</sup> DHC 6:244: adds "with"

<sup>316.</sup> WWj, NSB, 30: omit "the slaves"; MS sermon, 9: "negroes <slaves>"

<sup>317.</sup> WWj, NSB, 30: "pay them for their slaves"

<sup>318.</sup> JSj [1844], 25: omits "and annex it". In WWj, last part of preceding sentence reads: "& let them go to Mexico whare they are mixed blacks &c. I would also receive Canada & stand by them" (cf. NSB, 30).

<sup>319.</sup> This paragraph inserted interlinearly in JSj [1844], 25, but omitted in MSHiJS.

<sup>320.</sup> JSj [1844], 25: adds about ten illegible words

<sup>321.</sup> This paragraph appears in NSB, 30, and WWj, but omitted in MSHiJS.

<sup>322.</sup> This paragraph from JSj [1844], 25.

<sup>323.</sup> Source: Based on "Barque Fanny," MSt 4 (Apr. 1844): 202.

<sup>324.</sup> Book E-1, 1914 (darker ink): "{\Paterson/}" (RLC). For this and next insertion, see vol. 7, IV.8, Notes for Books D-1 and E-1, under date.

<sup>325.</sup> Book E-1, 1914 (darker ink): "{\210 Souls/} [erasure]" (RLC)

<sup>326.</sup> DHC 6:244: adds "[the opinion]"

<sup>327.</sup> Source: J. E. Page 1844 (Flake 6065).

<sup>328.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:5, 8 Mar. 1844 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>329.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 26-27 (WR) (APR, 457), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>330.</sup> Book E-1, 1914 (darker ink): "{\W./}" (pos. JG); probably w.o. an erased superscript "m"

<sup>331.</sup> Book E-1, 1914 (darker ink): "\Lucien/" (JG)

<sup>332.</sup> JSj [1844], 27: replaces "dictated" with "instructed"

## <sup>333</sup>A FRIENDLY HINT TO MISSOURI.

One of the most pleasing scenes that can transpire<sup>334</sup> on earth, <sup>335</sup>when a sin has been committed by one person against another, *to forgive that sin*: and then, according to the sublime and perfect pattern of the Savior, pray to our Father in heaven, *to forgive* <sup>336</sup>also.

Verily, verily, such a friendly rebuke is like the mellow zephyr of summer's eve; it soothes, it cheers and gladdens the heart of the humane and the savage. Well might the wise man exclaim, "A soft answer turneth away wrath"; for men of sense, judgment, and observation, in all the various periods of time, have been witnesses, figuratively speaking, that *water, not wood, checks the rage of fire.* 

Jesus said, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God";—wherefore if the nation, a single State, community or family ought to be grateful for anything, it is peace.

Peace, lovely child of heaven; peace, like light from the same great parent, gratifies, animates, and happifies the just and the unjust, and is the very essence of happiness below, and bliss above.

He that does not strive with all his powers of body and mind; with all his influence at home and abroad, and to cause others to do so too, to seek peace, and maintain it for his own benefit and convenience, and for the honor of his State, nation and country, has no claim on the clemency of man; nor should he be entitled to the friendship of woman, or the protection of government.

He is the canker-worm to gnaw his own vitals, and the vulture to prey upon his own body; and he is as to his own prospects and prosperity in life, a *felo-de-se* of his own pleasure.

A community of such beings are not far from hell on earth, and should be let alone as unfit for the smiles of the free, or the praise of the brave.

But the peacemaker, O give ear to him! for the words of his mouth, and his doctrine, drop like the rain, and distill as the dew; they are like the gentle mist upon the herbs, and as the moderate shower upon the grass.

Animation, virtue, love, contentment, philanthropy, benevolence, compassion, humanity, and friendship, push life into bliss, and men a little below the angels, exercising their powers, privileges and knowledge, according to the order, rules and regulations of revelation, by Jesus Christ, dwell together in unity; and the sweet odor that is wafted by the breath of joy and satisfaction from their righteous communion, is like the rich perfume from the consecrated oil that was poured upon the head of Aaron; or like the luscious fragrance that rises from the fields<sup>337</sup> of Arabian spices; yea more, the voice of the peacemaker,

<sup>338</sup>Is like the music of the spheres, It charms our souls, and calms our fears; It turns the world to paradise, And men to pearls of greater price.

So much to preface this friendly hint to the State of Missouri, for notwithstanding some of her private citizens and public officers, have committed violence, robbery, and even murder,

<sup>333.</sup> Source: RDft 8:22 directs scribe to copy T&S 5 (15 Mar. 1844): 473-74. Cf. NN 1 (13 Mar. 1844): [182].

<sup>334.</sup> DHC 6:245: replaces "transpire" with "occur"

<sup>335.</sup> Book E-1, 1914: adds "is"

<sup>336.</sup> DHC 6:245: adds "him"

<sup>337.</sup> DHC 6:246: "field"

<sup>338.</sup> DHC 6:246: adds "It"

upon the rights and persons of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; yet, compassion, dignity, and a sense of the principles of religion, among all classes; and honor and benevolence, mingled with charity by high-minded patriots, lead me to suppose that there are many worthy people in that State, who will use their influence and energies to bring about a settlement of all those old difficulties; and use all consistent means to urge the State, for her honor, prosperity and good name, to restore every person, she or her citizens have expelled from her limits, to their rights, and pay them all damage, that the great body of high-minded and well-disposed southern and western gentlemen and ladies; the real peace-makers of a western world, will go forth, good Samaritan-like, and pour in the oil and the wine, till all that can be healed, are made whole; and after repentance, they shall be forgiven; for verily the scriptures say, "Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repents, more than over ninety-and-nine just persons that need no repentance."

Knowing the fallibility of man, considering the awful responsibility of rejecting the cries of the innocent, confident in the virtue and patriotism of the noble-minded western men, tenacious of their character and standing, too high to stoop to disgraceful acts, and too proud to tolerate meanness in others; yea, may I not say without boasting, that the best blood of the West, united with the honor of the illustrious fathers of freedom, will move, as the forest is moved by a mighty wind, to promote peace and friendship in every part of our wide-spread, lovely country.

Filled with a love almost unspeakable, and moved by a desire pleasant as the dew of heaven, I supplicate not only our Father above, but also the civil, the enlightened, the intelligent, the social and the best inhabitants of Missouri; they<sup>339</sup> that feel bound by principles of honor, justice, moral greatness, and national pride, to arise in the character of virtuous freemen from the disgrace and reproach that might inadvertently blur their good names, for want of self-preservation.

Now is the time to brush off the monster, that, incubus-like, seems hanging upon the reputation of the whole State. A little exertion, and the infamy of the evil will blacken the guilty only; for is it not written, "The tree is known by its fruit?"

The voice of reason, the voice of humanity, the voice of the nation, and the voice of heaven seem to say to the honest and virtuous, throughout the State of Missouri; wash yourselves, make you clean, lest your negligence should be taken by the world, from the mass of facts before it, that you are guilty!

Let there be one unison of hearts for justice, and when you reflect around your own firesides, remember that fifteen thousand, once among you, now not, but who are just as much entitled to the privileges and blessings you enjoy as yourselves; like the widow before the unjust judge, are fervently *praying for their rights*.

When you meditate upon the massacre at Haun's Mill, forget not that the constitution of your State holds this broad truth to the world; that none shall "be deprived of *life, liberty, or property*, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land."

And when you assemble together in towns, counties or districts, whether to petition your legislature to pay the damage the Saints have sustained in your State, by reason of oppression, and misguided zeal; or to restore them to their rights according to republican principles and benevolent designs, reflect, and make honorable, or annihilate, such statute law as was in force in your State in 1838, viz.: "If twelve or more persons shall combine to levy war against any part of the people of this State, or to remove <sup>340</sup>forcibly out of the State, or from their habitations, evidenced by taking arms and assembling to accomplish such purpose, every person so offending shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for a period not exceeding

<sup>339.</sup> DHC 6:246: "those"

<sup>340.</sup> DHC 6:247: adds "[them]"

five years, or by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars; and imprisonment in the county jail not exceeding six months."

Finally, if honor dignifies an honest people, if virtue exalts a community, if wisdom guides great men, if principle governs intelligent beings, if humanity spreads comfort among the needy, and if religion affords consolation by showing that charity is the first, best and sweetest token of perfect love? then, O ye good people of Missouri, like the woman in scripture who had lost one of her ten pieces of silver, arise, search diligently till you find the lost piece, and then make a feast, and call in your friends for joy.

With due consideration,

I am, the friend of all good men, JOSEPH SMITH.

Nauvoo, Ill., March 8, 1843<sup>341</sup>.

<sup>342</sup>Bro[ther]. Geo[rge]. A. Smith brought the information that bro[ther]. Farnham had just returned from St. Louis, and said the people in that place were saying "things have come to a strange pass; if Joe Smith is elected President, he will raise the devil with Missouri; and if he is not elected, he will raise the devil anyhow."

It was agreed that Col[onel]. Solomon Copeland, living at Paris,<sup>343</sup> Henry co[unty]., Tennessee, should be written to, on the subject of the Vice-Presidency, and that Elder W[ilford]. Woodruff should write the letter, and invite him to visit us, and see if he would suffer his name to run for that office<sup>344</sup>.

<sup>345</sup>Saturday, 9.—At the Pres[iden]t['s] A.M. he was weeping and seemed very sorrowful.

<sup>346</sup>Met in <sup>347</sup>city council, and gave my reasons in favor of the repeal of the hog law, <sup>348</sup>that I was afraid there were but few men who would ever<sup>349</sup> make a fence round their gardens, unless the hogs were suffered to run at large; and if the people think there is a hog law, they will not fence, and consequently will be eat up by hogs and other animals from the country.

The hog law has made more contention than all the hogs would, if they had been let alone: let the hogs run in the streets, and the people make good fences to secure their gardens.

Many physicians have given it as their opinion, that a hog mud hole in the streets is the most healthy of any damp place.

If we do not let the hogs run at large in the city, the hogs and cattle<sup>350</sup> from the country will come into the corporation and<sup>351</sup> eat the grass, &c., in the city, and we suffer all the evils, and lose all the benefits.

<sup>341.</sup> Book E-1, 1916, DHC 6:247: "1844"

<sup>342.</sup> Source: Following two paragraphs from JSj [1844], 27 (WR) (APR, 457), with light editing.

<sup>343.</sup> Book E-1, 1917 (darker ink): adds "\Parris/" at eoln (JG)

<sup>344.</sup> JSj [1844], 27: omits "the letter ... office"

<sup>345.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 9 Mar. 1844 (DMQP, 16).

<sup>346.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 28 (WR) (APR, 457), mentions only that JS was "In city council". Following twelve paragraphs dealing with Nauvoo city council closely follow NCCM, Rough Book [1844], 5-8 (WR) (NCHCM, 230-33), although other matters have been omitted. Cf. NN 1 (13 Mar. 1844): [182].

<sup>347.</sup> DHC 6:248: adds "the"

<sup>348.</sup> Following bolded paragraphs appear in *DN*, but DHC 6:248 replaces them with "[The subject was discussed at some length.]"

<sup>349.</sup> Book E-1, 1917: "eve\r/"; "r" w.o. "n"

<sup>350.</sup> NCCM, 6: "<& cattle>"

<sup>351.</sup> NCCM, 6: omits "come into the corporation and"

Impound the country hogs, and the owners will damn the impounded and the city, and fight against us. I say to the city council, let the hogs and dogs alone.

A man that is afraid of a dog and grumbles a great deal about a dog's barking at him, is a coward; it is one reason why God withdrew his Spirit from the earth, because the people were so ready to take the life of animals. [...]<sup>352</sup>

It was the principles of democracy that the people's voice, should be heard, when their voice was just; but when it was not just<sup>353</sup>, it was no longer democratic; but if the minority's views are more just, then aristocracy <sup>354</sup>should be the governing principle, i.e., the wisest and best laws should be made.

When Ald[erman]. [H.] Bennett and Coun[cilor]. Young will call caucuses and explain the subject to them, then we will hear them, and they can petition understandingly, and believed if he could explain the subject, that 99 out of every hundred would vote to have no hog law in this city from its birth to its death.

Cannot believe in the doctrine of exalting the majority, when it must be brought about by depressing the minority in a greater degree.

Council adjourned for one hour.

In the afternoon city council rejected the petition to repeal the hog law.

I proposed to license Hiram Kimball and Mr. Morrison<sup>355</sup>, who own the land opposite to the wharf, to make wharves and collect wharfage, then the city can dispense with a wharf-master; that Kimball and Morrison pay a tax for the landing of every boat, and they could tax the boat or not as they liked.

<sup>356</sup>The Female Relief Society met twice in the Assembly Room, and sanctioned "The voice of Innocence<sup>357</sup>," and then adjourned for one week to accommodate others who could not get into the room at either of the meetings.

<sup>358</sup>Our worthy brother King Follett died this morning, occasioned by the accidental<sup>359</sup> breaking of a rope, and the falling of a bucket<sup>360</sup> of rock upon him<sup>361</sup>, while engaged in walling up a well, and the<sup>362</sup> men above were in the act of lowering the rock to him.

Elder Follett was one of those who bore the burden, in common with others of his brethren, in the days when men's faith was put to the test. He was a native of Vermont, and moved many years since into Cuyahoga co., Ohio. 363

There, for the first time, he heard the gospel preached, and, like the Bareans of old,

<sup>352.</sup> Ellipses represent material in NCCM, 6, omitted in MSHiJS.

<sup>353.</sup> Book E-1, 1917 (darker ink): "<but when it was not just>" (JG)

<sup>354.</sup> NCCM, 6: adds "have to be"

<sup>355.</sup> NCCM, 7: omits "and Morrison"

<sup>356.</sup> *Source*: JSj [1844], 28 (WR) (*APR*, 457-58), with light editing and elaboration. See "Voice of Innocence from Nauvoo," *NN* 1 (20 Mar. 1844): [186]. See also MS copy in JSc, Bx 5, fd 17, 28-35 (WWP).

<sup>357.</sup> DHC 6:248: adds "From Nauvoo"

<sup>358.</sup> *Source*: This paragraph and following biographical sketch of King Follett from *NN* 1 (20 Mar. 1844): [186]. Deleted material supplied here in bold type. Cf. WWj, vol. 4, 10 Mar. 1844 (*WWj* 2:359).

<sup>359.</sup> NN 1:[186]: omits "accidental"

<sup>360.</sup> NN 1:[186]: replaces "bucket" with "tub"

<sup>361.</sup> NN 1:[186]: replaces "him" with "the deceased"; Book E-1, 1918: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>362.</sup> NN 1:[186]: omits "engaged ... the"; Book E-1, 1918 (darker ink): "<engaged ... the>" (LH)

<sup>363.</sup> NN 1:[186]: "into the State of Ohio, county of Cuyahoga"; Book E-1, 1918 (darker ink): "Co. <Ohio.>" (pos. LH)

searched the scriptures to see if these things were so, regarding neither the scoffs nor threats of an opposing and gainsaying world, he united with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, in the spring of 1831, and has been a sharer in the afflictions through which the Saints have passed from that time<sup>364</sup> until the time of his death.

He shared in the violence of the Missouri persecutions; was cast into prison, and endured many months' imprisonment; and after long delay, obtained a trial on the charges preferred against him, and was<sup>365</sup> honorably discharged, being acquitted of all the crimes that<sup>366</sup> a band of wicked persecutors could charge him with<sup>367</sup>.

All the persecutions he endured only tended to strengthen his faith and confirm his hope; and he died as he had lived, rejoicing in the hope of future felicity.

Having united with the church in the forty-first year of his age, he filled up the prime of his life in the service of his God, and went to rest in his fifty-sixth year; being fifty-five years, seven months and fourteen days old when he slept the sleep of death.

So the righteous pass, and so they sleep, until the mandate of Him, for whom they suffer, and in whom they trust, shall call them forth to glory, honor, immortality and eternal life.

<sup>369</sup>Brother King Follet was buried this day with<sup>370</sup> masonic honors. <sup>371</sup>He was killed while at work<sup>372</sup> in a well, by a tub filled with stone falling on<sup>373</sup> him.

<sup>374</sup>I attended meeting at the stand, and preached on the subject of **the spirit** of Elias<sup>375</sup>, Elijah, and Messiah, <sup>376</sup> <sup>377</sup>a sketch of which was reported by Elder W[ilford]. Woodruff as follows:—

<sup>378</sup>There is a difference between the Spirit and office of Elias and Elijah. It is the spirit of Elias I wish first to speak of, and in order to come at the subject, I will bring some of the testimony from the scripture, and give my own.

In the first place, suffice it to say, I went into the woods to inquire of the Lord by prayer his will concerning me, and I saw an angel, and he laid his hands upon my head, and ordained me to be a priest after the order of Aaron, and to hold the keys of this priesthood, which office was to preach repentance and baptism for the remission of sins, and also to baptize; but I<sup>379</sup> was informed that this office did not extend to the laying on of hands for the giving of the Holy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>368</sup>Sunday, 10.—Frost in the night, beautiful day. South wind.

<sup>364.</sup> Book E-1, 1918 (darker ink): "<time>" (pos. JG)

<sup>365.</sup> NN 1:[186]: omits "was"; Book E-1, 1918 (darker ink): "<was>" (pos. JG)

<sup>366.</sup> DHC 6:249: replaces "that" with "with which"

<sup>367.</sup> DHC 6:249: omits "with"

<sup>368.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:5, 10 Mar. 1844 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>369.</sup> Source: This paragraph from WWj, vol. 4, 10 Mar. 1844 (WWj 2:359), as edited in NSB, 46 (LH).

<sup>370.</sup> NSB, 46: "under <with>"

<sup>371.</sup> DHC 6:249 omits following sentence

<sup>372.</sup> NSB, 46: "<at work>"

<sup>373.</sup> NSB, 46: "having a bucket <[illegible] tub filled with> of stone fall\ing/ onto"

<sup>374.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 30 (WR) (APR, 458). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>375.</sup> JSj [1844], 30: "<Elias>"

<sup>376.</sup> JSj [1844], 30: adds "clearly defining the offices of the 3 personages"

<sup>377.</sup> DHC 6:249 brackets remainder of sentence.

<sup>378.</sup> Source: RDft 8:23 instructs scribe to copy NSB, 46-52 (LH), which is from WWj, vol. 4, 10 Mar. 1844 (WWj 2:359-66; WJS, 327-32). Cf. CHOj 1:5 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.12). In WW's estimation, JS's sermon was "one of the most important & interesting subjects ever presented to the saints & the principles presented were of the greatest importance to be understood." This sermon was read to and approved by BY on 18 Sept. 1855 (CHOj 18:140).

<sup>379.</sup> WWj: omits "I"; NSB, 46: "<I>"

Ghost; that that office was a greater work, and was to be given afterwards<sup>380</sup>; but that my ordination was a preparatory work, or a going before, which was the spirit of Elias; for the spirit of Elias was a going before, to prepare the way for the greater, which was the case with John the Baptist; he came bawling<sup>381</sup> through the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, and<sup>382</sup> make his paths straight," and they were informed, if they could receive it, it was the spirit of Elias, and John was very particular to tell the people "he was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of that light."

He told the people that his mission was to preach repentance and baptize with water; but it was he that should come after him, that should baptize with fire, and the Holy Ghost.

If he had been an imposter, he might have gone to work beyond his bounds, and undertook to have performed ordinances which did not belong to that office and calling, under the spirit of Elias.

The spirit of Elias is to prepare the way for a greater revelation of God, which is the priesthood of Elias, or the priesthood that Aaron was ordained unto: and when God sends a man into the world to prepare for a greater work, holding the keys of the power of Elias, it was called the doctrine of Elias, even from the early ages of the world.

John's mission was limited to preaching and baptizing; but what he did was legal, and when Jesus Christ came to any of John's disciples, he baptized them with fire and the Holy Ghost.

We find the apostles endowed with greater power than John; their office was more under the spirit and power of Elijah than Elias.

In the case of Phillip when he went down to Samaria, when he was under the spirit of Elias he baptized both men and women; when Peter and John heard of it, they went down and laid hands upon them, and they received the Holy Ghost. This shows the distinction between the two powers.

When Paul came to certain disciples, he asked if they had received the Holy Ghost? They said no! Who baptized you then? We were baptized unto John's baptism. No, you were not baptized unto John's baptism, or you would have been baptized by John;<sup>383</sup> and so Paul went and baptized them, for he knew what the true doctrine was, and he knew that John had not baptized them, and these principles are strange to me, that men who have read the scriptures of the New Testament are so far from it.

What I want to impress upon your minds is, the difference of power in the different parts of the priesthood, so that when any man comes among you, saying, "I have the spirit of Elias," you can know whether he be true or false; for any man that comes, having the spirit and power of Elias, he will not transcend his bounds.

John did not transcend his bounds, but faithfully performed that part belonging to his office, and every portion of the great building should be prepared right, and assigned to its proper place; and it is necessary to know who holds the keys of power, and who does not, or we may be likely to be deceived.

That person who holds the keys of Elias hath a preparatory work; but, if I spend much more time in conversing about the spirit of Elias, I shall not have time to do justice to the spirit and power of Elijah.

This is the Elias spoken of in the last days and here is the rock upon which many split,

<sup>380.</sup> DHC 6:250: "afterward"

<sup>381.</sup> DHC 6:250: replaces "bawling" with "crying"

<sup>382.</sup> DHC 6:250: omits "and"

<sup>383.</sup> WWj, NSB, 47: replace "you were not baptized ... John" with "John did not baptize you for he did his work right"; Book E-1, 1919 (darker ink): "John did not baptize you, for he did his work right <you were not baptised unto John's baptism or you would have been baptised by John;>" (LH)

thinking the time was past in the days of John and Christ, and no more to be; but the spirit of Elias was revealed to me, and I know it is true; therefore I speak with boldness, for I know verily my doctrine is true.

Now for Elijah. The spirit, power and calling of Elijah is, that ye have power to hold the keys<sup>384</sup> of the revelations<sup>385</sup>, ordinances, oracles, powers and endowments of the fullness of the Melchizedek priesthood and of the kingdom of God on the earth, and to receive, obtain and perform all the ordinances belonging to the kingdom of God, even unto<sup>386</sup> the turning<sup>387</sup> of the hearts of the fathers unto the children, and the hearts of the<sup>388</sup> children unto the fathers, even those who are in heaven.

Malachi says, "I will send <sup>389</sup>Elijah <sup>390</sup>before the <sup>391</sup>great and dreadful day of the Lord come<sup>392</sup>, and he shall turn the hearts<sup>393</sup> of the fathers to the children, and the hearts<sup>394</sup> of the children to the fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse."

Now, what I am after, is the knowledge of God, and I take my own course to obtain it. What are we to understand by this in the last days?

In the days of Noah, God destroyed the world by a flood, and he has promised to destroy it by fire in the last days; but before it took<sup>395</sup> place, Elijah should first come, and turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, &c.

Now comes the point. What is this office and work of Elijah? It is one of the greatest and most important subjects that God has revealed. He should send Elijah to seal the children to the fathers, and the fathers to the children.

#### [DN 7 (17 June 1857): 113-14]

Now was this merely confined to the living, to settle difficulties with families on earth? By no means, it was a far greater work. Elijah! what would you do if you were here? Would you confine your work to the living alone? No, I would refer you to the scriptures, where the subject is manifest, that is, without us they could not be made perfect, nor we without them; the fathers without the children, nor the children without the fathers.

I wish you to understand this subject, for it is important; and if you will receive it, this is the spirit of Elijah, that we redeem our dead, and connect ourselves with our fathers which are in heaven, and seal up our dead to come forth in the first resurrection; and here we want the power of Elijah to seal those who dwell on earth to those who dwell in heaven. This is the power of Elijah and the keys of the kingdom of Jehovah.

Let us suppose a case; suppose the Great God who dwells in heaven, should reveal himself to Father Cutler here, by the opening heavens, and tell him, "I offer up a decree, that whatsoever you seal on earth with your decree, I will seal it in heaven"; you have the power then, can it be taken off? No, then what you seal on earth by the keys of Elijah, is sealed in heav-

```
384. DHC 6:251: "key"
385. DHC 6:251: "revelation"
386. Book E-1, 1920: "{\even unto/}" (US)
387. WWj: replaces "turning" with "sealing"; NSB, 48: "sealing <turning>" (TB)
388. Book E-1, 1920: "<fathers unto ... the>" (JG)
389. DHC 6:251: adds "you"
390. DHC 6:251: adds "the prophet"
391. DHC 6:251: adds "coming of the"
392. DHC 6:251: omits "come"
393. DHC 6:251: "heart"
394. DHC 6:251: "heart"
395. DHC 6:251: replaces "took" with "should take"
```

en,<sup>396</sup> and this is the power of Elijah, and this is the difference between the spirit and power of Elias and Elijah. For while the spirit of Elias is a forerunner, the power of Elijah is sufficient to make our calling and election sure, and the same doctrine where we are exhorted to go on to perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, but of laying on of hands, resurrection of the dead, &c.

We cannot be perfect without the fathers, &c. We must have revelations<sup>397</sup> from them, and we can see that the doctrine of REVELATION as far transcends the doctrine of NO REVELATION, **as knowledge is above ignorance**<sup>398</sup>; for one truth revealed from heaven is worth all the sectarian notions in existence.

This spirit of Elijah was manifest in the days of the apostles, in delivering certain ones to the buffetings of Satan, that they might<sup>399</sup> be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus; they were sealed by the spirit of Elijah unto the damnation of hell until the day of the Lord, or revelation of Jesus Christ.

Here is the doctrine of election that the world has quarreled so much about; but they do not know anything about it.

The doctrine that the Presbyterians and Methodists have quarreled so much about, once in grace always in grace, or falling away from grace, I will say a word about; they are both wrong, truth takes a road between them both; for while the Presbyterian says, "once in grace you cannot fall," the Methodist says, "you can have grace today, fall from it tomorrow, next day have grace again, and so follow on 400, changing continually 401"; but the doctrine of the scriptures, and the spirit of Elijah would show them both false, and take a road between them both, for according to the scriptures 402, if men have 403 received the good word of God, and tasted of the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, it is impossible to renew them again, seeing they have crucified the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame, so there is a possibility of falling away, you could not be renewed again, and the power of Elijah cannot seal against this sin, for this is a reserve made in the seals and power of the priesthood.

I will make every doctrine plain that I present, and it shall stand upon a firm basis, and I am at the defiance of the world, for I will take shelter under the broad  $^{404}$ cover of the wings of the work in which I am engaged. It matters not to me if all hell boils over; I regard it only as I would the crackling of the thorns under a pot.

A murderer, for instance, one that sheds innocent blood, cannot have forgiveness. David sought repentance at the hand of God carefully, with tears for the murder of Uriah<sup>405</sup>, but he could only get it through hell; he got a promise that his soul should not be left in hell.

Although David was a king, he never did obtain the spirit and power of Elijah and the fullness of the priesthood; and the priesthood that he received, and the throne and kingdom of David is to be taken from him and given to another by the name of David in the last days, raised up out of his lineage.

Peter referred to the same subject on the day of Pentecost, but the multitude did not get

```
396. NSB, 49: "<you have the power then ... in heaven>"
397. DHC 6:252: "revelation"
398. DHC 6:252: omits "as knowledge is above ignorance"
399. WWj, NSB, 49: replace "might" with "may"; Book E-1, 1921 (pencil): "may<ight>" (US)
400. WWj: replaces "on" with "it"; NSB, 50: "# <on>" (TB)
401. WWj: omits "changing continually"; NSB, 50: "<changing continually>" (TB)
402. DHC 6:253: "Scripture"
403. WWj: "if a man has"; NSB, 50: "if a man <men> ha\ve/ ["ve" w.o. "s"]" (prob. TB)
404. WWj: adds "shelter"
405. WWj: omits "for the murder of Uriah"; NSB, 50: "<for the murder of Uriah>" (TB)
```

the endowment that Peter had; but several days after, the people asked ["]what shall we do[?"] Peter says, "I would ye had done it ignorantly," speaking of crucifying the Lord, &c. He did not say to them, "repent, and be baptized for the remission of your sins," but he said, "repent therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord." Acts 3, 19.

This is the case with murderers, they could not be baptized for the remission of sins, for they had shed innocent blood.

Again, the doctrine or sealing power of Elijah is as follows:—If you have power to seal on earth and in heaven, then we should be crafty<sup>406</sup>, the first thing you do, go and seal on earth, your sons and daughters unto yourself; and yourself unto your fathers in eternal glory, <sup>407</sup>and go ahead, and not go back, but use a little craftiness<sup>408</sup>, and seal all you can; and when you get to heaven tell your father that what you seal on earth should be sealed in heaven, according to his promise<sup>409</sup>.

I will walk through the gate of heaven and claim what I seal, and those that follow me and my counsel $^{410}$ .

The Lord once told me that what I asked for, I should have; I have been afraid to ask God to kill my enemies, lest some of them should peradventure repent.

I asked a short time since for the Lord to deliver me out of the hands of the Governor of Missouri, and if it needs must be to accomplish it to take him away; and the next news that came pouring down from there was, that *Governor Reynolds had shot himself*; and I would now say, "Beware, Oh earth, how you fight against the Saints of God, and shed innocent blood; for in the days of Elijah, his enemies came upon him, and fire was called down from heaven and destroyed them."

The spirit of Elias is first, Elijah second, and Messiah last. Elias is a forerunner to prepare the way, and the spirit and power of Elijah is to come after, holding the keys of power, building the Temple to the capstone, placing the seals of the Melchizedek priesthood upon the house of Israel, and making all things ready, then *Messiah* comes to his Temple, which is last of all.

Messiah is above the spirit and power of Elijah, for he made the world, and was that spiritual rock unto Moses in the wilderness. Elijah was to come and prepare the way, and build up the kingdom, before the coming of the great day of the Lord, although the spirit of Elias might begin it.

I have asked of the Lord concerning his coming; and while asking the Lord, he gave a sign, and said, "In the days of Noah I set a bow in the heavens, as a sign and token that in any year that the bow should be seen the Lord would not come, but there should be seed time and harvest during that year, but whenever you see the bow withdrawn, it shall be a token that there shall be famine, pestilence, and great distress among the nations, and that the coming of the Messiah is not far distant<sup>411</sup>."

<sup>412</sup>But I will take the responsibility upon myself to prophesy in the name of the Lord, that Christ will not come this year, as Father<sup>413</sup> Miller has prophesied, for we have seen the bow, and

<sup>406.</sup> Book E-1, 1922 (darker ink): "crafty <wise>" (US)

<sup>407.</sup> DHC 6:253 omits remainder of paragraph.

<sup>408.</sup> Book E-1, 1922 (darker ink): "craftiness <wisdom>" (US)

<sup>409.</sup> WWj: omits "according to his promise"; NSB, 51: "<according to his promise>" (TB)

<sup>410.</sup> Book E-1, 1922 (pencil): "Counei < se>1" (US)

<sup>411.</sup> WWj: omits "and that the coming ... distant"; NSB, 51: "<and that the coming ... distant>" (pos. JG)

<sup>412.</sup> JSj [1844], 30, refers to this part of JS's sermon: "The Savior will not come this year. <nor 40 years to come.> The bow has been seen in the cloud & in that year that the bow is seen seed time and harvest will be, but when the bow ceases to be seen look out for a famine."

<sup>413.</sup> WWj: omits "Father"; NSB, 51: "<Father>" (TB); Book E-1, 1922: "\as Father/"; "Father" w.o. "as" (RLC)

I also prophesy in the name of the Lord, that Christ WILL NOT COME IN FORTY YEARS, and if God ever spoke by my mouth, he will not come in that length of time. Brethren, when you go home, write this down that it may be remembered. 414

Jesus Christ never did reveal to any man the precise time that he would come; go and read the scriptures, and you cannot find anything that specifies the exact hour<sup>415</sup> he would come, and all that say so are false teachers.

There are some important things concerning the office of the Messiah in the organization of the world, which I will speak of hereafter. May God Almighty bless you, and pour out his Spirit upon you, is the prayer of your unworthy servant. Amen.

 $^{416}$ At  $4\frac{1}{2}^{417}$  p.m., I met with the Twelve, Bishop Miller and the Temple Committee in the Nauvoo Mansion.

The following letter from Lyman Wight and others **about removing to the table lands of Texas** was read:—

<sup>418</sup>Black River Falls, February 15, 1844.

To the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints:—

Dear Brethren:—Through the goodness and mercy of God, the Eternal Father, and grace of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, we are permitted to write and send by a special messenger, a concise account of our lumbering operations, together with the apparent prospects of the introduction and spread of the Gospel among the Chippewa and Menomanee Indians, and also the projects of our hearts in regard to future operations in spreading the gospel south in all the extent of America, and the consequences growing out of the same; all of which we beg leave to submit to your consideration, that we may have your concurrence or such views as shall be in accordance with the mind and will of the Lord, and govern ourselves in accordance thereto.

Since we have been here lumbering, we have had many difficulties to encounter, but the main hindrance to our successful operations was the feeding, clothing, and transporting a great many lazy, idle men, who have not produced anything by their pretended labor, and thus eating up all that the diligent and honest could produce by their unceasing application to labor, and we have not yet got entirely clear of such 419 persons.

But under all these mighty clogs and hindrances, we have been able to accomplish and have in progress, so that we can deliver in Nauvoo about one million feet of lumber by the last of July next, which will be a great deal more than what is necessary to build the Temple and <sup>420</sup>Nauvoo House; besides all this, we have made valuable improvements here, all the result of much labor done under trying circumstances.

We have recently ascertained that the lands from the falls of Black River to its sources, is 421 the property of the Menomanee Indians, and the general government having urged them

<sup>414.</sup> WWj: omits "Brethren, when you go home ... remembered"; NSB, 52: "<Brethren when you go home ... remember>" (prob. JG)

<sup>415.</sup> WWj: omits "hour"

<sup>416.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 31 (WR) (APR, 458). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>417.</sup> DHC 6:254: "half-past three"

<sup>418.</sup> Source: JSLR, Bx3, fd 6, 56-61. Cf. typescript in JScSup, fd 12, 21-22; JH, 15 Feb. 1844.

<sup>419.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "like"; Book E-1, 1923: adds erasure

<sup>420.</sup> DHC 6:255: adds "the"

<sup>421.</sup> DHC 6:255: "are"

to move off of the lands in the vicinity of Green Bay unto their own lands. The Indians say they will, provided the government will remove all strange Indians and trespassing white men off of 422 their lands; consequently the agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs are taking such steps as will stop all further trespassing on the Indian lands, on the Wisconsin, Black and Chippewa Rivers, under the penalties of the laws relative to the cases.

We sent brothers Miller and Daniels, in company with the principal chief of the Menomanee Indians, overland to the Wisconsin River, to ascertain more about the matter. They saw the agent, found him a gruff, austere man, determined to stop all trespassing on Indian lands.

The Indians are willing to sell privileges to individuals for lumbering and cutting timber, as they have hitherto done; but the agent is opposed to it. Thus a difficulty arises between themselves.

Now, as regards the introduction of the gospel of Christ among the Indians here, it will require more exertion to all appearances, to check the enthusiastic ardor of these our red bretheren until the full principles of faith in our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ shall be reasoned into their minds, than to urge them on to receive it. They have great confidence in us.

The country belonging to these northern Indians is a dreary, cold region, and to a great extent, cranberry marshes, pine barrens, and swamps, with a small amount of good land<sup>423</sup>, scarce of game, and only valuable in mill privileges and facilities for lumbering purposes.

As to mineral resources, they have not been fully developed. There is no doubt as to the abundance of iron ore, but uncertain as to quality.

Now, under all of 424 these circumstances, a few of us here have arrived at this conclusion in our minds, (such as can undergo all things,) that as the gospel has not been fully opened in all the South and Southwestern States, as also Texas, Mexico, Brazil, &c., together with the West India<sup>425</sup> Islands; having produced lumber enough to build the Temple and Nauvoo House; also having an influence over the Indians, so as to induce them to sell their lands to the United States, and go to a climate southwest, more congenial 426 (all according to the policy of the U.S. Government;) and having also become convinced that the church at Nauvoo, or in the Eastern States, will not build the Nauvoo House according to the commandment, neither the Temple in a reasonable time; and that we have, so far as we have made trials, got means in the South; we have it<sup>427</sup> in our minds to go to the table-lands of Texas, to a point we may find to be the most eligible, there locate, and let it be a place of gathering for all the south (they being encumbered with that unfortunate race of beings, the Negroes) and for us to employ our time and talents in gathering together means to build according to the commandments of our God, and spread the gospel to the nations, according to the will of our Heavenly Father; we, therefore, our beloved brethren, send our worthy brother Young, with a few of our thoughts, on paper; that you may take the subject-matter under consideration, and return us such instructions as may be according to the mind and will of the Lord our God.

We have thought it best to sell the mills here, if you think it expedient. We feel greatly encouraged to spend and be spent in the cause of Christ, according to the will of our Heavenly Father.

You will, therefore, after due deliberation, send us by the hands of brother Young, such instructions as may be the result of your deliberations.

<sup>422.</sup> DHC 6:255: omits "of"

<sup>423.</sup> DHC 6:256: "lands"

<sup>424.</sup> DHC 6:256: omits "of"

<sup>425.</sup> DHC 6:256: "Indian"

<sup>426.</sup> DHC 6:256: omits "more congenial"

<sup>427.</sup> DHC 6:256: omits "it"

Holding ourselves ready under all circumstances in life to try to do all things whatsoever commanded or instructed to do by those ordained to direct the officers of the Church of Jesus Christ.

Subscribing ourselves,

yours truly, while life shall endure,

LYMAN WIGHT, GEORGE MILLER, PHINEHAS<sup>428</sup> R. BIRD, PIERCE HAWLEY, JOHN YOUNG.

Select Committee to write expressive of  $^{429}$  the views of the branch of the Church at Black River Falls.

```
JOSEPH SMITH, P.C.,
BRIGHAM YOUNG, P.T.,
WILLARD RICHARDS, Clerk.
```

Also a letter to myself from Lyman Wight and others:—

```
<sup>430</sup>Black River Falls, Wisconsin Territory, Feb[ruary]. 15th, 1844.
```

To Joseph Smith, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and to the Twelve Apostles,—greeting:—

Believing a concert of action in all things in this church to be highly important, we deem it necessary, under existing circumstances, to make you acquainted with our views and 431 feelings, 432 temporal and spiritual prospects, as they now exist.

We wrote you last fall a full and complete description of this country as high as the falls on Black River, without exaggeration, giving a slight description of the Pinery.

With the exception of several renegades and false brethren, things passed smoothly on until some time in the month of January, when we were visited by three different tribes of Lamanites upon the most friendly terms, receiving us as their counselors, both temporal and spiritual.

The names of those tribes, Menomanees, Chippewa and Winnebagoes, they informed us that all the land above the falls belongs to the Menomanee tribe, and that the agents and the Governor, the general agent in the northwest of all the Indian affairs, had agreed with them to remove all the lumbermen from 433 Black River, Chippewa and Lemanware rivers, by their request; but after a lengthy conversation with them, they felt to treat us as their friends, and not their enemies.

We dispatched two messengers, (namely) George Miller and Cyrus Daniels, to go immediately to Wisconsin, where they met with the agent, who gave them to understand we could get the timber, which is already cut at a reasonable rate; and for any future prospect, we will be under the necessity of entering into a contract.

<sup>428.</sup> MS letter, 4: "Phineas"; DHC 6:257: "PHINEAS"

<sup>429.</sup> DHC 6:257: "expressively" and omits "of"

<sup>430.</sup> Source: JScSup, fd 12, 11-15. Cf. typescript in JScSup, fd 12, 17-19.

<sup>431.</sup> DHC 6:257: omits "and"

<sup>432.</sup> DHC 6:257: adds "and"

<sup>433.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<from>"

We calculate the present prospect for lumber betwixt this and the last of July next, will be from 8 to 12 hundred thousand feet, which we deem will be all sufficient to finish the two houses, which will accomplish the mission on which we started to this country.

We therefore, as a branch and a member of the body of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, chose the following committee (namely,) Lyman Wight, George Miller, Pierce Hawley, Phinehas<sup>434</sup> R.<sup>435</sup> Bird and John Young, to correspond with your reverend council, giving you our views concerning matters and things, and requesting your counsel on the same.

This committee views it inexpedient to purchase standing timber on so rapid and unnavigable a stream for the purpose of making lumber to gain wealth.

The Lamanites owning this land, notwithstanding their great anxiety to receive the gospel and the Book of Mormon, have a strong desire, if counseled by us so to do, to go southwest, where game is more plenty<sup>436</sup>, as their only resource here for a living is the pitiful annuities and proceeds from their pine timber, which timber is the only inducement to the government to purchase their lands.

This committee is therefore led to take a brief view of the south and western part of North America, together with the Floridas, Texas, West India Islands, and the adjacent islands to the Gulf of Mexico, together with the Lamanites bordering on the United Territories from Green Bay to the Mexican Gulf, all crying with one voice through the medium of their chiefs. Give us an understanding of your doctrine and principles, for we perceive that your ways are equal, and your righteousness far exceeds the righteousness of all the missionaries, that we have yet become acquainted with, that your conduct with one another is like that of ours, and that all your feasts and attendant ceremonies are precisely like ours.

Your servants the committee have viewed the Colorado river, with all its beautiful hills and valleys and fertile soil, with deep regret, when viewing the countless thousands of inhabitants on either side thereof, without the knowledge of God, or the doctrine of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and say in their hearts, would it be expedient to form a mission of those true and full-blooded Ephraimites, who from principle and the 437 love of the truth have borne the most extreme burdens, fatigue and hunger to prosecute the mission, to procure lumber sufficient to build the two houses, to open the door to all the regions which we have named, which regions have never yet had an opportunity to hear the gospel, and to be made acquainted with the plan of salvation; or shall they continue to suffer the fatigues of hunger wet and cold in a rigid inclement climate for the pitiful sum that it shall avail them after undergoing those hazardous perils, or shall they, like Timothy and Titus, with Paul hazard the perils of sea and land through the Southern States and West India Islands, and all the Lamanite world, go forth and proclaim to them the gospel of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, and teach them to build up Zion.

Are <sup>438</sup> there not thousands of the rich planters who would embrace the gospel, and <sup>439</sup>, if they had a place to plant their slaves, give all the proceeds of their yearly labor, if rightly taught, for building up the kingdom, being directed by the President of the whole church to make the right application? We answer yes, we believe they would.

<sup>434.</sup> MS letter, 2, DHC 6:258: "Phineas"

<sup>435.</sup> MS letter, 2: omits "R."; Book E-1, 1925 (darker ink): "\R./" (RLC)

<sup>436.</sup> DHC 6:258: "plentiful"

<sup>437.</sup> MS letter, 2, Book E-1, 1926: omit "the"

<sup>438.</sup> MS letter, 3: replaces "Are" with "Is"; Book E-1, 1926: "Are" overwrites "Is"

<sup>439.</sup> MS letter, 3:"<and>"

Your servants the committee are of the opinion that a concert<sup>440</sup> and reciprocity of action between the North and the South would greatly advance the building up of the kingdom.

The committee is well informed of the Cherokee and the Chocktaw nations who live between the State of Arkansas and the Colorado river of the Texas<sup>441</sup>, owning large plantations and thousands of slaves, and that they are also very desirous to have an interview with the elders of this church upon the principles of the Book of Mormon.

This committee is of the opinion that they can choose soldiers for this expedition, who are as undeviating in the principles of the doctrine of Christ and the Book of Mormon as the sun in his daily course, and as indefatigable in their exertions in this cause as the earth is in <sup>442</sup>its daily revolution.

This committee views it as a<sup>443</sup> matter of investigation, whether would the Southerner with his slaves and abundance of wealth do better to take them to some slave-holding point, keep them in lively exercise according to his former customs and habits, turning over his yearly proceeds into the hands of the Trustee-in-Trust for the whole Church, or to abolish slavery and settle himself in a climate uncongenial to his nature and entirely derogatory to his former occupations in life.

After having procured the lumber for those two houses, the committee is of the opinion that the preaching 444the gospel and raising funds in the south would be a far more speedy way of accomplishing the work than any other that could be introduced at the present time.

We your servants, therefore, will wait patiently the result of your council, and submit ourselves to the same with all cheerfulness, our only object being to advance the cause and kingdom of God, stand ready to take hold wherever your wise council may consider it to be of the most advantage.

This committee view with deep regret the many different teachings this church has received concerning the distribution of their property, such as raising funds for the printing of tracts, evidences of the Book of Mormon, and pamphlets of various descriptions, which we consider has not advanced the cause in the least degree, but has tended directly to sap the foundation of building the houses.

We, therefore, believe that no person embracing the doctrine of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, should give any part or parcel of their property without a direct counsel, written or oral, from the First Presidency of the Church:

Whereas the committee having appointed George Miller and Lyman Wight to write the views of the committee, each wrote separate and apart, having laid the same before <sup>445</sup>the committee, the committee resolved that both productions be sent without alterations.

We the committee conclude by subscribing ourselves, your friends and well-wishers in the Lord, praying a speedy answer from your worthy council, or the word of the Lord.

> LYMAN WIGHT, GEORGE MILLER, PHINEHAS<sup>446</sup> R. BIRD, PIERCE HAWLEY, JOHN YOUNG.

<sup>440.</sup> DHC 6:259: "concerted"

<sup>441.</sup> DHC 6:259: "Texans"

<sup>442.</sup> Book E-1, 1927: adds erasure

<sup>443.</sup> MS letter, 4: "<a>"

<sup>444.</sup> DHC 6:259: adds "of"

<sup>445.</sup> Book E-1, 1927: adds erasure

<sup>446.</sup> MS letter, 5: "Phineas"; DHC 6:260: "PHINEAS"

Select Committee to write expressive of <sup>447</sup> the views of the branch of the Church at Black River Falls.

```
JOSEPH SMITH, Sen., P. C.,
BRIGHAM YOUNG, P. T.,
WILLARD RICHARDS, Clerk.
```

[Organization of the Council of Fifty]

<sup>448</sup>And<sup>449</sup> went into council on the subject matter of those<sup>450</sup> letters during the remainder of the evening.

<sup>452</sup>Joseph asked, can this council keep what I say, not make it public, all held up their hands. Copy the Constitution of the U[nited]. S[tates].; hands of a select committee. No laws can be enacted but what every man can be protected from. Grant their petition, go ahead concerning the Indians and Southern states &c. Send 25 men by the Pinery<sup>453</sup> through to Santa Fee<sup>454</sup> &c, and if Houston<sup>455</sup> will embrace the gospel. [We] can amend that constitution and make it the voice of Jehovah and shame the U[nited]. S[tates.]. Parley Pratt in favor. Hyrum concurred. Said Joseph, "Let us adjourn till after supper to the school room."

7 eve[ning] assembled at the assembly room over the store. [Present:] Joseph [Smith], Hyrum [Smith], Brigham [Young], 12 [Apostles], Temple Committee, [William W.] Phelps, A[mos]. Fielding, J. Phelps, [Lorenzo D.] Wasson. Joseph required perfect secrecy of them. 456 Evening in council over the store. 457

<sup>458</sup>Monday 11.—At home till 9; then spent the day in council in the lodge room over Henry Miller's house.

<sup>459</sup>Present Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Geo[rge]. A. Smith, William W. Phelps, John M. Bernhisel, Lucien<sup>460</sup> Woodworth, Geo[rge]. Miller, Alexander Badlam, Peter Haws, Erastus

<sup>447.</sup> DHC 6:260: "expressing" and omits "of"

<sup>448.</sup> Source: This paragraph based on JSj [1844], 31-33 (WR) (APR, 458-59), which is given in the two bolded paragraphs that follow.

<sup>449.</sup> DHC 6:260: replaces "And" with "The brethren"

<sup>450.</sup> DHC 6:260: replaces "those" with "the"

<sup>451.</sup> DHC 6:260: omits "the remainder of"

<sup>452.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from unused portion of JSj [1844], 31-33 (WR) (APR, 458-59).

<sup>453.</sup> JSj [1844], 32: "pinery <the Y < r > enip > ", which is "pinery" written backwards.

<sup>454.</sup> JSj [1844], 32: "Santa Fee < Atnas Eef>", which is "Santa Fee" written backwards.

<sup>455. [</sup>Si [1844], 32: "Houston < Notsuoh>", which is "Houston" written backwards.

<sup>456.</sup> JSj [1844], 33, cancels preceding sentence.

<sup>457.</sup> WC recorded: "Evening attended Council with the First Presidency and the Twelve on important business arising from a letter from the Pine Country.70 Brother W. Richards was appointed Chairman and myself, was appointed Clerk" (WCj, vol. 3, 10 Mar. 1844; *IC*, 126; DMQP, 16).

<sup>458.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 34 (WR) (APR, 459), with light editing.

<sup>459.</sup> *Source*: List of those present from WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 11 Mar. 1844 (*IC*, 126-27; DMQP, 16-17); remainder probably composed with the help of one or more of the participants, if not taken from CFM. RDft 8:23 originally described the meeting with words based on WCj: "had a very profitable & instructive time." This was later canceled and the present description added by TB. Cf. WCj [1842-45], vol. 2, 1 Jan. 1845 (*IC*, 153-54; DMQP, 33); WWj, vol. 4, 11 Mar. 1844 (*WWj* 2:366).

<sup>460.</sup> Book E-1, 1928: "Luci\e/n"; "e" w.o. "a"

Snow, Reynolds Cahoon, Amos Fielding, Alpheus Cutler, Levi Richards, Newel K. Whitney, Lorenzo D. Wasson and William Clayton, whom I organized into a special council to take into consideration the subject matter contained in the above letters, and also the best policy for this people to adopt to obtain their rights from the nation, and insure protection for themselves and children; and to secure a resting place in the mountains, or some uninhabited region, where we can enjoy the liberty of conscience, guaranteed to us by the constitution of our country; rendered doubly sacred by the precious blood of our fathers, and denied to us by the present authorities, who have smuggled themselves into power in the States and nation.

 $[...]^{461}$ 

<sup>461.</sup> Following instruction in RDft 8:23, Book E-1, 1928, has about ten blank lines with diagonal line later added.

## 11.

# JOSEPH SMITH'S MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS

# March 1844

### [DN 7 (17 June 1857): 113-14 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>Tuesday, [March] 12 [1844].—At home in the morning; at 11 a.m., I told brother Cole I wanted the room over the store for more important purposes, and wished him to remove the school to Henry Miller's house immediately, which he did.

The brethren who were in council with me yesterday assembled there in the afternoon<sup>2</sup> and evening. Gave the following recommend to Elder Orson Pratt:—

<sup>3</sup>City of Nauvoo, Ill[inois]., March 12, 1844.

To whom it may concern:—

We, the mayor and recorder of said city, do <sup>4</sup>certify that Orson Pratt, Esq., the bearer, a councilor in the<sup>5</sup> city council of <sup>6</sup> said city, is sent as an agent by the authorities of <sup>7</sup> said city, or corporation, <sup>8</sup>to transact such business as he may deem expedient and beneficial for the community which he represents; and as such agent, and gentleman of principle and character, he by us is recommended to the due consideration of all the executive officers of the government, both houses of Congress, and gentlemen generally of the United States.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and affixed the seal of said corporation at the time and place aforesaid<sup>9</sup>.

[Corporation Seal.]

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor.

WILLARD RICHARDS, Recorder.

<sup>1.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph based on JSj [1844], 35 (WR) (APR, 459).

<sup>2.</sup> Book E-1, 1928 (darker ink): "{\afternoon/}" (LH)

<sup>3.</sup> *Source*: Copy in JSc, Bx 5, fd 16, 31-32 (WWP; signatures added by WR). This document was subsequently altered by TB to double as Orson Hyde's certificate, dated 30 Mar. 1844 (see end of this chapter).

<sup>4.</sup> DHC 6:262: adds "hereby"

<sup>5.</sup> DHC 6:262: omits "the"

<sup>6.</sup> MS certificate, 1:"<of>"

<sup>7.</sup> MS certificate, 1: "for <by the authorities of>" (TB)

<sup>8.</sup> Book E-1, 1928: adds erasure

<sup>9.</sup> MS certificate, 1: "<at the time and place aforesaid>" (TB)

<sup>10</sup>A dull cloudy day.

<sup>11</sup>A meeting of the inhabitants of the tenth ward was held this <sup>12</sup> evening at the schoolhouse on the hill, in Parley Street, to take into consideration the propriety of establishing a store on the principle of co-operation or reciprocity. The subject was fully investigated, and the benefits of such an institution clearly pointed out.

The plan proposed for carrying out the object of the meeting was by shares of five dollars each.

The leading feature<sup>13</sup> of the institution was to give employment to our own mechanics, by supplying the raw material, and manufacturing all sorts of domestics<sup>14</sup>, and furnishing the necessaries and comforts of life on the lowest possible terms.

A committee was appointed to draft a plan for the government of said institute, to be submitted for adoption or amendment at their next meeting, after which an adjournment took place till next Tuesday evening, at half-past six o'clock, at the same place, when the public generally were requested to attend.

<sup>15</sup>Wednesday, 13.—In special council **on "The Kingdom of God"** from 9 to 12 a.m. Orson Hyde, Wilford Woodruff, and James Emmett were present, in addition to those of the preceding day. Willard Richards was appointed historian and William Clayton clerk of the council<sup>16</sup>.

It was decided that Amos Fielding should return to England, when I and my brother Hyrum gave him the following letter of attorney:

<sup>17</sup>This is to certify that the bearer thereof <sup>18</sup>, our worthy brother, Elder Amos Fielding, hath been appointed by the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, our agent to transact such business as may be deemed necessary for the benefit of said church, and such as he shall see proper throughout the island of Great Britain.

He is hereby authorized to receive moneys for the Temple in Nauvoo, the poor, or for the Church, and the brethren will be safe should they deposit money in his hands for any purpose pertaining to the church business in this place.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and placed the corporation seal of the 19 city of Nauvoo, this 13th day of March, A.D. 1844.

[Corporation Seal.]

JOSEPH SMITH, HYRUM SMITH.

Presiding Elders of the whole Church of J[esus]. C[hrist]. of L[atter]. D[ay]. S[aints].

<sup>20</sup>Thursday, 14.—In special council over the store from 9 till 1.

<sup>10.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:5, 12 Mar. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>11.</sup> Source: Remainder of this day's entry from "Public Meeting," NN 1 (13 Mar. 1844): [182]. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>12.</sup> NN 1:[182]: replaces "this" with "yesterday"

<sup>13.</sup> NN 1:[182]: "features"; Book E-1, 1929: "features"

<sup>14.</sup> DHC 6:263: "domestic goods"

<sup>15.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph based on JSj [1844], 36 (WR) (APR, 459), and WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 13 Mar. 1844 (IC, 127; DMQP, 17), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type. Cf. WWj, vol. 4, 13 Mar. 1844 (WWj 2:366); BYj [1840-44], vol. 3, 13 Mar. 1844 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.2).

<sup>16.</sup> WCj [1843-44]: "clerk of the Kingdom"

<sup>17.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSc, Bx 5, fd 16, 33-35 (WC).

<sup>18.</sup> MS copy, 1, Book E-1, 1929: "hereof"

<sup>19.</sup> DHC 6:264: omits "the"

<sup>20.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1844], 37 (WR) (APR, 459), with light editing.

At 2, went to see brother John Wilkie; he had sent to me to come and see him; he wanted to know what he should do. I told him of the order of tithing, &c., and he wanted I should come again.

At 4, went to Assembly Room again. Lucien Woodworth sent on a mission to Texas<sup>21</sup>. At 7 adjourned to next Tuesday at 9 a.m.

<sup>22</sup>Friday 15.—Dull, cloudy day, north wind; frosty night. Spent the day in council.

<sup>23</sup>Being in a strait <sup>24</sup>to raise money to assist the hands in the Pine country, I sent Elders B[righam]. Young<sup>25</sup> and W[illard]. Richards to borrow some money from Mr. Orme, who, it is believed, had a large sum of money lying idle, but <sup>26</sup>did not get any.

I copy from the Law of the Lord:-

<sup>27</sup>This day President Joseph Smith rode over to brother John Wilkie's, at his special request, to give him some instructions relative to his duty in regard to tithing and consecration.

Brother Wilkie has for a long time back been struggling with his feelings, designing to do right, but laboring under many fears and prejudices in consequence of having in some degree given way to believe the base reports circulated by individuals for the purpose of injuring the authorities of the church, and also from various other causes. His faithful companion has persevered diligently, and with fervent prayer has called upon God in his behalf, until she has realized her utmost wishes.

Brother Wilkie now feels anxious to do right in all things, and especially to pay his tithing to the full. President Joseph showed him the principles of consecration, and the means whereby he might realize the fullness of the blessings of the celestial kingdom, and as an evidence that he desired to do right, he paid over to the Trustee-in-Trust the sum of three hundred dollars in gold and silver for the benefit of the Temple, and which is now recorded on consecration.  $$300.^{28}$ 

He also signified his intention of paying more as soon as he could get matters properly arranged. The President then pronounced a blessing upon him and his companion, that they should have the blessing of God to attend them in their basket and in their store; that they should have the blessing of health and salvation and long life, inasmuch as they would continue to walk in obedience to the commandments of God.

May the Lord grant his Spirit and peace to abide upon brother Wilkie and his companion through the remainder of their days; may their hearts expand and become enlarged to receive the fullness of the blessings of the kingdom of heaven; may they have the light of eternal truth continually springing up in them like a well of living water; may they be shielded from the powers of Satan, and the influence of designing men, and their faith increase from day to day until they shall have power to lay hold on the blessings of God and the gifts of the Spirit, until they are satisfied, and finally may they live to a good old age, and when they have lived while they

<sup>21.</sup> JSj [1844], 37: omits "to Texas"

<sup>22.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:6, 15 Mar. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.12), and possibly WRj 10:6 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13).

<sup>23.</sup> Source: Undetermined. WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 13 Mar. 1844, reads: "I went to see Orme to loan money but he refused" (DMQP, 17).

<sup>24.</sup> Book E-1, 1930: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>25.</sup> DHC 6:264: omits "Young"

<sup>26.</sup> DHC 6:264: adds "they"

<sup>27.</sup> Source: LL, 449 (WC). Cf. TTL, 360, which lists under "Joseph Smith D[ebto]r." the following: "[March] | 15th | [To] Cash [space] Wilkie | [blank] | 449 | 300—" (WC).

<sup>28.</sup> DHC 6:265: omits "\$300"

desire life, may they die in peace, and be received into the mansions of eternal life, and enjoy a celestial glory forever and ever, even so, amen.

<sup>29</sup>My brother Hyrum published in the *Times and Seasons* the following letter.

<sup>30</sup>Nauvoo, March 15, 1844.<sup>31</sup>

To the brethren of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints, living on China Creek, in Hancock County, Greeting:—Whereas brother Richard Hewitt has called on me to-day, to know my views concerning some doctrines that are preached in your place, and states to me that some of your elders say, that a man having a certain priesthood, may have as many wives as he pleases, and that doctrine is taught here: I say unto you that that man teaches false doctrine, for there is no such doctrine taught here; neither is there any such thing practiced here. And any man that is found teaching privately or publicly any such doctrine, is culpable, and will stand a chance to be brought before the High Council, and lose his license and membership also: therefore he had better beware what he is about.

And again I say unto you, an elder has no business to undertake to preach mysteries in any part of the world, for God has commanded us all to preach nothing but the first principles unto the world. Neither has any elder any authority to preach any mysterious thing to any branch of the church unless he has a direct commandment from God to do so. Let the matter of the grand councils of heaven, and the making of gods, worlds, and devils entirely alone: for you are not called to teach any such doctrine—for neither you nor the people are capacitated to understand any such principles—less so to teach them. For when God commands men to teach such principles the saints will receive them. Therefore beware what you teach! for the mysteries of God are not given to all men; and unto those to whom they are given they are placed under restrictions to impart only such as God will command them; and the residue is to be kept in a faithful breast, otherwise he will be brought under condemnation. By this God will prove his faithful servants, who will be called and numbered with the chosen.

And as to the celestial glory, all will enter in and possess that kingdom that obey the gospel, and continue in faith in the Lord unto the end of his days. Now, therefore, I say unto you, you must cease preaching your miraculous things, and let the mysteries alone until by and bye. Preach faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; repentance and baptism for the remission of sins; the laying on of the hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost: teaching the necessity of strict obedience unto these principles; reasoning out of the scriptures; proving them unto the people. Cease your schisms and divisions, and your contentions. Humble yourselves as in dust and ashes, lest God should make you an ensample of his wrath unto the surrounding world. Amen.

In the bonds of the everlasting covenant,

I am Your obedient servant,

HYRUM SMITH.

The editors of the *Times and Seasons* published a short account of "Our City, and the present aspect of Affairs," which we insert:—

<sup>29.</sup> Book E-1, 1931: cancels this introduction and the letter that follows; omitted in DN and DHC. Underlining changed here to italic.

<sup>30.</sup> Source: T&S 5 (15 Mar. 1844): 474. Text here is from T&S.

<sup>31.</sup> Date omitted in Book E-1, 1931.

<sup>32</sup>Believing that our patrons and friends are pleased to hear of our prosperity, we feel happy in apprizing them of the same, through the columns of our paper.

Owing to the scarcity of provision, and the pressure in the money market during the past winter, commercial business has been somewhat dull; consequently those who were not previously prepared, have been obliged to employ the principal portion of their time in obtaining the necessary means for the sustenance of their families; therefore little improvement has been made. But old boreas is now on his receding march, and spring has commenced its return with all its pleasantness.

Navigation is open, and steamboats are almost continually plying up and down our majestic river; they have already brought several families of emigrants to this place, who have cordially joined with their friends and brethren in the great work of the upbuilding of Zion, and the rolling forth of the kingdom of God.

The work of improvement is now actively begun, and in every direction may be heard the sound of the mason's trowel, the carpenter's hammer, the teamster's voice; or in other words, the hum of industry, and the voice of merriment. Indeed, to judge from the present appearance, a greater amount of improvement will be done the ensuing summer, than in the preceding one.

Almost every stranger that enters our city, is excited with astonishment, that so much has been done in so short a time; but we flatter ourselves, from the known industry, perseverance and diligence of the Saints, that by the return of another winter, so much more will be accomplished, that his astonishment will be increased to wonder and admiration.

Quite extensive preparations are being made by the farmers in this vicinity, for the cultivation of land; and should the season prove favorable, we doubt not that nearly, if not a sufficient amount of produce will be raised to supply the wants of the city and adjacent country.

We are also pleased that we can inform our friends abroad, that the Saints here of late, have taken hold of the work on the Temple, with  $a^{33}$  zeal and energy that in no small degree excites our admiration. Their united efforts certainly speak to us, that it is their determination that this spacious edifice shall be enclosed, if not finished, this season.

And a word we would say to the Saints abroad, which is, that the Temple is being built in compliance with a special commandment of God, not to a few individuals, but to all: therefore, we sincerely hope you will contribute of your means as liberally, as your circumstances will allow, that the burden of the work may not rest upon a few, but proportionately upon all.

Where is the true-hearted Saint that does not with joy and delight contemplate the endowment of the servants of God, and the blessings he has promised his people on condition they speedily build the Temple? Certainly you cannot reasonably expect to enjoy these blessings, if you refuse to contribute your share towards its erection.

It is a thing of importance, and much depends upon its accomplishment; therefore, we wish to forcibly impress the matter upon your minds, hoping you will become aroused to a sense of your duty; that every company of Saints, every elder that comes here, and every mail, may bring money and other property for this important work, which when completed will stand, in one sense of the word, as a firm pillar in Zion, and which will greatly facilitate the prosperity of the great cause of truth, which we all are actively engaged in.

For several Sundays past; when the weather was favorable, large crowds of our citizens assembled near the Temple, where they have been favored with very interesting and eloquent discourses, from Gen. Joseph Smith, President Hyrum Smith, Elder P. P. Pratt, and others. On the last occasion that Gen. Smith favored us with a discourse, he spoke on the subject of the spirits, powers, and missions of the Messiah, Elias, and Elijah, to an atten-

<sup>32.</sup> Source: T&S 5 (15 Mar. 1844): 471-72. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>33.</sup> DHC 6:266: replaces "a" with "the"

tive audience, that listened with an almost breathless silence; their minds apparently being completely absorbed with the subject, while with a rapturous delight they heard so exquisite a dissertation upon these important principles, which are connected with the great plan of salvation. It being in the open air, and the audience so large, that it was with great difficulty he could be heard by all present. We have frequently heard him of late, in a very plaintive manner speak of the difficulties that he labors under in speaking to a congregation thus situated, also that many glorious principles of the kingdom of God, which he is anxious to make known to the saints, is a burden upon his mind; but that he could not with any propriety make them known while he had to contend with this difficulty, which can be fully obviated by the completion of the Temple.

<sup>34</sup>Saturday, 16.—At home. At 1 p.m., I sat in council with W[illard]. Richards, O[rrin]. P. Rockwell and Bishop [George] Miller.

The Female Relief Society had two meetings in the Assembly Room, as it would not hold all at once, and sanctioned the "Voice of Innocence from Nauvoo." 35

<sup>36</sup>Sunday, 17.—**At home.** Last night Nauvoo was visited by a very strong wind from the west; it blew down a portion of the west wall of <sup>37</sup> the new hall, (28 by 40 feet on the ground,) which the Seventies had commenced on Bain Street, and they had raised ready<sup>38</sup> for the roof.

<sup>39</sup>The wind continued very strong all day. In the evening had a smart snowstorm, which covered the ground, and was<sup>40</sup> succeeded by a frosty night.

Attended prayer meeting. Adjourned one week.

<sup>41</sup>Monday, 18.—The frost of last night was so severe, as to form ice inside the houses.

I stayed at home to recite German with brother [Alexander]<sup>42</sup> Niebaur<sup>43</sup>.

2 P.M. Secretary [Willard] Richards called and gave me a letter, 44which I read.

 $5\frac{1}{2}$  P.M. W[illiam]. W. Phelps went past the office on [his way to board] the *Leboner* for St. Louis.

<sup>45</sup>Tuesday, 19.—**9 A.M.** Met in council in the Assembly Room. Elder Samuel Bent, Uriah Brown, Samuel James, John D. Parker, Or[r]in Porter<sup>46</sup> Rockwell, Sidney Rigdon, William Marks and Orson Spencer met in council in addition to the former names.

<sup>47</sup>In the afternoon, heavy driving rain. N[orth]. W[est]. wind; dull cold day.

<sup>34.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 39 (WR) (APR, 459), with light editing and elaboration.

<sup>35.</sup> See "A Voice of Innocence from Nauvoo," NN 1 (20 Mar. 1844): [186]; MS copy in JSc, Bx 5, fd 17, 28–35 (WWP).

<sup>36.</sup> Source: First and third paragraphs from JSj [1844], 40 (WR) (APR, 459-60), with light editing and elaboration. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>37.</sup> Book E-1, 1933 (darker ink): "<a portion ... of>" (LH)

<sup>38.</sup> DHC 6:267: omits "ready"

<sup>39.</sup> Source: Based on CHOj 1:6, 17 Mar. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>40.</sup> Book E-1, 1933 (darker ink): "\and was/" (pos. LH)

<sup>41.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1844], 41 (WR) (APR, 460), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type; italic added.

<sup>42.</sup> Brackets this editor's.

<sup>43.</sup> DHC 6:267: "Neibaur"

<sup>44.</sup> JSj [1844], 41: "letter from [blank] and &c."

<sup>45.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 42 (WR) (APR, 460), with names supplied from WCj [1843-44], 19 Mar. 1844 (IC, 127; DMQP, 17). Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type.

<sup>46.</sup> DHC 6:267:"P."

<sup>47.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:6, 19 Mar. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>48</sup>Wednesday, 20.—Severe cold N[orth]. W[est]. wind, with a snow and hail storm until 10 a.m. Afternoon dull. W[est]. wind.

<sup>49</sup>Spent the morning and afternoon in the Assembly Room, studying the languages.

Elder Woodruff read me a letter which he had written to Col[onel]. Solomon Copeland concerning his nomination to be a candidate for the Vice-President of the U[nited]. S[tates].

The Illinois Springfield Register has the following:—

# $^{50}$ GENERAL JOSEPH SMITH A CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

It appears by the Nauvoo papers that the Mormon Prophet is actually a candidate for the Presidency. He has sent us his pamphlet, containing an extract of his principles, from which it appears that he is up to the hub for a United States Bank and a protective tariff. On these points, he is much more explicit than Mr. Clay, who will not say that he is for a bank, but talks all the time of "restoring a national currency"; nor will Mr. Clay say what kind of tariff he is for. He says to the South, that he has not sufficiently examined the present tariff, but thinks very likely it could be amended.

Gen[eral]. Smith possesses no such fastidious delicacy. He comes right out in favor of a bank and a tariff; taking the true Whig ground, and ought to be regarded as the real Whig candidate for President, until Mr. Clay can so far recover from his shuffling and dodging, as to declare his sentiments like a man.

At present we can form no opinion of Clay's principles, except as they are professed by his friends in these parts.

Clay himself has adopted the notion which was once entertained by an eminent grammarian, who denied that language was intended as a means to express one's ideas, but insisted that it was invented on purpose to aid us in concealing them.

The *Iowa Democrat* publishes<sup>51</sup>:—

<sup>52</sup>["]A New Candidate in the Field.

We see from the *Nauvoo Neighbor* that Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith, the great Mormon Prophet, has become a candidate for the next Presidency. We do not know whether he intends to submit his claims to the National Convention or not; but judging from the language of his own organ, we conclude that he considers himself a full team for all of them."

All that we have to say on this point is, that if superior talent, genius and intelligence combined with virtue, integrity and enlarged views, are any guarantee to General Smith's being elected, we think that he will be a "full team of himself."

The "Missouri Republican believes that it will be death to Van Buren, and all agree that

<sup>48.</sup> Source: WWj, vol. 4, 20 Mar. 1844 (WWj 2:367), and CHOj 1:6, 20 Mar. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>49.</sup> *Source*: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 44 (WR) (*APR*, 460), with light editing. Cf. WWj, vol. 4, 20 Mar. 1844 (*WWj* 2:367).

<sup>50.</sup> Source: NN 1 (20 Mar. 1844): [186].

<sup>51.</sup> DHC 6:268: adds "the following"

<sup>52.</sup> Source: Following four paragraphs from NN 1 (20 Mar. 1844): [186].

it must be injurious to the democratic ranks, inasmuch as it will throw the Mormon vote out of the field."

A traveler, having visited Nauvoo for a few days, wrote to the Times and Seasons:

#### <sup>53</sup>Nauvoo, Mansion, March, 1844.

Mr. Editor:—Before I take my departure, permit me to express my views relative to the leading men of your city, where I have been these few days.

I have been conversant with the great men of the age, and last of all, I feel that I have met with the greatest, in the presence of your esteemed Prophet, Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith. From many reports I had reason to believe him a bigoted religionist, as ignorant of politics as the savages; but to my utter astonishment, on the short acquaintance, I have found him as familiar in the cabinet of nations as with his Bible; and in the knowledge of that book, I have not met with his equal in Europe or America. Although, if <sup>54</sup> I should beg leave to differ with him in some items of faith; his nobleness of soul will not permit him to take offense at me. No, sir, I find him open, frank and generous, as<sup>55</sup> willing others should enjoy their opinions as to enjoy his own.

The General appears perfectly at home on every subject, and his familiarity with many languages affords him ample means to become informed concerning all nations and principles, which his familiar and dignified deportment towards all must secure to his interest the affections of every intelligent and virtuous man that may chance to fall in his way, and I am astonished that so little is known abroad concerning him.

Van Buren was my favorite, and I was astonished to see Gen[eral]. Smith's name as a competitor; but since my late acquaintance, Mr. Van Buren can never re-seat himself in the presidential chair on my vote while Gen[eral]. Smith is in the field. Forming my opinions alone of the talents of the two, and from what I have seen, I have no reason to doubt but Gen[eral]. Smith's integrity is equal to any other individual; and I am satisfied he cannot easily be made the pliant tool of any political party. I take him to be a man who stands far aloof from little caucus quibblings and squabblings, while nations, governments and realms are wielded in his hand as familiarly as the top and hoop in the hands of their little masters.

Free from all bigotry and superstition, he dives into every subject, and it seems as though the world was not large enough to satisfy his capacious soul, and from his conversation one might suppose him as well acquainted with other worlds as this.

So far as I can discover, Gen[eral]. Smith is the *nation's man*, and the man who will *exalt* the *nation*, if the *people* will give him the *opportunity*, and all parties will find a friend in him so far as right is concerned.

Gen[eral]. Smith's movements are perfectly anomalous in the estimation of the public. All other great men have been considered wise in drawing around them wise men, but I have frequently heard the General called a fool because he has gathered the wisest of men to his cabinet, **who direct his movements:**<sup>57</sup> but this subject is too ridiculous to dwell upon. Suffice it to say, so far as I have seen, he has wise men at his side, superlatively wise, and more capable of managing the affairs of a state than most men now engaged therein, which I consider much to his credit, though I would by no means speak diminutively of my old friends<sup>58</sup>.

<sup>53.</sup> Source: T&S 5 (15 Apr. 1844): 501-2. Deleted material supplied here in bold type. Cf. draft of letter in WRc, Bx 4, fd 19, 3-6 (WR).

<sup>54.</sup> DHC 6:269: omits "if"

<sup>55.</sup> Book E-1, 1934: "is" overwrites "as"

<sup>56.</sup> T&S 5:501, Book E-1, 1935, DHC 6:269: replace "of" with "on"

<sup>57.</sup> Preceding bolded text omitted in Book E-1, 1935, and DN, but added in DHC 6:269.

<sup>58.</sup> DHC 6:270: "friend"

From my brief acquaintance, I consider Gen[eral]. Smith (independent of his peculiar religious views, in which, by-the-bye, I have discovered neither vanity nor folly,) the *sine qua non* of the age to our nation's prosperity. He has learned the all-important lesson, "to profit by the experience of those who have gone before," so that, in short, *Gen[eral]. Smith begins where other men leave off.* I am aware this will appear a bold assertion to some, but I would say to such *call* and form your acquaintance as I have done, then judge.

Thus, sir, you have a few leading items of my views of Gen[eral]. Smith, formed from personal acquaintance, which you are at liberty to dispose of as you think proper. I anticipate the pleasure of renewing my acquaintance with your citizens at a future day.—

Yours respectfully,
A TRAVELER.

<sup>59</sup>A writer in the *Quincy Herald* reflects very strongly upon the conduct of the *Quincy Whig, New York Tribune*, and other newspapers, for publishing slanderous falsehoods against the Saints.

60"Voice of Innocence" [was published] in this days Neighbor.

<sup>61</sup>Ten, p.m. commenced snowing again.

<sup>62</sup>Thursday, 21.—A cold snow-storm through the night.

<sup>63</sup>In council in the Assembly Room, discussing the propriety of petitioning Congress for the privilege of raising troops to protect the making of settlements in the uncivilized portions of our continent.

 $[...]^{64}$ 

<sup>65</sup>Willard Richards was appointed a committee to draw up a memorial to Congress.

<sup>66</sup>Friday, 22.—Snow on the ground, cold bleak north wind; cloudy.

<sup>67</sup>**At home.** At ten a.m. held mayor's court **in my office**, and <sup>68</sup> afterwards read German in the reading room.

<sup>69</sup>In the afternoon met with the Twelve in prayer, at Pres[iden]t. B[righam]. Young's house.

<sup>70</sup>I advised the Seventies to pull down the remainder of the<sup>71</sup> walls and rebuild the Seventies' Hall on a permanent basis from the foundation, and not erect for themselves a trap, but build one two stories high, and strong enough to stand for a generation.

<sup>59.</sup> Source: Based on NN 1 (20 Mar. 1844): [187].

<sup>60.</sup> Source: From unused portion of JSj [1844], 44 (WR) (APR, 460); italic added. See "A Voice of Innocence from Nauvoo," NN 1 (20 Mar. 1844): [186]; MS copy in JSc, Bx 5, fd 17, 28-35 (WWP).

<sup>61.</sup> Source: WCj [1843-44], 20 Mar. 1844 (according to Dean Jessee's notes in SRMH).

<sup>62.</sup> Source: Possibly based on WWi, vol. 4, 21 Mar. 1844 (WWi 2:367).

<sup>63.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 45 (WR) (APR, 460), with elaboration possibly from restricted CFM.

<sup>64.</sup> Following instructions in RDft 8:25, Book E-1, 1936, has five blank lines. Cf. vol. 7, IV.8, under date, which mentions this blank.

<sup>65.</sup> Source: WRj 10:7 records that WR was "In council" on the 21st, and on 24th he "wrote petition for Joseph to Congress" (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>66.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:6, 22 Mar. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.12). JSj [1844], 46 (WR) (APR, 460) reads: "Cold and windy for some days."

<sup>67.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 46 (WR) (APR, 460), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>68.</sup> Book E-1, 1936: adds "\and/" (LH) at *eoln* and a guideline to connect preceding sentence with sentence on the line below.

<sup>69.</sup> Source: WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 22 Mar. 1844 (IC, 127; DMQP, 17). WW recorded: "I met with the quorum of the Twelve at B. Youngs for Prayer. We united together to pray for the Presidency the Twelve the sick &c." (WWj, vol. 4, 22 Mar. 1844; WWj 2:367).

<sup>70.</sup> Source: Undetermined.

<sup>71.</sup> Book E-1, 1936: "<remainder of the>" (JG)

<sup>72</sup>Saturday, 23.—Day warmer. Rode out with Clayton to endeavor to raise money to furnish the hands in the Pinery with supplies. Visited the Temple and Public Works.

<sup>73</sup>Also called with William Clayton and Alexander Neibaur at Dr. Foster's; he was gone to Appanoose, and Mrs. Foster was at Mr. Gilman's.

I here extract from William Clayton's journal:

We went down there and saw her. Pres[iden]t. Joseph asked sister Foster if she ever in her life knew him guilty of an immoral or indecent act. She answered, ["]No.["] He then explained his reasons for asking, which were, he had been informed that Dr. Foster had stated that Joseph made propositions to his wife calculated to lead her astray from the path of virtue<sup>74</sup>; and then asked if ever he had used any indecent or insulting language to her. She answered, ["]Never.["] He further asked if he ever preached anything like the plurality of <sup>75</sup> wife doctrine to her other than what he had preached in public? She said, ["]No!["] He asked her if he ever proposed to have illicit intercourse with her, and especially when he took dinner during the doctor's absence. She said, ["]No.["] After some further conversation on the subject, we left. Mrs. Gilman was present all the time. Pres[iden]t. Joseph and Neibaur then went on foot to the farm.

<sup>76</sup>Sunday, 24.—At ten a.m. met at the stand near the Temple. <sup>77</sup>The following very brief outline of the speeches is from the journal of W[ilford]. Woodruff:

 $^{78}$ President Joseph Smith addressed the people; the following is the substance of what I heard him say:

I have been informed by two gentlemen that a conspiracy is got up in this place for the purpose of taking the life of President Joseph Smith, his family, and all the Smith family, and the heads of the church. One of the gentlemen will give his name to the public, and the other wishes it to be hid for the present; they will both testify to it on oath and make an affidavit upon it. The names of the persons revealed at the head of the conspiracy are as follows:—Cha[u]ncey L.<sup>79</sup> Higbee, Dr. Robert D.<sup>80</sup> Foster, Mr. Joseph H.<sup>81</sup> Jackson, William and Wilson Law. And the lies that C. L.<sup>82</sup> Higbee has hatched up as a foundation to work upon are—he says that I had men's heads cut off in Missouri, and that I had a sword run through the hearts of the people that I wanted to kill and put out of the way. I won't swear out a warrant against them<sup>83</sup> for I

<sup>72.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 47 (WR) (APR, 460), which reads: "At home. rode out and spent the day in councelling." Source of the remaining details undetermined.

<sup>73.</sup> Source: Remainder of this day's entry from WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 23 Mar. 1844 (IC, 127; NTNLF, 408-9; DMQP, 17).

<sup>74.</sup> WCj [1843-44]: omits "which were ... virtue"

<sup>75.</sup> WCj [1843-44]: replaces "plurality of" with "spiritual"

<sup>76.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1844], 48 (WR) (APR, 460).

<sup>77.</sup> DHC 6:272 brackets next sentence.

<sup>78.</sup> Source: RDft 8:26 directs scribe to copy JS's sermon from NSB, 52-53 (LH), which was taken from WWj, vol. 4, 24 Mar. 1844 (WWj 2:368; WJS, 336-37). Cf. CHOj 1:6 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12). WW's account is incomplete, since he states: "When I arived President Joseph Smith was speaking." JSj [1844], 48 (WR) (APR, 460), is brief: "On the stand I related what was told me yesterday by Mr Eaton, that W[illia]m. Law, Wilson Law, R[obert]. D. Foster, Chauncey L. Higbee, & Joseph Jackson had held a caucus designing to destroy all the Smith family in a few weeks."

<sup>79.</sup> WWj: omits "L."; NSB, 52: "<L.>"

<sup>80.</sup> WWj: omits "Robert D."; NSB, 52: "<Robt. D.>"

<sup>81.</sup> WWj: omits "Joseph H."; NSB, 52: "<Joseph H.>"

<sup>82.</sup> WWj: omits "C. L."; NSB, 52: "< C. L.>"

<sup>83.</sup> Book E-1, 1937: "\them/" (US)

don't fear any of them, they would not scare off an old setting hen. I intend to publish all the iniquity that I know of them. If I am guilty I am ready to bear it. There is sometimes<sup>84</sup> honor among enemies. I am willing to do anything for the good of the people. I will give the name of one of the gentlemen who have divulged the plot; his name is M. G.<sup>85</sup> Eaton, he will swear to it; he is a bold fellow. Joseph H.<sup>86</sup> Jackson said a Smith should not be alive in<sup>87</sup> two weeks, not over two months anyhow. Concerning the character of these men, I will say nothing about it now, but if I hear anything more from them on this subject, I will tell what I know about them.

While listening to Pres[iden]t. Smith's remarks<sup>89</sup>, I thought of a figure, i.e., if a physician was going to dissect a body, he would not be likely to<sup>90</sup> begin at the limbs, but cut the head off first. So the adversary of the Saints<sup>91</sup> has laid a plan to cut off the head of the church with the intention of scattering and destroying the whole body. It was so in the days of Jesus Christ, the enemies of <sup>92</sup>truth<sup>93</sup> sought to kill him, that the body might be destroyed; which was also the case in the days of Elijah, Daniel and many of the ancients.

<sup>88</sup>Elder Orson Spencer addressed the people as follows:

I once heard a man say who was opposed to this work, "that it might be true, but it gave Joseph Smith power." True, said I, but if his power be subordinate to the power of God, it is right. If a man set up a kingdom by the power of God, then let others seek power from the same source. God sets up kingdoms and pulls down kingdoms; this makes men mad who will not submit to the kingdom of God. We all know the result of the power of Moses, who was the representative of God.

Judging from what is past, how will it be when God sets up his kingdom in the last days? Whether there is a conspiracy now or not, I don't know; but no doubt there will be, if not now, for it has always been so. In the days of the Nephites they had their Gadianton robbers. I have not any doubt but that the apostates will join with the other wicked powers to try to put down the power of God, and I am glad to have the power of the kingdom of God tested; <sup>94</sup>and when it is fully tried, it will stand. I care not what sacrifice I am called to make for such a kingdom; if it is friends, wealth, or even life, at the purchase of such a kingdom it is cheap. Did the ancient Apostles, Prophets, or Saints who died, pay too much for that kingdom? They did not. It is necessary that men be put in possession of the knowledge and mysteries of the kingdom of God in order to sin as far as they wish, that they may go to the highest pitch. How often men lay down their lives for their country and other purposes; how <sup>95</sup> much better, then, to die for the cause of Zion <sup>96</sup>. Good and righteous men will administer justice and rebuke evil. <sup>97</sup>The church should be cleansed from bad men, and the Lord will take his own way to cleanse the church.

<sup>84.</sup> WWj: omits "sometimes"; NSB, 52: "\sometimes/"

<sup>85.</sup> NSB, 52: "<M. G.>"

<sup>86.</sup> NSB, 52: "<Joseph H.>"

<sup>87.</sup> NSB, 53: "<in>"; Book E-1, 1937: adds "\in/" at boln in margin (US)

<sup>88.</sup> Source: For Orson Spencer's sermon, RDft 8:26 directs scribe to "see Grimshaws MSS" (TB), which is located in JSHD, Bx 1, fd 55. JG copied the sermon from WWj, vol. 4, 24 Mar. 1844 (WWj 2:368-70). For transcription, see vol. 7, I.8, under date.

<sup>89.</sup> WWj: omits "While listening ... remarks"; JG draft, 1: "<While listening to Prest. Smith's remarks>"

<sup>90.</sup> JG draft, 1:"<be likely to>"

<sup>91.</sup> JG draft, 1:"<of the Saints>"

<sup>92.</sup> DHC 6:272: adds "the"

<sup>93.</sup> WWj: omits "of truth"; JG draft, 1: "<of truth>"

<sup>94.</sup> DHC 6:273: omits bolded text

<sup>95.</sup> WWj: omits "how"; JG draft, 2: "<how>"

<sup>96.</sup> WWj: replaces "Zion" with "God"; JG draft, 2: "God <Zion>"

<sup>97.</sup> WWj, JG draft, 2: add "and"; Book E-1, 1938: adds erasure

We should lift up our voice against wickedness of all kinds. But will the rulers of our land do it? No, they will not; they will be cowards until there is no man to fight and then be brave. When Government will not do it, some man should take the helm of Government that will do it. Will it be called treason if the God of Heaven should set up a kingdom? May the Lord give you more and more of his Spirit, light and intelligence until you are cemented together in union and love: Amen.

<sup>98</sup>Elder Sidney Rigdon addressed the meeting in an interesting manner for a length of time. The following are a few Items of his remarks:

If according to the remarks in the morning A conspiracy does exist with the persons that have been named, It is one of those kind of associations that Could not exist in any thing except against the kingdom of God.

A word concerning power. History refers us back beyond Civilization in treating upon this subject. In consequence of power, there is strength and glory. Where there is no power it is like flies without any order or rule. I have viewed the nations of the earth and the way they are relaxing in power and the course they are pursuing. One hundred years will not pass away till there would not be a man or woman on the earth, and nothing but the hand of God can save it, and this is why God would send Elijah to do his work, for all the power the nations will soon have is to destroy each other. For soon nation will be against nation party against party the rich against the poor and the poor against the rich until they are destroyed from under heaven.

Tradition says the pope destroyed the Church of God. Rome followed the Church as long as there was a saint and now you say the pope killed fifty millions of Christians. You lie sir. Their was not a Christian on Earth, for when Rome killed the Christians and would not have God rule they wanted a pope and God gave them one or permitting them to have one and he killed fifty millions, it's true. But they were not Christians for they were already dead, but it was of their own number only differed from them in sentiment. Here was power with a vengeance.

But as soon as God sends a man to use the power of God then they are afraid of power. Now the world says the religion of Jesus shed this blood and the Bible &c, but men must be vary ignorant of the Bible and the religion of Jesus Christ to, to say such things. For it was for the want of religion and the bible that Caused the blood to be shed. For God[,] Jesus Christ nor religion had any more hand in it than you had. The power of God and Jesus Christ and religion would have saved if they had had it.

<sup>99</sup>Pres[iden]t. Joseph Smith again arose and said: In relation to the power over the minds of mankind which I hold, I would say it is in consequence of the power of truth in the doctrines which I have been an instrument in the hands of God of presenting unto them, and not because of any compulsion on my part. I wish to ask if ever I got any of it unfairly? If I have not reproved you in the gate? I ask, did I ever exercise any compulsion over any man? Did I not give him the liberty of disbelieving any doctrine I have preached if he saw fit? Why do not my enemies strike a blow at the doctrine? They cannot do it, it is truth and I defy all men to upset it <sup>100</sup>. I am<sup>101</sup> the voice of one crying in the wilderness, "repent ye of your sins and prepare the

<sup>98.</sup> *Source*: RDft 8:26 originally directed the scribe to copy SR's sermon from JG's copy (not located), which was evidently taken from WWj, vol. 4, 24 Mar. 1844 (*WWj* 2:370-71), but this direction was canceled and not fulfilled. It is supplied here in bold type from WWj.

<sup>99.</sup> Source: RDft 8:26 directs scribe to copy JS's sermon from NSB, 53 (LH), which was taken from WWj, vol. 4, 24 Mar. 1844 (WWj 2:371; WJS, 337).

<sup>100.</sup> WWj: omits "and I def all men to upset it"; NSB, 53: "<and I defy all men to upset it>"

<sup>101.</sup> WWj: "and I am as"; NSB, 53: "and I am as"

way for the coming of the Son of Man, for the kingdom of God has come unto you and henceforth the axe is laid unto the root of the tree, and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, God Almighty (and not Joe Smith) shall hew it down and cast it into the fire."

<sup>102</sup>After meeting I rode out with Emma. The trees begin to bud forth.

In the 103 evening held a conversation with a large company of friends at my door.

<sup>104</sup>Elder R. H. Kinnamon writes, that during the last 22 months he has baptized over 100 persons while on a mission in Virginia and North Carolina, organized two branches in Virginia, and calls are continually made for preaching in every direction.

<sup>105</sup>I copy a letter written by Dr. W. Richards to Gen. James Arlington Bennett.

Nauvoo, March 24<sup>106</sup>, 1844.

Dear General. I wrote you on the 4th inst. in reply to yours of the 1st Ultimo, also, to inform you of the decision of your friends in Nauvoo, in nominating you for the Vice Presidency of the United States.

Since that date it has occurred to me that you are not a native of the Union, consequently we might expect objections would be made to your election on *Constitutional* principles; which we shall be obliged to submit to, unless there be some method of avoiding it which we are unacquainted with, and that 107 constitutionally as 108 our Magna Carta must be supported.

I suggested the idea to the council and it was decided that I should write you <sup>109</sup> and state the case<sup>110</sup> requesting a communication from you on this subject.

You are the man of our choice, as facts have already proved to you, but if we cannot be gratified we must look elsewhere though as yet we are quite undecided as to the man.

Your friends here expect you will not alter your course, in relation to this matter; though you may not get the title of Vice President, yet, there are other stations, where you may render as important service to the 111 country, and as valuable to yourself.

And I am further authorized by Gen. Smith to say to <sup>112</sup>Gen. Bennett, Go-a-head and make all the wake you can. Get Gen. Smith elected President and name your office; only permit him Pharaoh-like<sup>113</sup> to be greatest in the throne, as all *former Prophets* have been. Gen. will you go it?

<sup>102.</sup> *Source*: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 48 (WR) (*APR*, 460), with light editing. Part about trees budding from CHOj 1:6, 24 Mar. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>103.</sup> Book E-1, 1938: "<the>" (pos. JG)

<sup>104.</sup> Source: Based on R. H. Kinnamon, Surry County, NC, to J. Taylor, Nauvoo, IL, 24 Mar. 1844, T&S 5 (15 Apr. 1844): 507–8.

<sup>105.</sup> The following introduction and letter were canceled in Book E-1, 1938-39, and not published in *DN* or DHC 6:274. Evidently canceled as a result of the revision committee's questioning: "Is it wisdom to publish the whole of letter to Arlington Bennett?" (vol. 7, IV.8, under date). A penciled note in the margin of page 1938 hints at the reason: "This was written to bring out of Bennett what there was in him[.] B[righam].Y[oung]" (LH). *Source*: WRc, Bx 3, fd 2, 12-13 (WR). Text from Book E-1. Underlining changed to italic.

<sup>106.</sup> MS letter, 1:"[illegible] <24>"

<sup>107.</sup> MS letter, 1:"{\and that/}"

<sup>108.</sup> MS letter, 1:"for <as>"

<sup>109.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "for next mail"

<sup>110.</sup> MS letter, 1:"fact <case>"

<sup>111.</sup> MS letter, 1:"your <the>"

<sup>112.</sup> MS letter, 2: adds "you"

<sup>113.</sup> MS letter, 2: "<like,>"

Circumstances of a peculiarly interesting character are in progress, relative to Texas which if carried out, may open a field capacious enough for your contemplation and operations for the time being, 114 should your inclinations lead you towards that delightful climate for a little season:—The full development of which I am not at liberty to write at this time.

Suffice it to say if by your exertion you can help save the nation by electing Gen. Smith—you will find business to your satisfaction afterwards.

In the mean time let me hear from you often, while I remain

Yours truly

Willard Richards.

<sup>115</sup>Monday, 25.—At home in the morning; after dinner rode up to the upper landing to see the *St. Louis Oak* steamer; learned that a company of emigrants from England were expected soon.

Called at my office on returning, and heard read the draft of a memorial to Congress which my clerk had been writing, as a committee appointed by the council on Thursday last, and was pleased with the instrument.

<sup>116</sup>Millions of wild pigeons flying north, and millions of gnats dancing in the air; dull day, at night thunder, lightning and rain.

<sup>117</sup>Tuesday, 26.—Dull day. From 9 to 12 noon in council; also from 2 to 5 p.m.

<sup>118</sup>The memorial, drawn up by Dr. Richards, was read, discussed and approved by the general council.

<sup>119</sup>[March 27.]<sup>120</sup> Started this morning to go to Ramus with br[other]. Amasa Lyman; rode as far as the Temple, and<sup>121</sup> found it so muddy that we turned back.

Issued a warrant on the complaint of Vernon H. Bruce against Ianthus Rolfe for stealing two stone-cutter's tools.

<sup>122</sup>I wrote the following:—

<sup>123</sup>To the *Honorable*, the *Senate* and *House of Representatives* of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

Your memorialist, a free-born citizen of these United States, respectfully showeth, that from his infancy his soul has been filled with the most intense and philanthropic interest for the

<sup>114.</sup> MS letter, 2: "<for the time being,>"

<sup>115.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph closely follow JSj [1844], 49 (WR) (APR, 460-61).

<sup>116.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:6, 25 Mar. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>117.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 50 (WR) (APR, 461), with weather from CHOj 1:7, 26 Mar. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.12).

<sup>118.</sup> *Source*: Probably based on date of memorial, which is in WR's handwriting, and TB's reminiscence, who copied the document two days later and added this paragraph to RDft 8:27 (see below).

<sup>119.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from [Sj [1844], 51 (WR) (APR, 461), under 27 Mar. 1844, with light editing.

<sup>120.</sup> Brackets this editor's.

<sup>121.</sup> Book E-1, 1940: "\and/"

<sup>123.</sup> Source: First draft in RP, Bx 4, fd 3, 20-27 (WR); and a second draft in RP, Bx 4, fd 3, 28-31 (OH), which states at the end: "A true copy by O. Hyde." File notation on the first draft in TB's handwriting reads: "March 26th 1844[.] Memorial of Joseph Smith to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America[.] March 28th 1844[.] two fair copies made per T. Bullock." In RDft 8:27, the Memorial is introduced as follows: "My Clerk T/homas\ Bullock made two copies of the following Memorial."

welfare of his native country; and being fired with an ardor, which floods cannot quench, crowns cannot conquer, nor diplomatic intrigue corrupt, to see those principles which emanated from the bosoms of the fathers of seventy-six, and which cost the noblest talents and richest blood of the nation, maintained inviolate and perpetuated to future generations; and the proud eagle of American freedom soar triumphant over every party prejudice and local sinistry, and spread her golden pinions over every member of the human family, who shall stretch forth their hands for succor from the lion's paw or the oppressor's grasp; and firmly trusting in the God of liberty, that he has designed universal peace and goodwill, union and brotherly love to all the great family of man, your memorialist asks your honorable body to pass the following

#### ORDINANCE.124

An Ordinance<sup>125</sup> for the protection of the citizens of the United States emigrating to the adjoining<sup>126</sup>
Territories, and for the extension of the principles of universal liberty.

#### PREAMBLE.

Whereas, many of the citizens of these United States have migrated, and are 127 migrating to Texas, Oregon, and other lands contiguous to this nation; and whereas, Texas has declared herself free and independent, without the necessary power to protect her rights and liberties; and whereas, Oregon is without any organized government, and those who emigrate thither are exposed to foreign invasion and domestic feuds; and whereas, the Oregon, by geographical location and discovery more rightfully belongs to these United States than to 128 any other general government; and whereas, it is necessary that 129 the emigrants of that newly settling 130 territory should receive protection; and whereas, the Texan government has petitioned the United States to be received into our Union, but yet retains her national existence; and whereas, the United States remember with gratitude the seasonable support they<sup>131</sup> received, in a like situation from a LaFayette; and whereas, the United States desire to see the principles of her free institutions extended to all men; especially where it can be done without the loss of blood and treasure to the nation; and whereas, there is an almost boundless extent of Territory on the west and south of these United States, where exists little or no organization of protective government; and whereas, the lands thus unknown, unowned or unoccupied, are among some of the richest and most fertile of the continent; and whereas, many of the inhabitants of the Union would gladly embrace the opportunity of extending their researches and acquirements so soon as they can receive protection in their enterprise; thereby adding strength, durability, and wealth to the nation; and whereas, the red man, the robber, and the desperado have frequently interrupted such research and acquisition without justifiable cause; and whereas, Joseph Smith has offered and does hereby offer these United States, to show his loyalty to our confederate Union and the constitution of our republic; to prevent quarrel and bloodshed on our frontiers; to extend the arm of deliverance to Texas; to protect the inhabitants of Oregon from foreign aggressions and domestic broils; to prevent the crowned nations from encircling us as a nation on our western and southern borders, and save the eagle's talon from the lion's paw; to still the tongue of slander,

<sup>124.</sup> OH draft, 1: "ordinance \act/"

<sup>125.</sup> OH draft, 1:"ordinance <act>"

<sup>126.</sup> DHC 6:275: omits "adjoining"

<sup>127.</sup> OH draft, 1: adds "still"

<sup>128.</sup> DHC 6:275: omits "to"

<sup>129.</sup> OH draft, 1:"<it is necessary that>"

<sup>130.</sup> OH draft, 2: adds "coun[try]"

<sup>131.</sup> OH draft, 2: "<they>"

and show the world<sup>132</sup> that a republic can be, and not be ungrateful; to open the vast regions of the unpeopled west and south to our enlightened and enterprising yeomanry; to protect them in their researches; to secure them in their locations and thus strengthen the government and enlarge her borders; to extend her influence; to inspire the nations with the spirit of freedom and win them to her standard; to promote intelligence; to cultivate and establish peace among all with whom we may have intercourse as neighbors; to settle all existing difficulties among those not organized into an acknowledged<sup>133</sup> government bordering upon the United States and Territories; to save the national revenue in the nation's coffers; to supersede the necessity of a standing army on our western and southern frontiers; to create and maintain the principles of peace and suppress mobs, insurrections and oppression in Oregon and all the lands bordering upon the United States and not incorporated into any acknowledged national government; to explore the unexplored regions of our continent; to open new fields for enterprise to our citizens and protect them therein; to search out the antiquities of the land and thereby promote the arts, and sciences, and general information; to amalgamate the feelings of all with whom he may have intercourse on the principles of equity, liberty, justice, humanity, and benevolence; to break down tyranny and oppression and exalt the standard of universal peace: provided he shall be protected in those rights and privileges which constitutionally belong to every citizen of this republic; therefore, that the said memorialist may have the privilege, and that no citizen of these 134 United States shall obstruct, or attempt to obstruct or hinder, so good, so great, so noble an enterprise to carry out those plans and principles as set forth in this preamble, and be shielded from every opposition by evil and designing men:—

Sec[tion]. 1. Be it ordained<sup>135</sup> by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that Joseph Smith, of the city of Nauvoo, in the State of Illinois, is hereby authorized and empowered to raise a company of one hundred thousand armed volunteers, in the United States and Territories, at such times and places, and in such numbers, as he shall find necessary and convenient for the purposes specified in the foregoing preamble, and to execute the same.

Sec. 2. And be it further ordained, that if any person or persons shall hinder or attempt to hinder or molest the said Joseph Smith from executing his designs in raising said volunteers and marching or 136 transporting the same to the borders of the United States and Territories, he or they so hindering, molesting or offending, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars each for every offense, or by hard labor on some public work not exceeding two years, or both, at the discretion of the nearest district court of the United States 137 where the hindrance or offense shall be 138 committed, having jurisdiction 139.

See. 3. And he it further ordained, the more fully to remove all obstructions and hindrances to the raising, enlisting and marching the volunteers as aforesaid, the said Joseph Smith is hereby constituted a member of the army of these United States, and is authorized to act as such in the United States and Territories, and on all lands bordering upon the United States and Territories<sup>140</sup> for the purposes specified in the foregoing preamble, provided said land shall not be within the acknowledged jurisdiction of any acknowledged national government.

<sup>132.</sup> OH draft, 2: "<the world>"

<sup>133.</sup> OH draft, 3: "acknowledgment<ed>"

<sup>134.</sup> DHC 6:277: replaces "these" with "the"

<sup>135.</sup> OH draft, 3: "ordained <enacted>"

<sup>136.</sup> DHC 6:277: replaces "or" with "and"

<sup>137.</sup> OH draft, 4: adds "having jurisdiction"

<sup>138.</sup> WR draft, 6: "<be>"

<sup>139.</sup> WR draft, 6: "\having jurisdiction/" (TB)

<sup>140.</sup> WR draft, 6: "<and on all lands ... territories>"

Sec. 4. And be it further ordained, that nothing in this ordinance shall be so construed by any individual or nation as to consider the volunteers aforesaid, as constituting any part of the army of the United States; neither shall the said Joseph Smith, as a member of the United States army, disturb the peace of any nation or government acknowledged as such, break the faith of treaties between the United States and another<sup>141</sup> nation, or violate any known law of nations, thereby endangering the peace of the United States.

Sec. 5. And be it further ordained, that the said Joseph Smith shall confine his operations to those principles of action specified in the preamble to this ordinance, the perpetuity of which shall 142 be commensurate with the circumstances and specifications which have originated it.

And your memorialist will ever pray, &c.

JOSEPH SMITH.

```
City of <sup>143</sup> Nauvoo, Illinois, March 26, 1844.
```

<sup>144</sup>[March 27th.] <sup>145</sup> Dr. Willard Richards wrote to the Saints at Augusta, Lee county, Iowa, <sup>146</sup>requesting a brief history of the settling of that branch, and also asking a donation of lumber for his house.

<sup>147</sup>Nauvoo[,] March 27th [18]44.

To Mr. Moffitt and the Saints at Augusta[,] Lee Co.[,] Iowa.

Dear Sir. and Brethren: I address this communication to Mr. Moffitt because,—I have understood the presiding elder of your place is absent, and because I am particularly acquainted with friend Moffitt and know him to be a philanthropist, and have already spoken to him on the subject I am about to introduce.

It is now seven years since I have laid my head one night in my own house; during that time<sup>148</sup> I have been in England near four years, and the remainder of the time, have spent in writing the History of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, which, of course will afford no income until it is completed and printed which cannot possibly be done for one or two years. It is a great work <sup>149</sup> all important to the church, and world, and I wish that some one of your number would give me, before long, a brief history of the settling and prosperity of Augusta for the benefit of the history:—

I have deputed our well beloved brother Elder Thomas Richardson to carry you this letter and tell you that the brethren at Nauvoo have gratuitously dug and stoned me a cellar and have brought brick on the ground which are ready to lay in a house, and which they are ready to lay as soon as timbers can be procured, and something furnished them to eat while laboring.

There is no lumber in Nauvoo; and I have no means of purchasing any, and must remain houseless or quit the great work that engrosses my attention, unless my friends

<sup>141.</sup> WR draft, 6, Book E-1, 1942, DHC 6:277: replace "another" with "any other"

<sup>142.</sup> OH draft, 4: "<shall>"

<sup>143.</sup> WR draft, 7: "<City of>"

<sup>144.</sup> *Source*: Probably based on WRj 10:7, which reads: "wrote letter to Augusta by Thomas Richardson to get Lumber" (see also transcription in vol. 8,VI.13), as well as the letter that follows.

<sup>145.</sup> Bracketed date this editor's.

<sup>146.</sup> Remainder of paragraph added interlinearly in Book E-1, 1943 (LH), to replace the canceled letter below.

<sup>147.</sup> Following letter mentioned in RDft 8:27 and copied into Book E-1, 1943-44, but canceled and not published in *DN* and DHC. Text here from Book E-1. Underlining changed to italic. *Source*: WRc, Bx 3, fd 2, 14-18.

<sup>148.</sup> MS letter, 1: "<time>"

<sup>149.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "and"

abroad stretch forth the helping hand, and knowing your liberality I am free to send you the following bill of lumber needed to complete my house as drawn by Brother Weeks, the architect of the Temple, who kindly proffered to oversee the wood work of my house,—

66 Joists 2 by 8—10 feet long, 2,000 feet flooring 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> inch thick, 2,500 feet of <sup>150</sup>/<sub>2</sub> inch boards for lath 50 pieces studding—2 by 4,—8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> feet long 32 Rafters 3 by 5—12 feet long 700 feet of sheeting, 5,500 Shingles.

And if <sup>151</sup> the friends and Brethren at Augusta will do me the favor to forward the above bill by Brother Richardson, they will not only do a favor to me for which my heavenly Father will bless them <sup>152</sup> but the most important favor will be directly to God's kingdom,—by delivering me from dilemma in which I am placed so that I may prosecute the great work committed to my charge.—

I have long desired to visit your place and see friend Moffitt, Brothers Lavender, Pincock &c. &c. scores of which I have not time to name. But this, at present, is impossible. Elder Taylor started for your place last Saturday, carrying the above *bill*, but was hindered on his way. Receive brother Richardson as a servant of God, and as your liberality through him to me shall abound, so shall the blessings of heaven and earth abound to you.

How can the son of man expect to find a place to lay his head on earth; if his servants who are not hated, by the world, half as much as he is cannot have a place. Not that I wish to urge you, brethren, for I know your liberality, and that you will do right, therefore I say God bless you forever.

Every preparation is making for the furtherance of the Temple, and we firmly hope to see the roof on this season. There is a better spirit in general in Nauvoo than ever before and we shall go it hard to elect Gen. Smith to the Presidency. Bro: Richardson will tell you more than I can write about <sup>153</sup>here so I subscribe myself your friend and brother in the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Willard Richards.

 $^{154}$ In the afternoon  $^{155}$  Abiathar B. Williams made the following affidavit before Daniel H. Wells, Esq.:—

```
156State of Illinois, Hancock county.
```

Personally appeared before me, Daniel H. Wells, acting justice of the peace in and for the said county, Abiathar B. Williams, who being duly sworn according to law, deposeth and saith, that on or about the 15th day of March A.D. 1844, Joseph H. Jackson came to my house

<sup>150.</sup> MS letter, 2: adds "lath"

<sup>151.</sup> MS letter, 2: "<if>"

<sup>152.</sup> MS letter, 2: "<them>"

<sup>153.</sup> MS letter, 3: adds "things"

<sup>154.</sup> WCj [1843-44], 27 Mar. 1844 (DMQP, 17), reads: "After at Prests taking the affidavits of Dr Williams & M. G. Eaton concerning Jackson, Foster, C. Higbee & Laws."

<sup>155.</sup> Book E-1, 1944 (darker ink): "{\afternoon/}" (LH)

<sup>156.</sup> Source: NN 1 (17 Apr. 1844): [202].

and requested me to walk with him, which I did. During the time we were walking said Joseph H. Jackson said that he was then coming direct from Mr. Law's; that there was going to be a secret meeting in the city of Nauvoo, probably tomorrow evening; but as it was not decided he could not say positively as to the time, but he would inform me in season. The said Joseph H. Jackson said that Doctor Foster, Cha[u]ncey L. Higbee and the Laws were red hot for a conspiracy, and he should not be surprised if in two weeks there should not be one of the Smith family left alive in Nauvoo. After we arrived at Mr. Loomis', near<sup>157</sup> the Masonic Hall, in the city of Nauvoo, he related some things which he stated that Dr. Foster had said relative to his family. This he did in the presence of Mr. Eaton and myself, and strongly solicited myself and Mr. Eaton to attend the secret meeting and join them in their intentions. The said Joseph H. Jackson further said that Cha[u]ncey Higbee had said that he, the said Cha[u]ncey Higbee, had seen men tied hand and foot and run through the heart with a sword, and their heads taken off, and then buried, and he durst not say a word. This the said Jackson said in Mr. Loomis' room, and further this deponent saith not.

A. B. WILLIAMS.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of March, A.D. 1844,

[L.S.] DANIEL H. WELLS, J.P.

Also M. 158 G. Eaton made affidavit as follows:

```
159State of Illinois, Hancock county. ss.
```

Personally appeared before me, Daniel H. Wells, an acting justice of the peace, in and for the said county, M. G. Eaton, who being duly sworn according to law, deposeth and saith, that on or about the fifteenth day of March, A.D. 1844, Joseph H. Jackson came to me several times and requested me to go on the hill with him. I finally consented and 160 went with him to the Keystone Store, in the city of Nauvoo. Dr. Foster and one of the Higbees, I think Cha[u]ncey L. Higbee, were in the store. The said Joseph H. Jackson, together with the said R. D. Foster and said Higbee, went into the back room of the store. They appeared to enter into private council. Soon after they went into the said room the said Joseph H. Jackson invited me into the room where they were then sitting. I immediately complied.

Soon after I went in, the said Higbee commenced talking about the spiritual wife system. He said he had no doubt but some of the Elders had ten or twelve apiece. He said they married them whether the females were willing 161 or not, and they did it by recording the marriage in a large book, which book was sealed up after the record was made, and was not to be opened for a long time, probably not until 162 many of the husbands of those who were thus married were dead. They would then open the book and break the seals in the presence of those females, and when they saw their names recorded in that book they would believe that the doctrine was true and they must submit. He said this book was kept at Mr. Hyrum Smith's. I asked the said Cha[u]ncey L. 163 Higbee. \* \* \* \*

```
157. NN 1:[202]: omits "near"; Book E-1, 1944: "<near>" (LH)
```

<sup>158.</sup> Book E-1, 1945: adds space for name

<sup>159.</sup> Source: NN 1 (17 Apr. 1844): [202].

<sup>160.</sup> DHC 6:279: omits "and"

<sup>161.</sup> DHC 6:279: replaces "willing" with "living"

<sup>162.</sup> DHC 6:279: "till"

<sup>163.</sup> NN 1:[202], Book E-1, 1945: omit "L."

[Here follows some expressions too indecent<sup>164</sup> for insertion.] <sup>165</sup>

The aforesaid R. D. Foster then asked me what I would think if during my absence from home a carriage should drive up to my house, a person alight, and the carriage then drive off again; this person should then go into my house and begin to tell my wife a great many things against me to prejudice her mind against me and use every possible means to do this, and finally would introduce and preach the spiritual wife doctrine to her and make an attempt to seduce her; and further, this person should sit down to dine with my wife, bless the victuals, &c., and while they were thus 166 engaged I should come home and find them thus associated, this person should rise up and say ["]how do you do[?"] and bless me in a very polite manner, &c. And also, if upon these appearances, I should feel jealous that something was wrong, and when the person was gone I would ask my wife what had been the conversation between her and this person, but she would refuse to tell me? I then draw a pistol and present it to her head and threaten to shoot her if she did not tell me all, but she would still refuse. I then would give her a double-barreled pistol, and say to her, "defend yourself, for if you don't tell me, either you or I would shoot." She would then faint away through fear and excitement, and when she came to again, she would begin and tell you 167 how this person had been trying to poison your wife's mind against you, and by preaching the spiritual wife system to her had endeavored to seduce her. I replied, I should think he was a rascal; but who has had such a trial as that? The said R. D. Foster answered that he was the man who had had that trial and who had been thus abused.

The said Dr. Foster, Higbee and Joseph H. Jackson then remarked that they were about to hold a secret meeting to oppose and try to put a stop to such things. The said Joseph H. Jackson also said that if any person undertook to arrest him he should begin to cut them.

The said R. D. Foster further<sup>168</sup> said he was afraid of his life and dare not be out <sup>169</sup>nights. The said Higbee said he had not a doubt but there had been men killed in Missouri who had <sup>170</sup>secrets that they were afraid they would divulge. He said he was afraid of his life.

The said Jackson further said he should not be surprised if there should be a real muss and an insurrection in the city in less than two months, and that if a disturbance should take place the Carthagenians and others would come and help them.

He mentioned some names of persons who would come from Carthage, which names I do not remember. The same day when in Mr. Loomis' room, I heard the said Jackson say that the Laws were ready to enter into a secret conspiracy, tooth and nails.

The said Higbee also said while at the Keystone Store<sup>171</sup> that if ever he was brought before the mayor's court again, and the mayor told him to hold his tongue, that<sup>172</sup> he should get up and tell him he had a right to speak and should do so, and then if any man attempted to put him out of court he would shoot him<sup>173</sup> through, and further this deponent saith not.

M. G. EATON.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of March, A.D. 1844,

[L.S.] DANIEL H. WELLS, J.P.

<sup>164.</sup> NN 1:[202]: "indecurous [indecorous]"

<sup>165.</sup> Bracketed sentence in NN 1:[202], Book E-1, 1945, DN, and DHC 6:279.

<sup>166.</sup> Book E-1, 1945 (darker ink): "{\thus/}" (pos. RLC)

<sup>167.</sup> DHC 6:280: omits "you"

<sup>168.</sup> Book E-1, 1946 (darker ink): "<further>" (JG)

<sup>169.</sup> DHC 6:280: adds "at"

<sup>170.</sup> Book E-1, 1946: adds "had"

<sup>171.</sup> NN 1:[202]: omits "Store"

<sup>172.</sup> DHC 6:280: omits "that"

<sup>173.</sup> NN 1:[202]: replaces "him" with "them"

<sup>174</sup>This evening Dr. Reynolds, of Iowa city, lectured on astronomy in the Assembly Room<sup>175</sup>.

This afternoon had the Assembly Room<sup>178</sup> and office plastered where the same had been knocked off, &c.

 $[...]^{179}$ 

<sup>180</sup>Friday, 29.—Night boisterous; about 8 a.m., hailstorm, N[orth]. E[ast]. wind; nipping frost; frost, hail, and strong wind all day.

<sup>181</sup>Spent the day at home.

# <sup>182</sup>This P.M. Mr. and Miss Cole had a public exhibition of their school in my Reading Room, which closed their 2d quarter.

<sup>183</sup>Saturday, 30.—This morning I heard there was some disturbance on the hill; <sup>184</sup>rode up and found it reported that a robbery had been committed at the Keystone Store, kept by Mr. Rollasson, of some \$4 or \$500<sup>185</sup> and some goods, and they were suspicious of a certain black man. I issued a search-warrant and returned to my office, where I found the black man, —— Chism, with his back lacerated from his shoulders to his hips, with 20 or more lashes. My clerk, Dr. Richards, kept him secreted, and called Aaron Johnson, a justice of the peace, who issued a warrant for —— ——, a Missourian, who had boarded at my house a few days, and on testimony fined him \$5 and costs for whipping —— Chism. One Easton a witness, said he could not testify without implicating himself, and he was apprehended and held in custody. W. H. J. <sup>186</sup> Marr, Esq., refused to testify because he was counsel.

<sup>187</sup>I got prepared a Memorial to his Excellency John Tyler, the President of the United States, embodying in it the same sentiments as are in my petition to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, dated 26th March, 1844, asking the privilege of raising 100,000 men to extend protection to persons wishing to settle Oregon and other portions of the Territory of the United States and extend protection to the people in Texas.

<sup>189</sup>Sabbath, 31.—Cold, fine day.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup>Thursday, 28.—Dull day, drizzling rain, cold N[orth].-E[ast]. wind.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup>Transferred the trial of Ianthus Rolfe to Aaron Johnson, J.P.

<sup>174.</sup> This paragraph added interlinearly in darker ink in Book E-1, 1946 (JG). Source: JSj [1844], 51 (WR) (APR, 461).

<sup>175.</sup> JSj [1844], 51: replaces "the Assembly Room" with "my study"

<sup>176.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:7, 28 Mar. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>177.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 52 (WR) (APR, 461), with light editing.

<sup>178.</sup> JSj [1844], 52: replaces "the Assembly Room" with "my study"

<sup>179.</sup> Following instruction in RDft 8:27, Book E-1, 1946, leaves several lines blank with diagonal line later added.

<sup>180.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:7, 29 Mar. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.12).

<sup>181.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1844], 53 (WR) (APR, 461).

<sup>182.</sup> Source: This paragraph from unused portion of JSj [1844], 53 (WR) (APR, 461).

<sup>183.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 54 (WR) (APR, 461-62), with light editing.

<sup>184.</sup> DHC 6:281: adds "I"

<sup>185.</sup> JSj [1844], 54: "\$14 or 1500"

<sup>186.</sup> JSj [1844], 54: replaces "W. H. R." with blank space

<sup>187.</sup> *Source*: Based on RP, Bx 4, fd 3, 32-35 (TB). This entry written by TB in RDft 8:28, who also wrote the Memorial. Wording is similar and in many instances identical to the Memorial to Congress of 26 Mar. 1844 (cf. DHC 6:275-77; chap. 11).

<sup>188.</sup> Book E-1, 1947: "<portions of the>" (LH)

<sup>189.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:7, 31 Mar. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>190</sup>At home this morning until nine, when I went over to my reading room, again heard read<sup>191</sup>, and signed my memorial to Congress for the privilege of raising 100,000 volunteers to protect Texas, Oregon, &c., dated 26th inst[ant].; and also a Memorial to the President for the same purpose, if the other fail.

Also signed an introductory letter to Elder Orson Hyde, who is going to carry the Memorials to Washington, as follows:

```
192City of Nauvoo, Illinois,
March 30<sup>193</sup>, 1844.
```

To whom it may concern. We, the mayor and recorder of said city, do certify that Orson Hyde<sup>194</sup>, Esq., the bearer, a councilor in the city council of <sup>195</sup> said city, is sent as our agent by the authorities of <sup>196</sup> said city, <sup>197</sup>to transact such business as he may deem expedient and beneficial for the party<sup>198</sup> whom he represents; and as <sup>199</sup> such agent and gentleman of principle and character, he by us is recommended to the due consideration of all the executive officers of the Government, both houses of Congress, and gentlemen generally of the United States.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and affixed the seal of said corporation at the time and place aforesaid  $^{200}$ .

[Corporation Seal.]

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor.

WILLARD RICHARDS, Recorder.

#### <sup>201</sup>Gen Wilson Law buried his wife. <sup>202</sup>

About this time br[other]. Alexander Mills, one of the police, informed me that Cha[u]ncey L. Higbee <sup>203</sup>drew a pistol on him the night before and threatened to shoot him<sup>204</sup>. I instructed him to make complaint to Esquire Wells and have him apprehended.

<sup>190.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 55 (WR) (APR, 462), with light editing.

<sup>191.</sup> JSj [1844], 55: omits "again heard read"

<sup>192.</sup> *Source*: RDft 8:28 directs scribe to "copy as altered on Mar. 12 to O Pratt" (TB). This refers to JSc, Bx 5, fd 16, 31–32 (WWP, WR), which has been previously cited for Orson Pratt (cf. DHC 6:262; beginning of this chap.). Body of document in handwriting of WWP, with several interlineations by TB to adapt it to Orson Hyde's situation, and signatures added by WR.

<sup>193.</sup> MS copy, 1:"12 \30th/"

<sup>194.</sup> MS copy, 1: "Orson Pratt <Hyde>" (TB)

<sup>195.</sup> MS copy, 1:"<of>"

<sup>196.</sup> MS copy, 1: "for <by the authorities of>" (TB)

<sup>197.</sup> MS copy, 1: adds "or corporation"; Book E-1, 1947: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>198.</sup> MS copy, 1:"community <party>" (TB)

<sup>199.</sup> DHC 6:283: omits "as"

<sup>200.</sup> MS copy, 1: "<at the time and place aforesaid>" (TB)

<sup>201.</sup> This paragraph canceled in Book E-1, 1947, and not published in *DN* and DHC. *Source*: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 55 (WR) (*APR*, 462).

<sup>202.</sup> JSj [1844], 55, reads: "about noon the funeral of Gen[eral] Wilson Law's wife was attended."

<sup>203.</sup> JSj [1844], 55: "<&c>"

<sup>204.</sup> JSj [1844], 55: replaces "and threatened to shoot him" with "&c."

#### 12.

## GENERAL CONFERENCE

## April 1844

#### [DN 7 (24 June 1857): 121-23 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>Monday, April<sup>2</sup> 1 [1844].—In the court-room in the mansion, Mr. J.<sup>3</sup> Easton was brought up as being accessory to whipping Chism; <sup>4</sup>referred the case to Alderman Wells. On investigation it appeared to the satisfaction of the court that he had been on trial for the same offense before Robert D. Foster and acquitted.

I extract from the Neighbor:—

<sup>5</sup>[...] After the court dismissed the case, General Smith fearlessly stated that he believed that it was a plot on the part of those who were instrumental in getting up the previous trial to thwart the ends of justice and screen the prisoner from the condemnation he justly deserves. Mr. Foster then stated by way of an apology, that at the time he issued the warrant he did not know that the prisoner was under an arrest, or that there was any process out<sup>6</sup> against him.

We hope for the honor of such a man as Mr. Foster that his statement is true. Mr. Foster, however, called upon one of his jurors, Mr. Carn<sup>7</sup>, to corroborate what he had said; but, to our astonishment, be replied that when Mr. Foster summoned him to appear and act as a juryman, he was not informed what case he was to act upon, nor did he learn until<sup>8</sup> he entered the office, where he acted according to the evidence given, but believed then as well as now, that it was <sup>9</sup>a sham trial and a mere mockery of justice. **Whether or not, there was any honor or justice in the above transaction we do not pretend to determine, but** we<sup>10</sup> state facts as they are, and let the public judge for themselves.

<sup>1.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 56 (WR) (APR, 462).

<sup>2.</sup> Book E-1, 1948: omits "April"; "April 1" in margin.

<sup>3.</sup> JSj [1844], 56: omits "J."

<sup>4.</sup> DHC 6:284: adds "[a negro]"

<sup>5.</sup> Source: NN 1 (3 Apr. 1844): [194]. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>6.</sup> NN 1:[194]: omits "out"

<sup>7.</sup> NN 1:[194]: "Cairns"

<sup>8.</sup> NN 1:[194], Book E-1, 1948: "till"

<sup>9.</sup> NN 1:[194]: adds "in part"

<sup>10.</sup> NN 1:[194]: omits "we"

The statement of the Negro was that Messrs. Easton, Townsend and Lawyer<sup>11</sup> W. H. J. Marr, were the persons engaged in this diabolical affair. Mr. Gibbs, one of the witnesses against Townsend, *believed* the above persons were engaged in it; but as a Negro knows nothing in this State, and Mr. Gibbs could not positively swear to it, of course we don't know; but we have our opinion and so have the public. We don't remember of <sup>12</sup> ever having seen more indignation manifest than was manifested on this occasion, and the public mind is not satisfied at the turn affairs have taken. Lynch law will not do in Nauvoo, and those who engage in it must expect to be visited by the wrath of an indignant people, not according to the rule of Judge Lynch, but according to law and equity.

<sup>13</sup>We are glad to see the laws of the land enforced to the very letter; but we are decidedly opposed to the Lynch law in any shape whatever, or to any individual or set of individuals, taking the law into their own hands. We are for equal rights and privileges, and even-handed justice; but we hate oppression, tyranny and mobocracy, let it come from what source it may.

We have no right to say whether or not the Negro is guilty of the crime alleged against him, but if he is, we sincerely hope that the laws of our country may be enforced upon him, that he may be thus brought to justice.

Indeed, we regret that it has become our duty to record such an outrage, as having taken place in our city or its vicinity, and hope that we never shall be called upon to do the like again; but we take pride in stating, that those who were engaged in this scandalous transaction, are in no way connected with the society of Latter-Day Saints, but are persons who came here as speculators, or for other purposes perhaps best known to themselves.

Mr. Townsend says he hails from Missouri, and certainty we have no reason to doubt his word, when we consider that he has made himself notorious by exhibiting one of the characteristics of the people of that State, especially those of the upper counties, which is that of Lynching, or, comparatively speaking, trampling the laws of the country under their feet. [...]<sup>14</sup>

<sup>15</sup>It was evident to all present that it was a mock trial and so conducted designedly to frustrate the ends of justice. It was thought best to acquit Easton and leave the case to the circuit court<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>17</sup>Francis M. Higbee and Cha[u]ncey L. Higbee were brought up before Esquire Wells for assaulting the police and acquitted. Cha[u]ncey L. Higbee, a lawyer, was brought before Daniel H. Wells, Esq., on the charge of using abusive language to, and insulting the City Marshal, while in the discharge of his official duty. He was fined ten dollars.

Also Robert D. Foster, Esq., was taken before Isaac Higbee, J.P., and fined ten dollars, for a breach of the ordinance pertaining to gambling, &c.

We are sorry to find that our lawyers and magistrates should be taking the lead among gamblers and disorderly persons and be numbered among the law-breakers, rather than supporting virtue, law, and the dignity of the city. **Cool and windy.** 

<sup>11.</sup> NN 1:[194]: omits "Lawyer"

<sup>12.</sup> DHC 6:285: omits "of"

<sup>13.</sup> The next four paragraphs from the NN were canceled in Book E-1, 1948-49, and omitted in DN and DHC.

<sup>14.</sup> Remainder NN article used in last three paragraphs of this day's entry.

<sup>15.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 56 (WR) (APR, 462). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>16.</sup> JSj [1844], 56: "appeal \to/ county court"; "to" w.o. "from"

<sup>17.</sup> First sentence added interlinearly in Book E-1, 1949. *Source*: Except for first sentence, following three paragraphs from *NN* 1 (3 Apr. 1844): [194]. First sentence based on JSj [1844], 56 (WR) (*APR*, 462). Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type.

<sup>18</sup>Tuesday, 2.—At home, somewhat unwell, and kept my house this fine<sup>19</sup> day. John P. Greene, marshal; Andrew Lytle and John Lytle, policemen, were arrested by a warrant issued by Robert D. Foster, on complaint of Francis M. Higbee, for false imprisonment. As the case was going to trial, the prisoners were taken by John D. Parker with a writ of habeas corpus before the municipal court, and tomorrow at 1 p.m. was fixed for trial. **Strong wind. Warm this eve[ning].** 

<sup>20</sup>Wednesday, 3.—At 1 p.m. presided in a special session of the municipal court, with Aldermen William Marks, Newel K. Whitney, Orson Spencer, George W. Harris, Gustavus Hills, George A. Smith and Samuel Bennett as associate-justices. John P. Greene, Andrew Lytle and John Lytle were brought up on habeas corpus, having been taken from the officer who held them on a writ issued by Robert D. Foster before whom they had been arraigned on the complaint of Cha[u]ncey L. Higbee charged with false imprisonment.

Joel S. Miles, Andrew Lytle, John Lytle, John P. Greene and Robert D. Foster were sworn, gave testimony in the case, and the court decided that Greene and the two Lytles be discharged, and that Cha[u]ncey L. Higbee is a very disorderly person, that this case on habeas corpus originated in a malicious and vexatious suit, instituted by Cha[u]ncey L. Higbee against the petitioners now discharged and that said Higbee pay the costs.

<sup>21</sup>Warm and cloudy.

<sup>22</sup>A conference was held in the city of New York; Elder William Smith presiding, and Elder William H. Miles, clerk. 15 branches were represented, containing 566 members, including 3 High Priests, 26 Elders, 15 Priests, 16 Teachers and 9 Deacons.

 $^{23} Thursday,\, 4^{24}.$  —In a general council in the Assembly Room from 9 to 12 a.m. and from 1 to 4 p.m.  $^{25}$ 

<sup>26</sup>I was visited by eleven Indians who wanted counsel, and had an impressive interview.

<sup>27</sup>Elder O[rson]. Hyde was in the council and left immediately for Washington.

<sup>28</sup>A company of Saints arrived on the steamer St. Croix. Showery day.

<sup>29</sup>Friday, 5.—Attended the dedication of the Masonic Temple, which was attended by about 550 members of the masonic fraternity from various parts of the world. A procession was formed at Henry Miller's house, and was accompanied by the Nauvoo Brass Band to the hall; the dedicatory ceremonies were performed by the Worshipful Master Hyrum Smith. Elder Erastus Snow delivered an able masonic address. Dr. Goforth and I also addressed the assembly. All the visiting masons were furnished

<sup>18.</sup> Source: [Sj [1844], 57 (WR) (APR, 462), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>19.</sup> JSj [1844], 57: omits "fine". Possibly added from CHOj 1:7, 2 Apr. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.12), which reads "fine day".

<sup>20.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph based on JSj [1844], 58 (WR) (APR, 462-63), and NMCDB, 91-93 (WR) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.5).

<sup>21.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:7, 3 Apr. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>22.</sup> Source: Based on "Minutes of a Conference," T&S 5 (1 May 1844): 524-26.

<sup>23.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 59 (WR) (APR, 463), with light editing.

<sup>24.</sup> DHC 6:286: mistakenly reads "14"

<sup>25.</sup> WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 4 Apr. 1844 (IC, 128; NTNLF, 409; DMQP, 17), reads: "In council of the Kingdom."

<sup>26.</sup> Source: WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 4 Apr. 1844 (IC, 128; NTNLF, 409; DMQP, 17), with light editing.

<sup>27.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 59 (WR) (APR, 463).

<sup>28.</sup> Source: Based on CHOj 1:7, 4 Apr. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>29.</sup> Source: This paragraph based mainly on Sissimus, Nauvoo, IL, to Editor, Nauvoo, IL, 10 Apr. 1844, NN 2 (1 May 1844): [210], and WWj, vol. 4, 5 Apr. 1844 (WWj 2:373). Cf. CHOj 1:7, 5 Apr. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12); Erastus Snow Journal [1841-47], 47 (CHL, MS 1329; SC DVD 31); NN 2 (22 May 1844): [221].

a dinner at the Masonic Hall at the expense of the Nauvoo Lodge. The building is admitted to be the most substantial and best finished masonic temple in the Western States; it has been erected under the direction of Mr. Lucius N. Scovil.

 $[...]^{30}$ 

<sup>31</sup>In consequence of ill health, I deferred preaching the funeral sermon of King Follett until Sunday. Elder Amasa Lyman addressed a very large assembly at the stand.

#### [DN 7 (1 July 1857): 129-30]

<sup>32</sup>Saturday, [April] 6 [1844]. <sup>33</sup> Conference met pursuant to adjournment. Present: Pres[iden]t. JOSEPH SMITH, HYRUM SMITH, SIDNEY RIGDON, and W[ILLIA]M. <sup>34</sup> MARKS. Of the Twelve: BRIGHAM YOUNG, HEBER C. KIMBALL, WILLARD RICHARDS, WILFORD WOODRUFF, JOHN TAYLOR and GEORGE A. SMITH.

The Members of the High Council, an immense number of Elders, and a very large  $^{35}$  concourse of people.

#### <sup>36</sup>Saturday, April 6, 1844.

Presidents Joseph and Hyrum Smith came to the stand at a quarter past 10 o'clock, when the meeting was called to order by Elder Brigham Young. The choir sung a hymn, after which

#### [Opening Address of President Joseph Smith.] 37

President Joseph Smith rose to state to the congregation the nature of <sup>38</sup> the business which would have to come before them. He stated that <sup>39</sup> it had been expected by some <sup>40</sup> that the little petty difficulties which have existed would be brought up and investigated before this conference <sup>41</sup>, but it will not be the case; these things are of too trivial a nature to occupy the attention of so large a body. <sup>42</sup> I intend to give you <sup>43</sup> some instruction on the principles of eternal truth, but will defer it until others have spoken <sup>44</sup>, in consequence of the weakness of my lungs.

<sup>30.</sup> Book E-1, 1950, has about a third of the page blank with diagonal line through it. RDft 8:29 instructs scribe to leave 20 lines blank and to "get a description from L[ucius] N Scovil." Cf. vol. 7, IV.8, under date, which reads: "Blank for description of Masonic Temple."

<sup>31.</sup> Source: WWj, vol. 4, 5 Apr. 1844 (WWj 2:373), with light editing.

<sup>32.</sup> Source: For the following minutes of the 6 Apr. 1844 morning session of general conference, featuring sermons by JS, SR, and JT, RDft 8:30 directs scribe to copy "Conference Minutes," *T&S* 5 (1 May 1844): 522-24, and *T&S* 5 (1 July 1844): 577-79, which was taken from GCM, Bx 1, fd 19, 1-7 (WC), and GCM, Bx 1, fd 20, 1-4 (TB), the latter of which begins with S. Rigdon's sermon. The *T&S* publication was probably prepared by TB, who mentions "writing out conference minutes" (CHOj 1:8, 23-26 Apr. 1844). Cf. JSj [1844], 61-62 (WR) (*APR*, 463); WWj, vol. 4, 6 Apr. 1844 (*WWj* 2:374-76; NSB, 53-54).

<sup>33.</sup> DHC 6:287: omits date, but includes it in a heading: "General Conference Minutes of the Church, April, 1844."

<sup>34.</sup> T&S 5:522, Book E-1, 1950: "William"

<sup>35.</sup> T&S 5:522: replaces "a very large" with "an innumerable"; Book E-1, 1951 (darker ink): "{\very large/}" (LH)

<sup>36.</sup> Date added in T&S 5:522 and Book E-1, 1951, but omitted in DN and DHC.

<sup>37.</sup> Due to the complexity of the minutes, subtitles have been inserted in brackets.

<sup>38.</sup> WC draft, 1: omits "the nature of"

<sup>39.</sup> WC draft, 1: omits "He stated that"

<sup>40.</sup> WC draft, 1: omits "by some"

<sup>41.</sup> WC draft, 1: omits "and investigated before this conference"

<sup>42.</sup> WC draft, 1: omits "these things are of too trivial a nature ... body"

<sup>43.</sup> WC draft, 1: "He intended to give them"

<sup>44.</sup> WC draft, 1: replaces "others have spoken" with "the last"

The Elders will give you instruction, and then, if necessary, I<sup>45</sup> will offer such corrections as may be proper to fill up the interstices. Those who feel desirous of sowing<sup>46</sup> the seeds of discord will be disappointed on this occasion<sup>47</sup>. It is our purpose to build up and establish the principles of righteousness, and not to break down and destroy. <sup>48</sup> The Great Jehovah has ever been with me, <sup>49</sup> and <sup>50</sup> the wisdom of God will direct me<sup>51</sup> in the seventh hour. I<sup>52</sup> feel in closer communion and better standing with God than ever I felt before in my life, and I am<sup>53</sup> glad of this opportunity to appear in your<sup>54</sup> midst. I thank<sup>55</sup> God for the glorious day that he has<sup>56</sup> given us. In as large a congregation it is necessary that the greatest order and decorum be observed; I request this at your hands and believe<sup>57</sup> that you will all keep good order.

Prayer was offered by W. W. Phelps, after which the choir sung a hymn.

#### [Elder Sidney Rigdon.]

<sup>58</sup>Elder Sidney Rigdon then rose and said: It is with no ordinary degree of satisfaction I enjoy<sup>59</sup> this privilege<sup>60</sup> this morning;<sup>61</sup> want of health and other circumstances have <sup>62</sup>kept me in silence for nearly the last five years.<sup>63</sup> It can hardly be expected that when the violence of sickness has<sup>64</sup> used its influence, and the seeds of disease have so long preyed upon me<sup>65</sup>, that I can rise before this congregation only in weakness<sup>66</sup>.<sup>67</sup> I am now<sup>68</sup> come forth from a bed of sickness, and have enough of strength left to appear here<sup>69</sup> for the first time in my true character<sup>70</sup>.<sup>71</sup> I

- 45. WC draft, 1: replaces "I" with "he"; T&S 5:522: omits "I"
- 46. WC draft, 1: "who want to sow"
- 47. WC draft, 1: omits "on this occasion"
- 48. WC draft, 1: omits preceding sentence
- 49. WC draft, 1: omits "The Great Jehovah ... me"
- 50. WC draft, 1: replaces "and" with "for"
- 51. WC draft, 1: replaces "me" with "him"
- 52. WC draft, 1: replaces "I" with "He"
- 53. WC draft, 1: replaces "and I am" with "He was"
- 54. WC draft, 1: replaces "your" with "their"
- 55. WC draft, 1: replaces "I thank" with "He thanked"
- 56. WC draft, 1: replaces "he has" with "God had"
- 57. WC draft, 1: replaces "In as large a congregation ... and" with "He believes"
- 58. Source: S. Rigdon's sermon was taken from *T&S* 5:522-24, which amalgamates GCM, Bx 1, fd 20, 1-3 (TB), and GCM, Bx 1, fd 19, 1-5 (WC). TB's draft is especially terse and filled with incomplete sentences, and both WC's and TB's drafts are written in third person, which was changed to first person in *T&S*. These changes in person have been ignored in the accompanying footnotes, which document only significant variants. Other versions apparently not used in MSHiJS are in WWj, vol. 4, 6 Apr. 1844 (*WWj* 2:374-76), which was partly copied in NSB, 53-54, and JSj [1844], 61-62 (WR) (*APR*, 463).
  - 59. TB draft, 1: replaces "enjoy" with "felt"
  - 60. TB draft, 1: "felt the privilege that he enjoyed"
  - 61. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 1.
  - 62. WC draft, 1: adds "long"
  - 63. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 1, except "[and other] circumstances" added from WC draft, 1.
  - 64. Book E-1, 1951: "ha{\s/}"; "s" w.o. "{ving}"
  - 65. WC draft, 1: omits "me"
- 66. TB draft, 1, WC draft, 1, T&S 5:522: omit "only in weakness"; Book E-1, 1951 (darker ink): "<only in weakness>" (JG)
  - 67. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 1, except "the violence ... seeds of" from TB draft, 1.
  - 68. WC draft, 1: omits "now"
  - 69. WC draft, 1: replaces "here" with "this A.M."
  - 70. WC draft, 1: replaces "my true character" with "5 years"
- 71. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 1, except "in my true character" added from TB draft, 1, which reads "in his character".

have not come before a conference for the last five years in my true character.<sup>72</sup> I shall consider this important privilege sacred in my family history during life.<sup>73</sup> I hardly promise myself lungs to make this congregation hear me; I shall do the best I can, and the greatest can do no more.<sup>74</sup>

The circumstance by which we are now surrounded points<sup>75</sup> out the principles of my discourse<sup>76</sup>—the history of this church which I have known from its infancy; my text is,<sup>77</sup> "Behold the church of God of the last days<sup>78</sup>." <sup>79</sup>I do not know that I can find it in the Bible; I do not think it necessary to have Paul to make a text for me; I can make a text for myself.<sup>80</sup> I recollect in the year 1830 I met the whole church<sup>81</sup> of Christ in a little old log-house about 20 feet square, near Waterloo, N.Y.<sup>82</sup>, and we<sup>83</sup> began to talk about the kingdom of God as if we<sup>84</sup> had the world at our<sup>85</sup> command;<sup>86</sup> we talked with great confidence and talked big things;<sup>87</sup> although we were<sup>88</sup> not many people we<sup>89</sup> had big feelings.<sup>90</sup>

We knew 14 years ago<sup>91</sup> that the church would become as large as it is today<sup>92</sup>: we were as big then as we shall ever <sup>93</sup>be;<sup>94</sup> we<sup>95</sup> began to talk like men in<sup>96</sup> authority and power; we<sup>97</sup> looked upon the men of the earth as grasshoppers.<sup>98</sup> If we did not see *this* people, we<sup>99</sup> saw by vision the church of God, a thousand times larger<sup>100</sup>;<sup>101</sup> and when men would **come in they** 

<sup>72.</sup> Preceding sentence omitted in WC draft, 1, but added interlinearly in darker ink in Book E-1, 1951 (JG), from TB draft, 1, which reads: "<he had not> come before the conference for the last 5 years". The words "in my true character" repeated from previous sentence.

<sup>73.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 1.

<sup>74.</sup> Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 1. In WC draft, 1, preceding sentence reads: "He next referred to his inability to make the congregation hear but he would try."

<sup>75.</sup> DHC 6:288: "point"

<sup>76.</sup> Preceding text ("The circumstances ... discourse") from WC draft, 1.

<sup>77.</sup> Preceding text ("the history ... my text is") is from TB draft, 1.

<sup>78.</sup> TB draft, 1: "Church of <Jesus> Christ <in the last days>"

<sup>79.</sup> WC draft, 1: adds "is his text"

<sup>80.</sup> Preceding four sentences ("Behold the church ... myself") from WC draft, 1.

<sup>81.</sup> TB draft, 1: "<church>"

<sup>82.</sup> TB draft, 1: omits "N.Y."

<sup>83.</sup> WC draft, 2: omits "we"

<sup>84.</sup> WC draft, 2: replaces "if we" with "tho[ugh] they"

<sup>85.</sup> WC draft, 2: omits "our"

<sup>86.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("I recollect ... Waterloo") from TB draft, 1; second part ("and we began ... command") from WC draft, 2. In WC draft, 2, first part of sentence reads: "In 1830 the church met together in a room 20 feet square."

<sup>87.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 1.

<sup>88.</sup> WC draft, 2: replaces "we were" with "they had"

<sup>89.</sup> WC draft, 2: replaces "we" with "they"

<sup>90.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 2.

<sup>91.</sup> WC draft, 2: omits "14 years ago"

<sup>92.</sup> WC draft, 2: "it now is"

<sup>93.</sup> DHC 6:289: adds "shall"

<sup>94.</sup> Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 1. In WC draft, 2, preceding sentence moved to follow next sentence and reads: "They felt as big then as they ever will till the day of God Almighty."

<sup>95.</sup> WC draft, 2: replaces "we" with "they"

<sup>96.</sup> WC draft, 2: replaces "in" with "with"

<sup>97.</sup> WC draft, 2: replaces "we" with "They"

<sup>98.</sup> Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 2.

<sup>99.</sup> WC draft, 2: replaces "we" with "they"

<sup>100.</sup> WC draft, 2: replaces "larger" with "as big as it is now"; TB draft, 1: "saw it thousands larger"

<sup>101.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("If we ... people") from TB draft, 1; remainder from WC draft, 2.

**would**<sup>102</sup> say we wanted to upset the government, although we were<sup>103</sup> not enough to well man a farm, or meet a woman with a milk-pail;<sup>104</sup> all the Elders, all the members met in conference in a room<sup>105</sup> 20 feet square.<sup>106</sup>

I recollect Elder Phelps<sup>107</sup> being put in jail for reading<sup>108</sup> the Book of Mormon.<sup>109</sup> He came to see us, and expressed great astonishment, and left us apparently pondering in his heart;<sup>110</sup> he afterwards came to Kirtland, Ohio, and said he was a convert.<sup>111</sup> Many things were taught<sup>112</sup>, believed, and preached then<sup>113</sup> which have since<sup>114</sup> come to pass;<sup>115</sup> we knew the whole world would laugh at us, so we concealed ourselves;<sup>116</sup> and there was much excitement about our secret meetings, charging us with designs against the government, and with laying plans to get money, &c., which never existed in the heads<sup>117</sup> of any one else<sup>118</sup>;<sup>119</sup> and if we<sup>120</sup> had talked in public we should<sup>121</sup> have been ridiculed more than we were;<sup>122</sup> the world being entirely ignorant of the testimony of the Prophets and without knowledge of what God was about to do, treated all we said with pretended contempt and much ridicule; and had they have<sup>123</sup> heard all we said, it would have made it worse for us.<sup>124</sup>

We<sup>125</sup> talked about the people coming as doves to the windows, <sup>126</sup>that all<sup>127</sup> nations should flock unto it;<sup>128</sup> that they should come bending to the standard of Jesus, saying, "our fathers have taught falsehood<sup>129</sup> and things in which there is no profit," and of whole nations<sup>130</sup> being born in

- 102. DHC 6:289: omits "come in they would"
- 103. WC draft, 2: replaces "we were" with "they was"
- 104. First part of preceding sentence ("and when men ... government") from WC draft, 2; "although we were ... farm" from TB draft, 1; "[or] meet a woman with a milk-pail" from WC draft, 2.
  - 105. TB draft, 1:"<a room>"
- 106. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 1. In WC draft, 2, preceding sentence reads: "They met in a room 30 feet square held a conference and laid the foundation of the kingdom."
  - 107. WC draft, 2: "He spoke next concerning Phelps."
  - 108. WC draft, 2: replaces "reading" with "publishing about"
  - 109. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 1.
  - 110. First part of preceding sentence ("He came to see us") from TB draft, 1; remainder not in either draft.
  - 111. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 1.
  - 112. WC draft, 2: replaces "Many things were taught" with "There were many things"
  - 113. WC draft, 2: replaces "then" with "at that time"
  - 114. WC draft, 2: omits "since"
  - 115. First part of preceding sentence from TB draft, 1; remainder ("which have ... pass") from WC draft, 2.
  - 116. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 1.
  - 117. WC draft, 2, DHC 6:289: replace "heads" with "hearts"
  - 118. WC draft, 2: deletes "else"; DHC 6:289: adds "[i.e., but in the hearts of their accusers]"
- 119. First part of preceding sentence ("and there was much excitement ... get money, &c.") not in either draft; "which never existed ... one else" from WC draft, 2. In this section, TB draft, 1, adds: "we had things to say to one another that nobody else knew of"; WC draft, 2, also reads: "He next explained why they had met in secret. They had things to say <to one another>."
  - 120. WC draft, 2: replaces "we" with "they"
  - 121. WC draft, 2: replaces "we should" with "they would"
  - 122. First part of preceding sentence ("and if we ... ridiculed") from WC draft, 2; remainder not in either draft.
  - 123. DHC 6:289: omits "have"
  - 124. Preceding two sentences do not appear in either draft.
  - 125. WC draft, 2: replaces "We" with "They"
  - 126. DHC 6:289: adds "and"
  - 127. DHC 6:289: omits "all"
  - 128. First part of preceding sentence ("We talked ... windows") from WC draft, 2; remainder from TB draft, 1.
  - 129. DHC 6:289: "falsehoods"
  - 130. WC draft, 2: replaces "whole nations" with "a nation"

one day.<sup>131</sup> We talked such big things that men could not bear them, and they not only ridiculed us for what we did say in public, but threatened and inflicted much personal abuse; and had they<sup>132</sup> heard all we said their violence would have been insupportable.<sup>133</sup> God had great things to say for the salvation of the world, which, if they had been<sup>134</sup> told to<sup>135</sup> the public, would have brought<sup>136</sup> persecution upon us unto death<sup>137</sup>,<sup>138</sup> so we were obliged to retire to our secret chambers and commune ourselves with God.<sup>139</sup> (He here referred to the prayer of elder Phelps concerning our having arrived at the age to choose our own guardian.)<sup>140</sup> If we had told the people what our eyes behold this day, we should not have been<sup>141</sup> believed, but the rascals would have shed our blood, if we had only told them what we believed.<sup>142</sup> There we sat in secret and beheld<sup>143</sup> the glorious visions and powers of the kingdom of heaven, pass and repass<sup>144</sup>,<sup>145</sup> we had not a mighty congregation to shelter us; if a mob came upon us we had to run and hide ourselves<sup>146</sup> to save our lives.<sup>147</sup>

The time has now come to tell why we held<sup>148</sup> secret meetings.<sup>149</sup> We were maturing plans fourteen years ago which we can now tell;<sup>150</sup> were we maturing plans to corrupt the world, to destroy the peace of society?<sup>151</sup> No!<sup>152</sup> Let fourteen years' experience of the church tell the story. The church never would<sup>153</sup> have been here if we had not done as we did in secret.<sup>154</sup> The cry of ["]false prophet and imposter["] rolled upon us.<sup>155</sup> I do not know that anything has taken place in the history of this church which we did not then believe; it was written upon our hearts and never could be taken away;<sup>156</sup> it was indelibly engraved;<sup>157</sup> no power beneath yonder heav-

<sup>131.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("that they should come ... profit") not in either draft; remainder from TB draft, 1.

<sup>132.</sup> DHC 6:289: "and if they had"

<sup>133.</sup> First part of preceding two sentences ("We talked such big things") from TB draft, 1; remainder not in either draft.

<sup>134.</sup> WC draft, 2: omits "they had been"

<sup>135.</sup> Book E-1, 1952: "\to/" (RLC); DHC 6:289: omits "to"

<sup>136.</sup> WC draft, 2: replaces "have brought" with "bring"

<sup>137.</sup> WC draft, 2: omits "unto death"

<sup>138.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 2.

<sup>139.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 1.

<sup>140.</sup> Preceding parenthetical from WC draft, 2, canceled in Book E-1, 1952, and not published in DN and DHC 6:289.TB draft, 1:"we <had now arrived at the age of 14 &> can now choose our own Guardian."

<sup>141.</sup> T&S 5:523: replaces "have been" with "be"

<sup>142.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 1. In WC draft, 2, preceding sentence reads: "If we had told what we believed, that the church would be as it is at this day, They would have come upon us and shed our blood."

<sup>143.</sup> WC draft, 2: replaces "beheld" with "there"

<sup>144.</sup> WC draft, 2: replaces "pass and repass" with "were portrayed before them"

<sup>145.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("There we sat ... heaven") from WC draft, 2; remainder from TB draft, 1, which reads: "we saw all things pass and repass."

<sup>146.</sup> WC draft, 2: replaces "ourselves" with "up"

<sup>147.</sup> Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 2.

<sup>148.</sup> Book E-1, 1952: "had" apparently emended to read "held"

<sup>149.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 2.

<sup>150.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 1.

<sup>151.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 2.TB draft, 1: "no secret plans, no combinations."

<sup>152.</sup> WC draft, 2, T&S 5:523: omit "No!"; Book E-1, 1953 (darker ink): "\No!/" (pos. LH)

<sup>153.</sup> WC draft, 2: "would never"

<sup>154.</sup> Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 2. In TB draft, 1, preceding sentence reads: "you never would have been here had it not been for the little meetings we had."

<sup>155.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 1.

<sup>156.</sup> Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 3.

<sup>157.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 1, which reads: "all things engraved upon the hearts of them. never

ens could obliterate it.<sup>158</sup> This was the period when God laid the foundation of the church<sup>159</sup>, and he laid it firmly, truly, and upon eternal truth.<sup>160</sup>

If any man says it is not the work of God, I know they lie<sup>161</sup>.<sup>162</sup> Some of you who know you have a house, how long would it take to make you reason yourselves into a belief that you have no house where you now reside with your family?<sup>163</sup> Neither have we any power whereby we can ever persuade ourselves that this is not the church of God.<sup>164</sup> We do not care who sinks or swims, or opposes, but we know here is the church of God, and I have authority before God for saying so.<sup>165</sup> I have the testimony of Jesus, which is the spirit of prophecy; I have slept with it, I have walked with it;<sup>166</sup> the idea has never been out of my heart for a moment, and I will reap the glory of it when I leave this world.<sup>167</sup> I defy men, and hell, and devils to put it out of my heart<sup>168</sup>;<sup>169</sup> I defy all, and will triumph in spite of them.<sup>170</sup>

I know God;<sup>171</sup> I have gazed upon the glory of God, the throne, visions and glories of God, and the visions of eternity in days gone by.<sup>172</sup> What is a man of God to do when he sees all the madness, wrath and follies of our persecutors? He will do as God does; he will sit and laugh;<sup>173</sup> **one breath from the nostrils of God would blow them out of existence to hell.**<sup>174</sup> These were the beginning of good days; shut up in a room, eating nothing but dry johnny-cake and buttermilk.<sup>175</sup> Every man who had a little farm, or clothes, sold them and distributed what he had among the rest, and did the best they<sup>176</sup> could.<sup>177</sup> <sup>178</sup>I had little<sup>179</sup> to eat, little<sup>180</sup> to wear, and yet it was the beginning of good days.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>182</sup>Some say I want plenty to eat, plenty to drink, plenty to wear, and a good house to

could be taken out of the heart. it was indelibly engraved."

- 158. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 3.
  - 159. TB draft, 1: adds "of God"
- 160. First part of preceding sentence (This was the period ... firmly") from TB draft, 1; remainder from WC draft, 3.
  - 161. DHC 6:290: "he lies"
  - 162. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 1.
- 163. First part of sentence ("Some of you ... house") from TB draft, 1; remainder from WC draft, 3, which reads: "How [long] would you attempt to make yourselves believe you have no habitation where you now reside with your family."
  - 164. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 3.
  - 165. First part of preceding sentence ("We do not ... God") from WC draft, 3, remainder from TB draft, 1.
  - 166. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 1-2.
  - 167. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 3.
  - 168. TB draft, 2: omits "of my heart"
  - 169. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 2.
- 170. First part of preceding sentence ("I defy all") from TB draft, 2; remainder from WC draft, which reads: "he puts hell and wicked men at defiance and he will triumph in spite of them."
  - 171. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 2.
  - 172. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 3, except "the throne, visions and glories of God" from TB draft, 2.
- 173. Preceding three sentences from WC draft, 3. TB draft, 2, reads: "what has a man of God to do with the little things. he sits in the throne and laughs at you."
  - 174. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 3, omitted with ellipses in DHC 6:290.
  - 175. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 2.
  - 176. DHC 6:290: replaces "they" with "he"
  - 177. First part preceding sentence ("Every man ... distributed") from TB draft, 2; remainder from WC draft, 3.
  - 178. TB draft, 2: adds "I saw the time that"
  - 179. TB draft, 2, T&S 5:523: replace "little" with "nothing"; Book E-1, 1953: "{\little/}" (prob. LH)
  - 180. TB draft, 2, T&S 5:523: replace "little" with "nothing"; Book E-1, 1953: "{\little/}" (prob. LH)
  - 181. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 2.
  - 182. This paragraph from TB draft, 2.WC draft, 3, replaces this paragraph with the following: "He referred to

live in, and say they<sup>183</sup>, then I will believe; but God will not give<sup>184</sup> it, until you have proved yourselves unto him<sup>185</sup>.

No wonder, then, that we should be joyful today. <sup>186</sup> If the people will do as they are told, I will tell you what to do. <sup>187</sup> Get the visions of heaven, and seek not what you shall eat or what you shall drink, but seek the will of God; <sup>188</sup> <sup>189</sup>get into the presence of God and then you will have johnny-cake and milk-and-water no more. Would you not be astonished if even now we should tell the glories and privileges of the Saints of God to you and <sup>190</sup> to the world? We should <sup>191</sup> be ridiculed; and no wonder we shut it up in secret. <sup>192</sup> If we were to tell you when Jehovah <sup>193</sup>looked on, lo it is beauty, it is heaven, it is felicity to look on <sup>194</sup>; I should marvel if it were otherwise; if a man tells you one glory or one message, he is learning another at the same time. <sup>195</sup> Do not be astonished, then, if we even yet have secret meetings, asking God for things for your benefit. <sup>196</sup>

Do not be afraid;<sup>197</sup> go back to the commencement of this church and see what was concocted then.<sup>198</sup> There was no evil concocted when we first held secret meetings, and it is the same now; has God forgotten to be gracious?<sup>199</sup>—to be merciful to mankind? Did he ever concoct anything that was devilish for mankind? He could not do it;<sup>200</sup> I never am afraid of <sup>201</sup>God or <sup>202</sup>man concocting anything to hurt me; I have faith to detect man even if he<sup>203</sup> did; I would ask God to<sup>204</sup> detect them<sup>205</sup>, and would<sup>206</sup> hold them<sup>207</sup> fast before he<sup>208</sup> should do it<sup>209</sup>.<sup>210</sup> I am not afraid of men or devils.<sup>211</sup> I have none of those fears, jealousies, dreads, fore-

the complaint made by the citizens of Nauvoo, when he had one of the cursedest smokey houses to live in that ever was he would thank God."

```
183. TB draft, 2: omits "say they"
```

<sup>184.</sup> TB draft, 2: replaces "give" with "do"

<sup>185.</sup> TB draft, 2: omits "until you ... him"

<sup>186.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 2.

<sup>187.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 3.

<sup>188.</sup> Preceding sentence not in either draft.

<sup>189.</sup> WC draft, 3, continues previous sentence by adding "what to do to"

<sup>190.</sup> WC draft, 3: omits "of the Saints ... and"

<sup>191.</sup> WC draft, 3: replaces "We should" with "they would"

<sup>192.</sup> Preceding four sentences ("get into the presence ... secret") from WC draft, 3.

<sup>193.</sup> DHC 6:291: adds "is"

<sup>194.</sup> DHC 6:291: "look upon Jehovah"

<sup>195.</sup> Preceding three sentences ("If we were to tell you ... time") from TB draft, 2.

<sup>196.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("Do not be ... meetings") from WC draft, 3; remainder from TB draft, 2.

<sup>197.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 3.

<sup>198.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 2.

<sup>199.</sup> Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 3.

<sup>200.</sup> Preceding three sentences ("to be merciful ... it") from TB draft, 2.

<sup>201.</sup> WC draft, 3: adds "either"

<sup>202.</sup> WC draft, 3: adds "any other"

<sup>203.</sup> DHC 6:291: replaces "he" with "they"

<sup>204.</sup> Book E-1, 1954 (darker ink): "<detect man ... to>" (JG)

<sup>205.</sup> Book E-1, 1954 (pencil): "them <{man}>" (RLC)

<sup>206.</sup> DHC 6:291: omits "would"

<sup>207.</sup> WC draft, 3: replaces "them" with "him"

<sup>208.</sup> DHC 6:291: replaces "he" with "they"

<sup>209.</sup> WC draft, 3: omits "before they should do it"; taken from TB draft, 2.

<sup>210.</sup> Preceding three sentences from WC draft, 3-4.

<sup>211.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 4, which replaces "men or devils" with "such things".

bodings, surmisings, &c.:<sup>212</sup> I put my trust in God, and <sup>213</sup>whatever God does for me, is only for my salvation.<sup>214</sup>

<sup>215</sup>A man is a bad teamster who runs his team in the worst road. [And showed how much like the gospel.] <sup>216</sup> What I have already said, is only to prepare the way. [Here<sup>217</sup> five of the Pottawattomie tribe <sup>218</sup>appeared with their interpreter<sup>219</sup>, and were assisted to the stand by the president.] <sup>220</sup> I am going to tell of something that surprised me at the beginning of the church; I have handled, <sup>221</sup> heard, seen and known things which I have not yet told.

<sup>222</sup>After the church began to grow, it was favored with monstrous<sup>223</sup> wise men; they had so much wisdom that they could dispute what God said, and what his servant said. They were opposed to virtue; they would say they had revelations and visions, and were as certain that God<sup>224</sup> had given it, as I was that the devil had.

<sup>225</sup>He referred to the children of Israel who were sniveling and murmuring about their<sup>226</sup> leeks and onions, &c., &c., and so it is in these last days<sup>227</sup>, some men<sup>228</sup> are always yelling about what the church believes, and opposing every good thing.

<sup>229</sup>I<sup>230</sup> want devils to gratify themselves; and if howling, yelling, and yelping, will do you<sup>231</sup> any good, do it till you are all damned.

<sup>232</sup>If calling us devils, &c., will do you any good, let us have the whole of it, and you can then go on your way to hell without a grunt.

<sup>233</sup>We hear these things ever since the church existed, they have come up with us, they have had so much more<sup>234</sup> wisdom, they knew all about the kingdom before God revealed it;<sup>235</sup>

- 212. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 2, except "forebodings, surmisings, &c."; added from WC draft, 4.
- 213. WC draft, 4: adds "his directions, instructions and"
- 214. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 4.
- 215. Except first two sentences, this paragraph from WC draft, 4. First two sentences from TB draft, 2.
- 216. Preceding bracketed sentence based on TB draft, 2, but omitted in WC draft, 4, and DHC 6:291; brackets added in darker ink in Book E-1, 1954.
  - 217. WC draft, 4: omits "Here"
  - 218. WC draft, 4: adds "of Indians"
  - 219. WC draft, 4: omits "with their interpreter"
  - 220. Brackets added in darker ink in Book E-1, 1954.
  - 221. WC draft, 4: omits "handled"; taken from TB draft, 2.
- 222. This paragraph from WC draft, 4.TB draft, 2, reads: "after this church began to grow, it was favored with men who were wise men, who taught your virtue some sectarian some men turn out things which the devil has revealed."
  - 223. DHC 6:291: replaces "monstrous" with "marvelously"
  - 224. DHC 6:291: replaces "God" with "the Lord"
- 225. This paragraph from WC draft, 4. TB draft, 2, reads: "when Israel went up to Canaan, many were were marvelling and murmuring[;] so it is in the last days. but they are not so well fixed as Moses was, for he gave them leeks and onions. for he killed them and took better men into the into the land. but we are not going to it."
  - 226. WC draft, 4: replaces "who were sniveling ... their" with "&."
  - 227. WC draft, 4: omits "and so it is in these last days"; taken from TB draft, 2.
  - 228. WC draft, 4: replaces "some men" with "to those who"
  - 229. This paragraph from WC draft, 4.
  - 230. WC draft, 4: omits "I"
  - 231. Book E-1, 1954: "<you>" (prob. LH)
- 232. This paragraph from WC draft, 4.TB draft, 2, which reads: "they may go on the way to hell without a grunt after you."
  - 233. This paragraph from WC draft, 4.
  - 234. WC draft, 4: omits "more"
  - 235. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 4.

and they know all things before they were heard; they understand more than God knows. <sup>236</sup> We gather of all kinds; if we get all nations, we get all wisdom, all cunning, and everything else. <sup>237</sup>

<sup>238</sup>The sectarians cannot be as wise as we are, for they have only got the plans of man for salvation; but we have got man's plans, the devil's plans, and the best of all, we have God's plan.

I do not know whether there are any<sup>239</sup> of these <sup>240</sup>wise men here<sup>241</sup> this morning<sup>242</sup> **or not**<sup>243</sup>;<sup>244</sup> I have merely given this as a part of the history of this church. I am disposed to give some reasons why salvation only belongs to the kingdom of God, and to that alone.<sup>245</sup>

I will endeavor to show<sup>246</sup> why salvation belongs to us more peculiarly, in contradistinction to all other bodies;<sup>247</sup> will this be clear enough?<sup>248</sup>

I discover one thing, mankind have labored under one universal mistake about this, <sup>249</sup> viz.: salvation was distinct from government, i.e., that I can build a church without government, and that thing have power to save me. <sup>250</sup>

<sup>251</sup>When God sets up a system of salvation, he sets up a system of government; when I speak of a government I mean what I say; I mean a government that shall rule over temporal and spiritual affairs.

Every man is a government of himself, and infringe<sup>252</sup> upon no government.<sup>253</sup> I will say to the defiance of all men.<sup>254</sup> A <sup>255</sup>man is not an honorable man if he is not above all law, and above government.<sup>256</sup>

I see in our town we have need of government;<sup>257</sup> some study law only for the purpose of seeing how many feuds, how many broils they can kick up, how much they can disturb the peace of the public, without breaking the law, and then say: "I know my rights, and will have them";<sup>258</sup> "I did not know it was the Marshal, or I would not have done it."<sup>259</sup>

He is no gentleman;<sup>260</sup> gentlemen would not insult a poor man in the street, but would

- 236. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 2.
- 237. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 4.
- 238. This paragraph from WC draft, 4. TB draft, 2, which reads: "the great Jehovah sits in heaven and tells us how he wills [us] to save men."
  - 239. WC draft, 4: replaces "whether there are any" with "but we have some"
  - 240. WC draft, 4: adds "strange"
  - 241. WC draft, 4: replaces "here" with "present"
  - 242. WC draft, 4: "this A.M."
  - 243. DHC 6:292: adds "or not"
  - 244. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 2, except "this morning" from WC draft, 4.
  - 245. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 4-5, except "and to that alone" from TB draft, 2.
  - 246. WC draft, 5: replaces "I will endeavor to show" with "He will give some reasons"
  - 247. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 5.
  - 248. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 2.
  - 249. Preceding text ("I discover ... this") from TB draft, 2.
  - 250. Preceding text ("viz., salvation ... me") from WC draft, 5.
  - 251. This paragraph from WC draft, 5.
  - 252. WC draft, 5: "he infringes"; DHC 6:292: "infringes"
  - 253. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 5.
  - 254. Preceding bolded sentence only in TB draft, 3.
  - 255. WC draft, 5: adds "good"
  - 256. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 3, except "and above government" from WC draft, 5.
  - 257. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 3.
  - 258. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 3, except "how much they can disturb ... law" from WC draft, 5.
- 259. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 3. WC draft, 5, reads: "He referred to the case of J. P. Green's trial and the plea set up by the Lawyer." See above in this chapter under 1 and 3 Apr. 1844.
  - 260. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 3.

bow to him, as much as those who appear more respectable.<sup>261</sup> No marshal, or any one else, should pull me up;<sup>262</sup> we ought to live a great way within the circle of the laws of the land;<sup>263</sup> I would live far above all law.<sup>264</sup>

The law of God is far more righteous than the laws of the land;<sup>265</sup> the laws of God are far above the laws of the land.<sup>266</sup> The kingdom of God does not interfere with the laws of the land, but keeps itself by its own laws.<sup>267</sup> (Reported by Elder Thomas Bullock.)<sup>268</sup>

<sup>269</sup>[Elder Rigdon stopped to refresh himself.]<sup>270</sup>

The choir sang hymn  $104^{271}$ .

#### [Elder John Taylor.]

<sup>272</sup>Elder John Taylor being called upon to address the congregation, said,—<sup>273</sup>It gives me pleasure to meet and associate with so large an assemblage of the Saints. I always feel at home among the brethren. I consider them the honorable of the earth, and if I can do anything to conduce to their happiness, or that will in anywise tend to their edification, I am satisfied.

<sup>274</sup>I therefore address this congregation with cheerfulness and pleasure, and if by unfolding any of the principles of truth that I am in possession of, or laying before you anything pertaining to the kingdom; if my ideas will enlarge your minds, or produce beneficial results to any, I shall consider myself on this, as on all other occasions, amply repaid.

Many things have been spoken by Elder Rigdon concerning the early history of this church.<sup>275</sup> There is no individual who has searched the oracles of eternal truth, but his mind<sup>276</sup> will be touched with the remarks made <sup>277</sup>by our venerable friend which unfold the dispensation

- 261. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 5.
- 262. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 3.
- 263. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 5.
- 264. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 3.
- 265. Preceding sentence based on TB draft, 3, which reads: "it [living above all law] is far more righteous than living as they do."
  - 266. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 5; omitted in DHC 6:292.
  - 267. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 5.
- 268. TB draft, 3, WC draft, 5, and *T&S* 5:524 omit preceding attribution, which appears in MSHiJS, *DN*, and DHC 6:292. Given the fact that the preceding report amalgamates TB's and WC's drafts, and that TB's reporting begins with SR's sermon, this claim is inaccurate, unless possibly TB was responsible for producing the final version of the minutes published in the *T&S*.
- 269. Book E-1, 1955: adds "[See Addenda, page 1]" (JG). The remainder of this chapter and first part of the next is from Book E-1, Addenda, 1-3 (JG).
- 270. DHC 6:292 removes brackets.WC draft, 5, reads: "E[lde]r Rigdon here stopped his discourse to rest";TB draft, 3, reads: "(the Prophet) Elder Rigdon will rest a few moments from his exertion."
  - 271. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 3. WC draft, 5, T&S 5:577: delete "104" and read "sung a hymn"
- 272. Source: J. Taylor's sermon was added in Book E-1, Addenda, 1-3 (JG), which was taken from T&S 5:577-79. This was a heavily edited version based on WC draft, 5-7, and TB draft, 3-4. Changes from third person to first person have been ignored, and only significant emendations have been documented in footnotes.
  - 273. First part of paragraph to this point from WC draft, 5; remainder not in either draft.
- 274. This paragraph is a complex amalgamation. WC draft, 5, reads: "he said it with cheerfulness. He said it with such principles as he was in possession of and if his ideas would be benificial to any he was at all times amply repaid." TB draft, 3, reads: "I address this congregation with pleasure. to tell those principles to enlarge their minds or produce any beneficial results I am well repaid."
- 275. First part of preceding sentence ("Many things ... Rigdon") from TB draft, 3; remainder from WC draft, 5. In TB draft, 3, second part of sentence reads: "with edification."
  - 276. WC draft, 5: replaces "mind" with "heart"
  - 277. WC draft, 5: adds "this A.M."

of Jehovah, and have a tendency to produce the most thrilling feelings in the bosoms of many who are this day present, and to promote our general edification;<sup>278</sup> he traces with pleasure on the historic page<sup>279</sup> the rise of nations, kingdoms and empires<sup>280</sup>.<sup>281</sup> Historians dwell with great minuteness on the heroic deeds, the chivalrous acts, the dangers and deliverances, the tact, bravery and heroism of their chieftains, generals and governments.<sup>282</sup>

We, as republicans, look back to the time when this nation was under the iron rule of Great Britain, and groaned under the power, tyranny and oppression of that powerful nation. <sup>283</sup> We trace with delight<sup>284</sup> the name of a Washington, a Jefferson, <sup>285</sup> a LaFayette, and an Adams<sup>286</sup>, in whose bosoms burned the spark of liberty. <sup>287</sup> These themes are dwelt upon with delight by our legislators, our governors and presidents<sup>288</sup>; <sup>289</sup> they are subjects which fire our souls with patriotic ardor. <sup>290</sup>

But if these things animate them so much, how much more great, noble, and exalted are the things laid before us.<sup>291</sup> <sup>292</sup>They were engaged in founding kingdoms and empires that were destined to dissolution and decay, and although many of them were great, formidable and powerful; they now exist only in name. Their "cloud-capped towers, their solemn temples, are dissolved," and nothing now remains of their former magnificence or ancient grandeur, but a few dilapidated buildings and broken columns; a few shattered fragments remain to tell to this and to other generations, the perishable nature of earthly pomp and worldly glory.

<sup>293</sup>They were engaged in founding empires and establishing kingdoms and powers that had in themselves<sup>294</sup> the seeds of destruction, and were destined to decay. We are laying the foundation of a kingdom that shall last forever—that shall bloom in time and blossom in eternity. We are engaged in a greater work than ever occupied the attention of mortals; we live in a day that prophets and kings desired to see, but died without the sight.

When we hear the history of the rise of this kingdom from one who has been with it from its infancy—<sup>295</sup> from the lips of our venerable friend who has taken an active part in

<sup>278.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("There is no person ... remarks") from WC draft, 5; remainder not in either draft.

<sup>279.</sup> WC draft, 5: omits "on the historic page"

<sup>280.</sup> WC draft, 5: omits "and empires"

<sup>281.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 5.

<sup>282.</sup> In WC draft, 5, preceding sentence reads: "Historians trace it with nicety—the men who took the lead in those governments—their legislatures, kings, nobles, Generals &c." TB draft, 3, reads: "historians dwells with great minuteness into the history of those men who took the lead of those kingdoms, chieftains, republics."

<sup>283.</sup> Preceding sentence is a complex amalgamation. WC draft, 5, reads: "We look back to the time when this country was under the Iron hand of oppression by England." TB draft, 3, reads: "we look back to the time when this nation was under the rule and tyranny of G. Britain."

<sup>284.</sup> TB draft, 3, WC draft, 5: omit "with delight"

<sup>285.</sup> TB draft, 3, WC draft, 5: omit "a Jefferson"

<sup>286.</sup> TB draft, 3, WC draft, 5: omit "and an Adams"

<sup>287.</sup> Last part of preceding sentence ("in whose bosoms ... liberty") from WC draft, 5; remainder from TB draft, 3.

<sup>288.</sup> WC draft, 6: replaces "and presidents" with "&c."

<sup>289.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 6.

<sup>290.</sup> Preceding sentence not in either draft.

<sup>291.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 6, except "great, noble, and exalted" from TB draft, 3, which reads: "all men look upon this thing with as great a view as any of these things, how much more great, more noble \are/than these things."

<sup>292.</sup> Remainder of this paragraph deleted in WC draft, 6, and TB draft, 3.

<sup>293.</sup> This paragraph omitted in WC draft, 6, and TB draft, 3.

<sup>294.</sup> Book E-1, Addenda, 1:"them<selves>" (prob. LH)

<sup>295.</sup> WC draft, 6: adds "(pres[ident] spake on)"

all the history of the church, can we be surprised if <sup>296</sup> he should feel animated, and that his soul should burn with heavenly zeal? <sup>297</sup> We see in him a man of God who can contemplate the glories of heaven <sup>298</sup>—the visions of eternity, and who yet <sup>299</sup> looks forward to the opening glories which the great Eloheim has manifested to him pertaining to righteousness and peace <sup>300</sup>—a man who now beholds the things roll on which he has long since beheld in prophetic vision. <sup>301</sup>

Where is the comparison of things which are past and things which are present?<sup>302</sup> Most men have established themselves in authority by laying desolate other kingdoms and the destruction of other powers. Their kingdoms have been founded in blood, and supported by<sup>303</sup> tyranny and oppression.<sup>304</sup> The greatest chieftains of the earth have obtained their glory—if glory it can be called—by blood, carnage and ruin.<sup>305</sup> One nation has been built up at the expense and ruin of another, and one man has been made <sup>306</sup> at the expense of another;<sup>307</sup> and yet these great men were called honorable for their inglorious deeds of rapine. They have slain their thousands, and caused the orphans to weep and the widows to mourn.<sup>308</sup>

Men did these things because they could do it<sup>309</sup>—because they had power to desolate nations and spread terror and desolation<sup>310</sup>.<sup>311</sup> They have made themselves immortal as great men.<sup>312</sup> The patriots of this country had indeed a laudable object in<sup>313</sup> view—a plausible excuse for the course they took.<sup>314</sup> They stood in defense of their rights, liberty and freedom; but where are now those principles of freedom? Where are<sup>315</sup> the laws that protect all men in their religious opinions? Where the laws that say, "a man shall worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience?" What say ye, ye Saints, ye who are exiles in the land of LIBERTY?<sup>316</sup> How came you here? Can you in this land of equal right<sup>317</sup> return in safety to your possessions in Missouri? No! You are exiles from thence, and there is no power, no voice, no arm to redress your grievances<sup>318</sup>. Is this the gracious boon for which your fathers

- 296. WC draft, 6, T&S 5:578: replaces "if" with "that"
- 297. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 6, with light editing.
- 298. TB draft, 3: omits "of heaven"
- 299. DHC 6:294: "yet who"
- 300. TB draft, 3: omits "and who yet looks ... peace"
- 301. Preceding text ("We see him ... vision") from TB draft, 3.
- 302. Preceding bolded sentence from TB draft, 3, but omitted in MSHiJS.
- 303. DHC 6:294: replaces "by" with "in"
- 304. Preceding two sentences amalgamate and elaborate WC draft, 6, and TB draft, 3. WC draft reads: "Most other kingdoms have laid desolate other kingdoms and established themselves in blood." TB draft reads: "most men have established their kingdoms by blood by tyranny."
- 305. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 6.TB draft, 3, reads: "where did most of the mighty men get their glory. one history of blood, carnage and desolation."
  - 306. WC draft, 6: adds "rich"
  - 307. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 6.
  - 308. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 3.
  - 309. WC draft, 6: omits "because they could do it"
  - 310. WC draft, 6: omits "and desolation"
  - 311. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 6.
  - 312. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 3. WC draft, 6, reads: "& they were spoken of as great men."
  - 313. TB draft, 3: omits "object in"
  - 314. First part of preceding sentence ("The patriots ... view") from TB draft, 3; remainder from WC draft, 6.
  - 315. T&S 5:578: omits "are"
  - 316. Preceding five sentences ("They stood ... LIBERTY") from WC draft, 6.
  - 317. T&S 5:578, Book E-1, Addenda, 2, DHC 6:294: "rights"
  - 318. DHC 6:294: "grievance"

fought, and struggled, and died? Shades of the venerable dead! could you but gaze upon this scene and witness tens of thousands of Americans in exile on Columbia's soil, if pity could touch your bosoms, how would you<sup>319</sup> mourn for the oppressed?—if indignation, how would you curse the heartless wretches that have so desecrated and polluted the temple of liberty?<sup>320</sup> "How has the gold become dim, and the fine gold, how has it changed!"<sup>321</sup> Let it not be told among the heathen monarchs of Europe, <sup>322</sup>lest they laugh and say "ha! ha!<sup>323</sup> so would we have it."<sup>324</sup>

Ye Saints, never let it go abroad that ye are exiles in the land of liberty, lest ye disgrace your republic in the eyes of the nations of the earth;<sup>325</sup> but tell it to those who robbed and plundered, and refused to give you your rights;<sup>326</sup> tell your rulers that all their deeds of fame are tarnished, and their glory is departed.<sup>327</sup>

Are we now indeed in a land of liberty—of freedom—of equal rights? Would to God I could answer yes, but no! no!! I cannot. 328 They have robbed us, we are stripped of our possessions, many of our friends are slain 329, and our government says, "Your cause is just, but we can do nothing for you." 330

Hear it, ye great men, we are here in exile!<sup>331</sup> Here are thousands of men in bondage in a land of liberty—of freedom!!<sup>332</sup> If ye have any patriotism left<sup>333</sup>, shake off your fetters, and come and proclaim us free, and give us our rights.<sup>334</sup> I speak of this government as being one of the best of <sup>335</sup> governments, as one of the greatest and purest;<sup>336</sup> and yet, what a melancholy picture.<sup>337</sup> O ye venerable fathers who fought for your liberty, blush for your children, and mourn, mourn over your country's shame.<sup>338</sup> We are now talking about a government which sets herself up as a pattern for the nations of the earth, and yet, O what a picture. If this is the best, the most patriotic, the most free, <sup>339</sup> what is the situation of the rest?<sup>340</sup>

- 319. DHC 6:294: "you would" and replaces "?" with "!"
- 320. Preceding text ("How have you came here? ... liberty") omitted in TB draft, 3, and WC draft, 6.
- 321. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 6, except "and the fine gold ... changed" is not in either draft.
- 322. WC draft, 6: adds "Don't let the sound go forth"
- 323. DHC 6:294: omits second "ha!"
- 324. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 3.
- 325. First part of preceding sentence ("Ye saints ... liberty") from WC draft, 6; remainder not in either draft.
- 326. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 6.
- 327. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 3, except "and their glory is departed" is omitted.
- 328. Preceding text ("Are we now ... yes") from WC draft, 6; "but no! no!! I cannot" not in either draft.
- 329. WC draft, 6: replaces "many of our friends are slain" with "and slain us"
- 330. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 6, except "we are stripped of our possessions" from TB draft, 3.
- 331. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 6.
- 332. First part of preceding sentence ("Here are thousands ... in bondage") from TB draft, 3; "in a land of liberty" from WC draft, 6; "of freedom!!" from TB draft, 3, which reads: "and you say you are in a land of freedom."
  - 333. DHC 6:295: omits "left"
  - 334. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 6-7, except "shake off your fetters" from TB draft, 3.
  - 335. Book E-1, Addenda, 2 (darker ink): "<of>" (prob. JG)
- 336. First part of preceding sentence ("I speak of ... governments") from WC draft, 7; remainder amalgamates WC draft ("as one of the most pure") and TB draft, 4 ("it is one of the greatest, pure, best").
  - 337. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 4.
- 338. Preceding sentence is a complex amalgamation. WC draft, 6, reads: "Ye fathers who fought for your liberty blush for your children and mourn over the degraded state they now represent." TB draft, 4, reads: "Oh you venerable fathers who fought for your country mourn mourn over your countrys shame."
  - 339. WC draft, 7: omits "the most free"
- 340. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 7.TB draft, 4, reads: "we have one of the best, <the most patriatic> the most pure, as a pattern, and yet what a picture."

<sup>341</sup>Here we speak with national pride<sup>342</sup> of a Washington, a LaFayette, a Monroe, and a Jefferson, who fought for their liberties, and<sup>343</sup> achieved one of the greatest victories ever won; and scarcely has one generation passed away before fifteen thousand citizens petition government<sup>344</sup> for redress of their wrongs, and they turn a deaf ear to their cry.

Let us compare this with the church of Christ.<sup>345</sup> Fourteen years ago a few men assembled in a log cabin;<sup>346</sup> they saw the visions of heaven and gazed upon the eternal world; they looked through the rent vista of futurity, and beheld the glories of eternity;<sup>347</sup> they were planting those principles which were concocted in the bosom of Jehovah; they were laying a foundation for the salvation of the world; and those principles which they then planted<sup>348</sup> have not yet begun to dwindle, but the fire still burns in their bones;<sup>349</sup> the principles are planted in different nations and are wafted on every breeze.<sup>350</sup>

When I gaze upon this company of men, I see those who are actuated by patriotic and noble principles, who will stand up in defense of the oppressed, of whatever country, nation, color<sup>351</sup> or clime.<sup>352</sup> I see it in their countenances; it is planted by the Spirit of God;<sup>353</sup> they have received it from the <sup>354</sup>great Eloheim, and<sup>355</sup> all the power or<sup>356</sup> influence of mobs, priest-craft and<sup>357</sup> corrupt men<sup>358</sup> cannot quench it;<sup>359</sup> it will burn; it is comprehensive as the designs of God<sup>360</sup> and as expansive as the universe, and reaches to all the world, no matter whether it was an Indian, a Negro, or any other man, or set of men that are oppressed, you would stand forth in their defense.<sup>361</sup>

I say unto you continue to cherish those principles;<sup>362</sup> let them expand;<sup>363</sup> and if the

<sup>341.</sup> This paragraph from WC draft, 7.

<sup>342.</sup> WC draft, 7, TB draft, 4: omit "with national pride"; TB draft, 4, reads: "petition Government but can obtain no redress  $\dots$ "

<sup>343.</sup> DHC 6:295: omits "and"

<sup>344.</sup> WC draft, 7: replaces "petition government" with "appealed to the authorities"

<sup>345.</sup> Preceding sentence apparently a rewrite of the phrase "On the other subject ..." in WC draft, 7.

<sup>346.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 7.

<sup>347.</sup> Preceding two sentences amalgamate the two drafts. WC draft, 7, reads: "They saw the visions of heaven and the glories of eternity"; TB draft, 4, reads: "a few men in a log cabin to see the visions, through the vista, and behold the things of futurity."

<sup>348.</sup> WC draft, 7: replaces "and those principles ... planted" with "They"

<sup>349.</sup> Preceding three sentences ("they were planting ... bones") from WC draft, 7.

<sup>350.</sup> Preceding sentence omitted in WC draft, 7, and TB draft, 4.

<sup>351.</sup> TB draft, 4: "<color>"

<sup>352.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 4, except "who are actuated by patriotic principles" not in either draft. WC draft, 7, reads: "In this company he sees a company who will stand up in defense of the oppressed of whatever country they may be."

<sup>353.</sup> Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 7.

<sup>354.</sup> TB draft, 4: adds "bosom of the"

<sup>355.</sup> T&S 5:579: omits "and"; Book E-1, Addenda, 3: "<and>" (prob. LH)

<sup>356.</sup> WC draft, 7: omits "power or"

<sup>357.</sup> DHC 6:295: replaces "and" with "or"

<sup>358.</sup> WC draft, 7: replaces "and corrupt men" with "&c."

<sup>359.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("They have received ... Elohim") from TB draft, 4; remainder from WC draft, 7.

<sup>360.</sup> WC draft, 7: omits "as the designs of God"; taken from TB draft, 4.

<sup>361.</sup> Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 7.

<sup>362.</sup> WC draft, 7: "cherish true principles"; TB draft, 4: "I say cherish them."

<sup>363.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 4.

tree of <sup>364</sup> liberty has been blasted in this nation, if it has been gnawed by worms <sup>365</sup>, and already blight has overspread it, <sup>366</sup> we will stand up in defense of our liberties, and proclaim ourselves free in time and in eternity. <sup>367</sup> **We are laying the foundation for our religious and political salvation**. <sup>368</sup>

 $[...]^{369}$ 

<sup>370</sup>The choir, by request, sung "O stop and tell me red man." <sup>371</sup> <sup>372</sup>After prayer by Elder J[ohn]. P. Greene, the meeting was adjourned <sup>373</sup> for one hour.

<sup>364.</sup> WC draft, 7: omits "the tree of"

<sup>365.</sup> TB draft, 4: "insects <worms>"

<sup>366.</sup> WC draft, 7: omits "if it has been gnawed ... overspread it"

<sup>367.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("And it the tree of liberty") from TB draft, 4; "has been blasted in this nation" from WC draft, 7; "if it has been gnawed by worms" from TB draft; "and already blight has overspread it" not in either draft; "we will stand ... eternity" from TB draft.

<sup>368.</sup> Preceding bolded text appears in WC draft, 7, but omitted in MSHiJS.

<sup>369.</sup> TB draft, 4: "The Prophet spoke. morning gone &c."

<sup>370.</sup> This paragraph reads closest to WC draft, 7.

<sup>371.</sup> WC draft, 7, TB draft, 4: "the Red Man"; T&S 5:579: "the red man."

<sup>372.</sup> TB draft, 4: adds "1/4 to 1"

<sup>373.</sup> WC draft, 7, TB draft, 4: "dismissed"

#### 13.

### HYRUM SMITH'S ADDRESS

### April 1844

[DN 7 (1 July 1857): 129-30 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>[Saturday] April 6th, 1844; Afternoon<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup>The President arrived at the stand at half-past two o'clock p.m. The choir sung<sup>4</sup> a hymn; after which prayer by Elder J[ohn]. P. Greene, when the choir sung<sup>5</sup> another hymn.

Elder Rigdon resumed his history of the church.<sup>6</sup>

 $[\ldots]^7$ 

<sup>8</sup>A little before five o'clock the assembly were dismissed without ceremony until next morning; on the appearance of a shower. The people had scarce<sup>9</sup> time to retire before a heavy shower of rain, wind, thunder and lightning followed. A splendid double rainbow seen in the heavens.

<sup>10</sup>Sunday, 7.—

Very pleasant morning. The President arrived at 10 o'clock, the largest congregation

- 1. Following four paragraphs from Book E-1, Addenda, 3, which conclude the addenda material begun at end of previous chapter.
  - 2. DHC 6:297: omits "Afternoon"
- 3. Source: First two paragraphs from T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 579. Cf. GCM, Bx 1, fd 19, 8-13 (WC), and fd 20, 5-8 (TB); JSj [1844], 62-64 (WR) (APR, 463-64); WWj, vol. 4, 6 Apr. 1844 (WWj 2:376-78).
  - 4. DHC 6:297: "sang"
  - 5. DHC 6:297: "sang"
  - 6. Book E-1, 1955: "<Reported by Eld. Thos. Bullock.>"
- 7. SR's nearly two-hour sermon was not published in *T&S*, which promised: "(For want of room we postpone president Rigdons remarks for the present.)" (*T&S* 5:579). When publication of the minutes resumed in *T&S* 5 (1 Aug. 1844): 596-98, it skipped SR's sermon and published Hyrum Smith's 7 Apr. sermon instead, possibly because SR was beginning to fall out of favor with church authorities. SR's sermon was recorded in GCM, Bx 1, fd 19, 8-13 (WC), and fd 20, 5-8 (TB); JSj [1844], 62-64 (WR) (*APR*, 463-64); WWj, vol. 4, 6 Apr. 1844 (*WWj* 2:376-78). LDS historians working on this section of the history between 20 Aug.-ca. 18 Nov. 1855 also decided not to include it (see MSHi Chronology).
- 8. Source: Except last sentence, this paragraph is from JSj [1844], 64 (WR) (APR, 463-64). Last sentence based on CHOj 1:7, 6 Apr. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).
  - 9. DHC 6:297: "scarcely"
- 10. *Source*: The minutes for the morning session of conference for 7 Apr. 1844 (following seven paragraphs) are based on JSj [1844], 65-66 (WR) (*APR*, 463-64), GCM, Bx 1, fd 19, 14-20 (WC), and GCM, Bx 1, fd 20, 9-13 (TB). Cf. WWj, vol. 4, 7 Apr. 1844 (*WWj* 2:378-82).

of people ever seen in Nauvoo having assembled. The choir sung<sup>11</sup> the hymn, "Ye slumbering nations that have slept a long night<sup>12</sup>."

Elder<sup>13</sup> Rigdon offered an affectionate appeal for the prayers of the Saints on behalf of the sick, and then prayer by Elder George J. Adams.

Choir sung<sup>14</sup> the hymn "The Spirit of God like a fire is burning," &c.

#### [President Joseph Smith.]

The Mayor requested the people to keep good order, and observe<sup>15</sup> to mind<sup>16</sup> the police who are<sup>17</sup> round the outskirts of the congregation to keep order, "Policemen, I want you to exercise your authority, and don't say you can't do anything for us, for the constitutional power calls you to keep good order, and God Almighty calls you, and we command you to do it."

Elder Sidney Rigdon arose and continued his subject of yesterday.

 $[...]^{18}$ 

Choir sang the benediction.<sup>19</sup>

During the intermission 35 were baptized in the Mississippi river for the remission of their sins.

#### [Address of Patriarch Hyrum Smith.]

<sup>20</sup>At two o'clock p.m.

Patriarch Hyrum Smith arrived at the stand, and said he wanted to speak<sup>21</sup> something about the Temple.

We want 200,000 shingles, as we shall resume the work on the Temple immediately; all who have not paid their tithing, come on and do it.<sup>22</sup> We want provisions, money, boards, planks, and anything that is good;<sup>23</sup> we don't want any more old guns or watches. I thought some time ago I would get up a small subscription so that the sisters might do something. In consequence of some misunderstanding it has not gone on as at first;<sup>24</sup> it is a matter of my own, I do not ask it as a tithing.<sup>25</sup> I give a privilege to any one to pay a cent a week, or fifty cents a year. I want it by next fall to buy nails and glass. It is difficult to get money.<sup>26</sup> I know that a small subscription will bring <sup>27</sup>more

- 11. DHC 6:297: "sang"
- 12. DHC 6:297: omits "a long night"
- 13. DHC 6:297: replaces "Elder" with "President"
- 14. DHC 6:297: "sang"
- 15. DHC 6:297: "observed"
- 16. DHC 6:297: omits "mind"
- 17. DHC 6:297: "were"
- 18. SR's sermon was recorded in GCM, Bx 1, fd 19, 14-20 (WC), and fd 20, 9-13 (TB); JSj [1844], 66 (WR) (APR, 464); WWj, vol. 4, 7 Apr. 1844 (WWj 2:378-82). The compilers working on this section of the history between 20 Aug.-ca. 18 Nov. 1855 decided not to include SR's sermon (see MSHi Chronology).
  - 19. DHC 6:297: "Choir sang. Benediction. Intermission."
- 20. Source: RDft 8:30 instructs scribe to copy Hyrum Smith's sermon from T&S 5 (1 Aug. 1844): 596-98. Cf. GCM, Bx 1, fd 19, MS pp. 7-11 [images 20-24] (WC), and fd 20, MS pp. 8-12 [images 13-15] (TB). MS pages numbers used in notes.
  - 21. DHC 6:298: "say"
  - 22. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 7.
  - 23. First part of preceding sentence ("We want ... money") from WC draft, 7; remainder from TB draft, 12.
  - 24. Preceding three sentences from WC draft, 7.
  - 25. First part of preceding sentence ("It is a matter of my own") from WC draft, ; remainder from TB draft, 12.
  - 26. Preceding three sentences from WC draft, 7.
  - 27. T&S 5:596: adds "in"

than a large one;<sup>28</sup> the poor can help in this way. I take the responsibility upon myself, and call again upon the sisters.<sup>29</sup> I call again until I get about \$1,000; it only requires 2,000 subscribers.<sup>30</sup>

I have sent this subscription to England and the branches;<sup>31</sup> **I fear no one this side of hell.**<sup>32</sup> I am not to be dictated to by any one except the Prophet and God.<sup>33</sup> I want you to pay in your subscriptions to me, and it shall always be said boldly by me—the sisters bought the glass in that house, and their names shall be written in the book of the law of the Lord.<sup>34</sup> It is not a tax but a free will offering to procure something which shall ever be a monument of your works.<sup>35</sup> No member of the Female Relief Society got it up; I am the man that did it; they ought not to infringe upon it; I am not a member of the Female Relief Society; I am one of the committee of the Lord's House.<sup>36</sup>

I wish to accomplish something;<sup>37</sup> I wish all the Saints to have an opportunity to do something. I want the poor to have a chance<sup>38</sup> with the purse of five dollars.<sup>39</sup> The widow's two mites were more in the eyes of the Lord than the purse of the rich, and the poor woman shall have a seat in the House of God, she who pays her two mites as much<sup>40</sup> as the rich, because it is all they have<sup>41</sup>.<sup>42</sup> I wish to have a place in that House; I intend to stimulate the brethren;<sup>43</sup> I want to get the roof on this season; I want to get the windows in, in the winter, so that we may be able to dedicate the House of the Lord by this time next year, if nothing more than one room;<sup>44</sup> I will call upon the brethren to do something.<sup>45</sup>

I cannot make a comparison between the House of God and anything now in existence. 46 Great things are to grow out of that house; there is a great and mighty power to grow out of it; there is an endowment. 47 Knowledge is power, we want knowledge; 48 we have frequently difficulties with persons who profess to be Latter Day Saints; when the sacrament will be administered in the Lord's House, it will do away with a great deal of difficulty that is now

- 28. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 12. WC draft, 7, reads: "A great many littles make a great deal."
- 29. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 7.
- 30. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 12.
- 31. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 7.
- 32. Preceding bolded sentence from TB draft, 12, but omitted in T&S 5:596 and DHC 6:298.
- 33. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 8. TB draft, 12, reads: "I was not to be deterred by any woman or any one except the Prophet."
  - 34. First part of preceding sentence ("I want you to pay ... me") from TB draft, 12; remainder from WC draft, 8.
  - 35. First part of preceding sentence ("It is not a tax ... offering") from TB draft, 12; remainder from WC draft, 8.
  - 36. Preceding five sentences ("No member ... House") from WC draft, 8.
  - 37. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 12.
  - 38. DHC 6:298: moves "to have a chance" to end of sentence
  - 39. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 8.
  - 40. DHC 6:298: replaces "much" with "well"
  - 41. TB draft, 12: omits "because it is all she has"; taken from WC draft, 8; DHC 6:298: "all she has"
- 42. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 12.WC draft, 8, reads: "wants those who are able to put in two mites & they shall have a seat in the House as well as those who pay \$10, because it is all they have."
  - 43. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 8.
- 44. Preceding two sentences amalgamate and elaborate both drafts. WC draft, 8, reads: "want to finish the House this season. finish in the winter to dedicate next 6 April if nothing more than one room"; TB draft, 12–13, reads: "we want to get the roof in, the windows in so that we may be able to dedicate the house this time next year. at an rate dedicate the lower room."
  - 45. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 8.
  - 46. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 8.
  - 47. Preceding three sentences from TB draft, 13.
  - 48. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 8.

in existence.<sup>49</sup> If we can have a privilege and confess our faults unto God and one another every Sabbath day, it will do away with these.<sup>50</sup> [...]<sup>51</sup> You poor<sup>52</sup> sisters shall have a seat in that House; I will stand on the top of the pulpit and proclaim to all what the sisters have done.<sup>53</sup> When you offer up your sacraments every Sabbath you will feel well a whole week;<sup>54</sup> you will feel to<sup>55</sup> get a great portion of the Spirit of God, enough to last you a week and you will increase.<sup>56</sup> We are now deprived of the privilege of giving the necessary instruction; hence we want a house.<sup>57</sup>

All the money shall be laid out for what you design it;<sup>58</sup> it shan't<sup>59</sup> be paid for anything else.<sup>60</sup> I am one of the committee; the committee tell me the quarry is blockaded;<sup>61</sup> it is filled with rock.<sup>62</sup> The stone cutters are wanting work;<sup>63</sup> come on with your teams as soon as conference is over.<sup>64</sup> It is not necessary for me to tell who will come and do it;<sup>65</sup> I will prophesy that you will do it. There is not one in the city but what will do right if they know<sup>66</sup> it; <sup>67</sup> only one or two exceptions and they are not worth notice; God will take care of them and if he don't<sup>68</sup> the devil will.<sup>69</sup> I described them once and you will always know them while you see them; they will keep hopping till they hop out of town. Some <sup>70</sup> are tree toads who climb the trees and are continually croaking.<sup>71</sup>

We are now the most noble people on the face of the globe and we have no occasion to fear tadpoles<sup>72</sup>.<sup>73</sup> We are designated by the All-seeing eye, designated<sup>74</sup> to do good, not to stoop to any low thing<sup>75</sup>. We are apt to suffer prejudice to get into our hearts on hearing reports, we never should allow<sup>76</sup> it; never should pass our judgment until we hear both sides.<sup>77</sup>

- 49. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 13.
- 50. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 8.
- 51. DHC 6:299: adds ellipses, but there is no missing text from either MSHiJS or T&S 5:597.
- 52. DHC 6:299: omits "poor"
- 53. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 8.
- 54. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 8.
- 55. T&S 5:597: omits "feel to"; Book E-1, 1956: "\to/" (US); DHC 6:299: omits "feel to"
- 56. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 13, except "and you will increase" from WC draft, 8.
- 57. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 8.
- 58. First part of preceding sentence ("All the money shall be laid out") from TB draft, 13; remainder from WC draft, 8. Second part of sentence in TB draft reads: "as it is directed"
  - 59. DHC 6:299: "shall not"
  - 60. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 8.
  - 61. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 13.
  - 62. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 8.
  - 63. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 13.
  - 64. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 8-9.
  - 65. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 13.
  - 66. DHC 6:299: "he knows"
  - 67. DHC 6:299: adds "with"
  - 68. DHC 6:299: "doesn't"
  - 69. Preceding four sentences ("I will prophesy ... devil will") from WC draft, 9.
  - 70. DHC 6:299: adds "of them"
- 71. Preceding three sentences ("I described ... croaking") from TB draft, 13.WC draft, 9, reads: "He then gave a sketch of the pollywogs"
  - 72. TB draft, 13: adds "or Tree Toads"
  - 73. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 13.
  - 74. DHC 6:299: omits "designated"
  - 75. DHC 6:299: "anything low"
  - 76. TB draft, 13: replaces "allow" with "do"
  - 77. Preceding three sentences ("We are designated ... sides") from WC draft, 9.

I will tell a Dutch anecdote.<sup>78</sup> A certain Dutchman had a cause<sup>79</sup> brought before him and heard one side and he gave in his decision, "by<sup>80</sup> sure you have got the case"; and when the other party brought their witnesses, he said again, "by<sup>81</sup> sure, you have got the case, too."<sup>82</sup> If you hear of any one high in<sup>83</sup> authority, that he is rather inclined to apostasy, don't let prejudice arise, but pray for him; God may feel after him and he may return; never speak reproachfully or disrespectfully, he is in the hand<sup>84</sup> of God. I am one of those peacemakers who take a stand above these little things. It has been intimated we should have investigations this conference; do you think I would trouble this conference with it. If I have a difficulty with a man I will go and settle it; let them settle their difficulties; <sup>85</sup> there is not a man who has had a difficulty who would trouble this congregation about it. <sup>86</sup> We ask no favors, we can settle it ourselves; <sup>87</sup> don't think anything about persons who are on the eve of apostasy; God is able to take care of them. <sup>88</sup> Let God judge, do your duty, and let men alone. <sup>89</sup>

<sup>90</sup>I wish to speak about Messrs. Law's steam mill, there has been a great deal of bickering about it. The mill has been a great benefit to the city, no matter how much fault found; <sup>91</sup> it has been the means of building up the city, it has brought in thousands who would not have come here; <sup>92</sup> but as they saw that the Mormons had not got horns, they came, and have got good by it. <sup>93</sup> People would rather come in than starve. <sup>94</sup>—The Messrs. Laws have sunk their capital, and done a great deal of good; <sup>95</sup> it is out of character to cast any aspersions on the Messrs. Laws. <sup>96</sup>—When we come to investigate the conspiracy, it is that rascal Jackson who presumed upon them; <sup>97</sup> he supposed he could lead them into any manner of iniquity. <sup>98</sup> I do not believe that the Messrs. Laws would do anything to injure me or any man's life. <sup>99</sup> The men gave in affidavit that Jackson said they would go into it tooth and toe nail; I will not believe they will do it, if Jackson swore it upon a stack of Bibles as big as Mount Etna. I make these observations for the purpose of putting

<sup>78.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 9.

<sup>79.</sup> DHC 6:299: "case"

<sup>80.</sup> DHC 6:299: omits "by"

<sup>81.</sup> DHC 6:299: omits "by"

<sup>82.</sup> Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 13.

<sup>83.</sup> DHC 6:299: "in high"

<sup>84.</sup> DHC 6:299: "hands"

<sup>85.</sup> Preceding eight sentences ("I you hear ... difficulties") from WC draft, 9.

<sup>86.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 13.

<sup>87.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 9.

<sup>88.</sup> Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 13.

<sup>89.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 9.

<sup>90.</sup> This paragraph was copied from T&S 5:597 into Book E-1, 1957-58, but canceled and not printed in DN or DHC. Text here is from T&S.

<sup>91.</sup> Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 9.

<sup>92.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("it has been the means ... city") from WC draft, 9; remainder from TB draft, 13.

<sup>93.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 13.

<sup>94.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 9.

<sup>95.</sup> First part of preceding sentence from WC draft, 9; remainder from TB draft, 13.

<sup>96.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 9.

<sup>97.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("When we come ... conspiracy") from WC draft, 9; remainder from TB draft, 13.

<sup>98.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 9.

<sup>99.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("I do not believe ... me") from TB draft, 13; remainder from WC draft, 9.

## down prejudice. If I was as full of the devil as an egg is full of meat, and you undertook to oppress me, you could not drive me, neither if I was full of the Spirit of God. <sup>100</sup>

Never undertake to destroy men because they do some evil thing;<sup>101</sup> it is natural for a man to be led and not driven. Put down iniquity by good works; many men speak without any contemplation, but when they have<sup>102</sup> a little contemplation it would not have been spoken.<sup>103</sup> We ought to be careful what we say, and take the example of Jesus, cast over <sup>104</sup>the mantle of charity and try to cover their faults. We are made to enlighten and not to darken one another; save men but<sup>105</sup> not destroy men<sup>106</sup>;<sup>107</sup> do unto others what you would have them do unto you.<sup>108</sup> It is well enough to root out conspiracy;<sup>109</sup> do not fear, but if you are in the right track, having God to guide you, he will save you, for God will save you if he has to destroy the wicked so<sup>110</sup> as by fire.<sup>111</sup>

I want to put down all false influence;<sup>112</sup> **all that brother Joseph said, was all right; but it was said by the rascal Jackson.**<sup>113</sup> If I thought I should be saved, and any in the congregation be lost, I should not be happy;<sup>114</sup> for this purpose Jesus effected a resurrection;<sup>115</sup> our Savior is competent to save all from death and hell;<sup>116</sup> I can prove it out of the revelations<sup>117</sup>. I would not serve a God that had not all wisdom and all power.<sup>118</sup>

The reason why I feel so good is because I have a big soul<sup>119</sup>; there are men with small bodies who have got souls like Enoch;<sup>120</sup> <sup>121</sup>we have gathered out<sup>122</sup> <sup>123</sup>big souls from the ends of the earth; the gospel picks out<sup>124</sup> <sup>125</sup>the big souls out of all creation, and we will get all<sup>126</sup> the big souls out of all the nations, and we shall have the largest city in the world;<sup>127</sup> **it works just like a God.**<sup>128</sup>

- 100. Preceding four sentences ("The men gave ... God") from WC draft, 10.
- 101. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 10.
- 102. DHC 6:300: replaces "but when they have" with "if they had given the matter"
- 103. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 13.
- 104. DHC 6:300: adds "men"
- 105. DHC 6:300: omits "but"
- 106. DHC 6:300: replaces "men" with "them"
- 107. Preceding three sentences from WC draft, 10.
- 108. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 13.
- 109. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 10, or TB draft, 13-14.
- 110. Book E-1, 1957 (darker ink): "\so/" (US)
- 111. First part of preceding sentence ("do not fear") from TB draft, 14; remainder from WC draft, 10.
- 112. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 10.
- 113. Preceding two bolded sentences (from WC draft, 10) were copied from T&S 5:597 into Book E-1, 1958, but canceled and not printed in DN and DHC.
  - 114. TB draft, 14: "let us extend the fostering hand & save all men. I want to save all men."
  - 115. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 10.
  - 116. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 14.
  - 117. DHC 6:300: "revelation"
  - 118. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 10.
  - 119. WC draft, 10: replaces "soul" with "carcuse [carcass]"
  - 120. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 10.
  - 121. DHC 6:300: adds "We have"
  - 122. DHC 6:300: replaces "out" with "our"
  - 123. T&S 5:597: adds "all the"; Book E-1, 1958: adds ellipses over erasure
  - 124. DHC 6:300: omits "out"
  - 125. T&S 5:598: adds "all"; Book E-1, 1958: adds ellipses over erasure
  - 126. DHC 6:300: omits "all"
  - 127. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 14.
  - 128. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 10, omitted in DHC 6:300.

We will gather out<sup>129</sup> all the big souls out of every nation;<sup>130</sup> as soon as the gospel catches hold of a<sup>131</sup> noble<sup>132</sup> soul<sup>133</sup> it brings them all right up to Zion.<sup>134</sup> There is a thing called an eye<sup>135</sup> star; the gospel is similar; then we<sup>136</sup> will have a people great<sup>137</sup> enough to be saved.<sup>138</sup>

Popery could not write what Enoch preached.<sup>139</sup> He told the people that<sup>140</sup> the Spirit of God took him up<sup>141</sup> into a high mountain, showed him the distress of the people, the destruction of the world, and he said his heart swelled wide as eternity;<sup>142</sup> but <sup>143</sup>Popery could not receive anything as large as that. <sup>144</sup>Every <sup>145</sup>society is<sup>146</sup> just like them;<sup>147</sup> God Almighty has made men's souls according<sup>148</sup> to the society in which they live<sup>149</sup>, with very few exceptions, and when men come to live with the Mormons their souls swell as if they were going to stride the planets as I stride the republic of America.<sup>150</sup> I can believe that man can go from planet to planet;<sup>151</sup> a man gets so high in the mansions above.<sup>152</sup>

A certain good sister came to my house and she was troubled because she heard so many big things; she thought it weakened her faith.<sup>153</sup> I told her she had too much faith;<sup>154</sup> she believed too much.<sup>155</sup> I will tell you how you may know whether the thing is true or not.<sup>156</sup> When any come<sup>157</sup> to you with a lie, you feel troubled; God will trouble you and will not approbate you in such belief; you had better get some antidote to get rid of it<sup>158</sup>.<sup>159</sup> Humble yourself

- 129. DHC 6:300: omits "out"
- 130. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 10.
- 131. DHC 6:300: omits "a"
- 132. TB draft, 14, T&S 5:598: replace "noble" with "big"; Book E-1, 1958 (different ink): "{\noble/}" (prob. LH)
- 133. DHC 6:300: "souls"
- 134. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 14.
- 135. DHC 6:300: replaces "an eye" with "guiding"
- 136. T&S 5:598: omits "we"; Book E-1, 1958 (different ink): "<we>" (JG)
- 137. WC draft, 10, T&S 5:598: replace "great" with "big"; Book E-1, 1958 (different ink): "{\great/}" (LH)
- 138. Preceding three sentences ("This is a thing ... saved") from WC draft, 10.
- 139. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 10.
- 140. T&S 5:598, Book E-1, 1958: omit "that"
- 141. Book E-1, 1958 (different ink): "<up>" (prob. JG)
- 142. First part of preceding sentence ("He told the people ... mountain") from TB draft, 14; remainder from WC draft, 10.
  - 143. DHC 6:300: adds "adherents of"
  - 144. DHC 6:300: continues preceding sentence by adding "and"
  - 145. DHC 6:300: adds "man-made"
  - 146. Book E-1, 1958: adds erasure
  - 147. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 10.
  - 148. DHC 6:300: replaces "God ... according" with "Men's souls conform"
- 149. T&S 5:598: "which he lives in"; Book E-1, 1958 (different ink): "\in/ which \t/he\y/ live{s} [eoe]" (prob. LH)
- 150. First part of preceding sentence ("God Almighty ... going to stride") from TB draft, 14; remainder from WC draft, 11.
  - 151. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 11.
  - 152. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 14.
  - 153. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 11.
  - 154. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 14.
  - 155. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 11.
  - 156. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 14.
  - 157. DHC 6:301: "any one comes"
  - 158. WC draft, 11: replaces "get rid of it", which is from TB draft, 14, with "break up that fevor [fever]"
  - 159. Preceding three sentences from WC draft, 11.

before God, and ask him for his Spirit; 160 and pray to him to judge it for you. 161 162 It is better not to have so much faith, than to have so much as to believe all the lies. 163

Before this conference closes I want to get all the Elders together. 164

<sup>165</sup>I shall make a proclamation. I want to take the line and ax and hew you, and make you as straight as possible; I will make you as <sup>166</sup> straight as a stretched line <sup>167</sup>. Every Elder that goes from Nauvoo to preach the gospel, if he preach anything else we will silence him through the public print. I want all the Elders to meet and to understand, and if they teach <sup>168</sup> anything but the pure truth we will call them home.—[Reported by Elder Thomas Bullock.]<sup>169</sup>

 $^{170}$ At a quarter-past three p.m., President Smith having arrived, the choir sang a hymn. Elder Amasa Lyman offered prayer.

President Joseph Smith delivered a discourse before twenty-thousand Saints, being the funeral sermon of Elder King Follett.

<sup>160.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 11.

<sup>161.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 14.

<sup>162.</sup> WC draft, 11: adds "Let alone such nonsense"

<sup>163.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 11.

<sup>164.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 14.

<sup>165.</sup> This paragraph from WC draft, 11.

<sup>166.</sup> DHC 6:301: omits "as"

<sup>167.</sup> WC draft, 11: replaces "stretch line" with "loons leg"

<sup>168.</sup> DHC 6:301: replaces "teach" with "preach"

<sup>169.</sup> WC draft, 11, TB draft, 14, T&S 5:598, DHC 6:301: omit bracketed statement

<sup>170.</sup> This and next paragraph added in DHC 6:301; taken from the first two paragraphs of next chapter with slightly different wording.

# 14.

# JOSEPH SMITH ON GOD

# April 1844

#### [DN 7 (8 July 1857): 137-38]

<sup>1</sup>[Sunday, April 7, 1844.] At 3½ p.m.<sup>2</sup> the President having arrived, the choir sung<sup>3</sup> a hymn. Elder Amasa Lyman offered prayer.

/<sup>4</sup>President Joseph Smith delivered the following discourse before about 20,000 Saints, being the funeral sermon of Elder King Follett. Reported by Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, Thomas Bullock and William Clayton<sup>5</sup>:

<sup>6</sup>Beloved Saints:<sup>7</sup>—I will call <sup>8</sup>the attention of this congregation while I address you on the subject of the dead.<sup>9</sup> The decease of our beloved brother, Elder King Follett, who was

- 2. Book E-1, 1968: "\p.m./"
- 3. DHC 6:302: "sang"

- 7. Preceding text does not appear in any of the four sources.
- 8. DHC 6:302: adds "[for]"
- 9. Preceding sentence from WWi.

<sup>1.</sup> *Source*: Minutes for the afternoon session of conference for 7 Apr. 1844 continued from preceding chapter. This paragraph from *T&S* 5 (15 Aug. 1844): 612, which was taken from *TB* draft, 14 (GCM, Bx 1, fd 20).

<sup>4.</sup> While RLC's handwriting appears in Book E-1, 1716-2028, this paragraph on p. 1968 is in LH's hand. *Source*: Based on JG draft, 18 (JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6).

<sup>5.</sup> JG draft, 18: "<being ... Clayton>" (TB)

<sup>6.</sup> Source: Following instructions in RDft 8:30, JS's King Follett discourse was originally copied from T&S 5 (15 Aug. 1844): 612-17 into Book E-1, 1959-67 (RLC), but then canceled and eventually replaced with a new text that occupies Book E-1, 1968-79 (RLC). Whereas the first version ended with "Reported by Elder Thomas Bullock" (although it was an amalgamation of minutes kept by WC and TB), the second version began with "Reported by Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, Thomas Bullock, and William Clayton" (LH). The new version was copied into a blank of twelve pages (with half of p. 1979 and all of p. 1980 remaining blank). A bracketed note in the margin of Book E-1, 1979, reads: "Compiled from the four reports by Jonathan Grimshaw; carefully revised and compared by George A. Smith and Thomas Bullock; read in Council Sunday 18th Nov. 1855, and carefully revised by President Brigham Young" (JG). JG's amalgamated draft is located in JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, 18-46 (unpaginated; image numbers used in notes). The amalgamated sources are: (1) JSj [1844], 67-71 (WR) (APR, 465-67; WJS, 340-43); (2) WWj, vol. 4, 7 Apr. 1844 (WWj 2:382-88; WJS, 343-48; cf. NSB, 68-70 [JG]); (3) TB draft in GCM, Bx 1, fd 20, MS pp. 14-22 [images15-23] (WJS, 348-55); (4) WC draft in GCM, Bx 1, fd 19, MS pp. 11-18 [images 24-31] (WJS, 355-61). Donald Q. Cannon estimated the percentage of material that each of the four sources contributed to the published text as follows: TB 51%, WC 37%, WR 11%, WW 29%, Total 128%, which exceeds 100% due to overlapping (Cannon 1978, 185). The text that follows is from the second 1855 version as it appeared in the DN checked against Book E-1, 1968-79, JG draft, and the four amalgamated sources. Notes identify the sources that read closest to the printed text and may not consider overlapping, light editing, or minor contributions of other sources.

crushed in a well by the falling of a tub of rock<sup>10</sup>, has more immediately led me to that<sup>11</sup> subject.<sup>12</sup> I have been requested to speak by his friends and relatives; but inasmuch as there are a great many in this congregation who live in this city, as well as elsewhere, who have lost friends, I feel disposed to speak on the subject in general, and offer you my ideas so far as I have ability, and so far as I shall be inspired by the Holy Spirit to dwell on this subject.<sup>13</sup>

I want your prayers and faith<sup>14</sup> that I may have the instruction of Almighty God and the gift of the Holy Ghost, so that I may set forth things that are true and which can be easily comprehended by you<sup>15</sup>, and that the testimony may carry conviction to your hearts and<sup>16</sup> minds of the truth of what I shall say;<sup>17</sup> pray that the Lord may strengthen my lungs, stay the winds, and let the prayers of the Saints to heaven appear, that they<sup>18</sup> may enter into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, for the effectual prayers of the righteous<sup>19</sup> avail much.<sup>20</sup> There is strength here, and I verily believe that<sup>21</sup> your prayers will be heard.<sup>22</sup>

Before I enter fully into the investigation of the subject which is lying before me<sup>23</sup>, I wish to pave the way, and bring up the subject from the beginning, that you may understand it.<sup>24</sup> I will make a few preliminaries in order that you may understand the subject when I come to it.<sup>25</sup> I do not calculate or intend to please your ears with superfluity of words or oratory, or with much learning;<sup>26</sup> but I calculate <sup>27</sup>to edify you with the simple truths from heaven.<sup>28</sup>

# [The Character of God.]<sup>29</sup>

In the first place, I wish to go back to the beginning to the morn<sup>30</sup> of creation;<sup>31</sup> there is the starting point for us to look to, in order to understand and be fully acquainted with the mind, purposes, and decrees of the Great Elohim, who sits in yonder heavens as he did<sup>32</sup> at the creation of this<sup>33</sup> world.<sup>34</sup> It is necessary for us to have an understanding of God himself in the

- 10. JG draft, 18: adds "upon him"
- 11. DHC 6:302: replaces "that" with "this"
- 12. First part of preceding sentence ("The decease ... rock") from JSj, 67; remainder not in any of the four sources.
- 13. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 11, except "to dwell on this subject" from TB draft, 14.
- 14. JG draft, 18: "faith and prayers prayers and faith,>"
- 15. WC draft, 11: omits "by you"
- 16. WWj: omits "hearts and"; taken from WC draft, 11, or TB draft, 14.
- 17. First part of preceding sentence ("I want ... comprehended") from WC draft, 11; remainder from WWj.
- 18. JG draft, 18: "it <they>"
- 19. JG draft, 18: "<the> righteous men"
- 20. First part of preceding sentence ("pray that the Lord ... lungs") from WWj; "stay the winds ... appear" from TB draft, 14; "that they may enter ... much" from WC draft, 11-12.
  - 21. JG draft, 18: "<that>". WWj: omits "and I verily believe that"
  - 22. Preceding sentence from WWj.
  - 23. TB draft, 14: replaces "me" with "us"
  - 24. First part of preceding sentence ("Before I enter ... me") from TB draft, 14; remainder from WWj.
  - 25. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 14, except "the subject" from WC draft, 12.
  - 26. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 12, except "or intend" from WWj.
  - 27. DHC 6:303: adds "[intend]"
  - 28. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 15.
  - 29. Due to complexity and importance of JS's sermon, BHR's subtitles have been included in brackets.
  - 30. JG draft, 18: "<to the morn>"
  - 31. First part of preceding sentence ("In the first ... beginning") from WC draft, 12; remainder from WWj.
  - 32. JG draft, 18: "<as he did>" (TB)
  - 33. Book E-1, 1968: replaces "this" with "the"
  - 34. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 12, except "mind" from TB draft, 15.

beginning.<sup>35</sup> If we start right, it is easy to go right all the time; but if we start wrong, we may go wrong, and it will be a hard matter to get right.<sup>36</sup>

There are but a very few beings in the world who understand rightly the character of God.<sup>37</sup> The great majority of mankind do not comprehend anything<sup>38</sup> either that which is past, or that which is to come, as it respects their relationship to God;<sup>39</sup> they do not know neither do they understand the nature of that relationship;<sup>40</sup> and consequently, they know but little above the brute beast, or more than to eat, drink and sleep; this is all man knows about God or his existence, unless it is given by the inspiration of the Almighty.<sup>41</sup>

If a man learns nothing more than to eat, drink, sleep, and does not comprehend any of the designs of God, the beast comprehends the same thing; it eats, drinks, sleeps, and knows nothing more about God; yet it knows as much as we, unless we are able to comprehend by the inspiration of Almighty God. 42 If men do not comprehend the character of God they do not comprehend themselves. 43 I want to go back to the beginning and so lift your minds into more lofty spheres and 44 a more exalted understanding than what the human mind generally aspires to. 45

I want to ask this congregation, every man, woman and child, to answer the question in their own heart, what kind of a being God is<sup>46</sup>?<sup>47</sup> Ask yourselves;<sup>48</sup> turn your thoughts into your hearts, and say if any of you have seen, <sup>49</sup>heard, or communed with him[?] this is a question that may occupy your attention for a long time<sup>50</sup>.<sup>51</sup> I again repeat the question, what kind of a being is God? Does any man or woman know? Have any of you seen him, heard him, or communed with him? Here is the question that will peradventure from this time henceforth occupy your attention.<sup>52</sup> The Scriptures inform us that "this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."<sup>53</sup>

If any man does not know God, and inquires what kind of a being he is<sup>54</sup>, if he will search diligently his own heart, if the declarations<sup>55</sup> of Jesus and the Apostles<sup>56</sup> be true, he will

- 35. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 12, or WWj.
- 36. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 12, except "we may go wrong" from WWj.
- 37. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 12, except "rightly" from TB draft, 15.
- 38. JG draft, 20: "<anything>"
- 39. First part of preceding sentence ("The great majority of mankind") not from any source; "do not comprehend ... to come" from TB draft, 15; "as it respects ... to God" based on WWj.
  - 40. Preceding sentence is an elaboration based on WWj.
  - 41. Preceding two sentences from WWj.
  - 42. Preceding three sentences from TB draft, 15.
  - 43. Preceding sentence from JSi [1844], 67.
  - 44. JG draft, 20: "<&>"
- 45. Preceding sentence is a complex amalgamation. WC draft, 12, reads: "God back to beginning to lift you[r] minds into a more exalted standing than the human mind is wont"; TB draft, 15, reads: "I want to go back to the begin[ning] & so get you into a more lofty sphere than what the human being generally understands."
  - 46. JG draft, 20: "is God <is>"
  - 47. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 15.
  - 48. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 12.
  - 49. JG draft, 20: "or"
  - 50. WWj: omits "for a long time"; JG draft, 20: "<for a long time>" (TB)
  - 51. Preceding two sentences from WWi.
  - 52. Preceding four sentences from TB draft, 15.
  - 53. Preceding sentence from WWj.
  - 54. JG draft, 20: "is God <he is>"
  - 55. DHC 6:304: "declaration"
  - 56. JG draft, 20: "<and the apostles>" (TB)

realize that he has not eternal life;<sup>57</sup> for there can be eternal life on no other principle.<sup>58</sup>

My first object is, to find out the character of the only wise and true God, and what kind of a being he is;<sup>59</sup> and if I am so fortunate as to be the man to comprehend God and explain or convey the principles to your hearts, so that the Spirit seals them<sup>60</sup> upon you, then let every man and woman henceforth sit in silence, put their hands on their mouths, and never lift their hands or voices, or say anything against the man of God, or the servants of God again;<sup>61</sup> but if I fail to do it, it becomes my duty to renounce all further pretensions to revelations, <sup>62</sup>inspirations, or to be a Prophet; 63 and I should be like the rest of the world, a false teacher; be hailed as a friend, and no man would seek my life<sup>64</sup>,<sup>65</sup> but<sup>66</sup> if all religious teachers were honest enough to renounce their<sup>67</sup> pretensions to godliness when their ignorance of the knowledge of God is made manifest<sup>68</sup>, they will all be as badly off as I am, at any rate;<sup>69</sup> and you might<sup>70</sup> just as well take the lives of other false teachers as that of mine, if I am false<sup>71</sup>. There is not a man but would breath out the most bitter anathemas<sup>73</sup> if they knew I was a false prophet; and some would feel authorized to take away my life.<sup>74</sup> If any man is authorized to take away my life because he thinks and says I am a false teacher, then upon the same principle we should be justified in taking<sup>75</sup> away the life of every false teacher; and where would be the end of blood, and who would not be the sufferer?<sup>76</sup>

# [The Privilege of Religious Freedom.]

But meddle not with any man for his religion, and<sup>77</sup> all governments ought to per-

<sup>57.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("If any man ... own heart") from TB draft, 15; remainder from WC draft, 12.

<sup>58.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 12.

<sup>59.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("My first ... true God") from WC draft, 13; remainder from WWj.

<sup>60.</sup> JG draft, 20: "it <them>"

<sup>61.</sup> Preceding sentence is a complex amalgamation. JSj [1844], 67, reads: "if I am so fortunate as to comprehend and explain the [blank space] let every one sit in silence and never lift your voice against the servants of God again"; TB draft, 15, reads: "if I sho[ul]d. be the man to com[prehend]: the God & I com[unicate]: them to your heart let every man & woman henceforth shut their mouths & never say anything ag[ain]st. the man of God"; WC draft, 13, reads: "I comprehend so that the spirit seals it upon you[r] hearts, let every man and woman put his hand on his mouth & never say any thing against the man of God again."

<sup>62.</sup> DHC 6:304: adds "and"

<sup>63.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 13, with "revelations" added from TB draft, 15, and "to be a prophet" from WWj.

<sup>64.</sup> JG draft, 22: "<br/>be hailed as friend and no man and <many of> you would want <seek> to take my life>"

<sup>65.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("and I should ... teacher") from WWj; remainder not from any source.

<sup>66.</sup> JG draft, 22: "\are/ /but\"

<sup>67.</sup> JG draft, 22: "are < religious teachers ... their > " (TB)

<sup>68.</sup> JG draft, 22: "God\liness//when their ... manifest\" (TB)

<sup>69.</sup> Excluding JG's emendations, preceding sentence from TB draft, 15.

<sup>70.</sup> JG draft, 22: "<might>"

<sup>71.</sup> JG draft, 22: "<and> if I was <am> false"; DHC 6:304: omits "if I am false"

<sup>72.</sup> Preceding sentence from WWj.

<sup>73.</sup> JG draft, 22: "an <the most bitter> anathema\s/"

<sup>74.</sup> Preceding two sentences appear in JG draft, 22, but were canceled and not included in MSHiJS. They are from TB draft, 15, with "if they knew I was a false prophet" from WC draft, 13.

<sup>75.</sup> JG draft, 22: "am I <we should be> authorized to <justified in> tak\ing/ ["i" w.o. "e"]"; "we should be" in different ink and hand (pos. RLC)

<sup>76.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 13, with "he thinks and says" ("who says") and "and where would be the end of blood" from TB draft, 15.

<sup>77.</sup> DHC 6:304: omits "and"

mit every man to enjoy his religion unmolested<sup>78</sup>.<sup>79</sup> No man is authorized to take away life in consequence of difference of <sup>80</sup> religion, which all laws and governments ought to tolerate and protect, <sup>81</sup> right or wrong. <sup>82</sup> Every man has a natural, and in our country, a constitutional <sup>83</sup> right to be a false prophet as well as a true prophet. <sup>84</sup> If I show, verily, that I have the truth of God, and show that ninety-nine out of every <sup>85</sup> hundred professing religious ministers <sup>86</sup> are false teachers <sup>87</sup>, having no authority <sup>88</sup>, while they pretend to hold the keys of God's kingdom on earth <sup>89</sup>, and was to <sup>90</sup> kill them because they are false teachers, it would deluge the whole world with blood. <sup>91</sup>

I will <sup>92</sup>prove that the world is wrong by showing what God is. I am going to inquire after God;<sup>93</sup> for I want you all to know him, and to be familiar with him; and if I can bringing you to a knowledge of <sup>94</sup> him all persecutions against me ought to cease. You will then <sup>95</sup> know that I am his servant, for I speak as one having authority <sup>96</sup>. <sup>97</sup>

#### [God an Exalted Man.]

I will go back to the beginning before the world was, to show what kind of a being God is. <sup>98</sup> What sort of a being was God in the beginning? <sup>99</sup> Open your ears and hear all ye ends of the earth, for I am going to prove it to you<sup>100</sup> by the Bible, and <sup>101</sup> to tell you the designs of God in relation to the human race, and why he interferes with the affairs of man. <sup>102</sup>

God himself was once as we are now, and 103 is an exalted 104 man, and sits enthroned in

```
78. JG draft, 22: "\unmolested/" (TB)
```

<sup>79.</sup> Excluding TB's insertion, preceding sentence from WWj.

<sup>80.</sup> JG draft, 22: "their <difference of>"

<sup>81.</sup> JG draft, 22: "<& protect,>" (TB)

<sup>82.</sup> Excluding emendations, preceding sentence from WC draft, 13.

<sup>83.</sup> JG draft, 22: "<naturally & <in our country a> constitutional>" (TB); second insertion pos. RLC.

<sup>84.</sup> Excluding emendations, preceding sentence from TB draft, 15, or [S] [1844], 67.

<sup>85.</sup> JG draft, 22: "every" overwrites "a"

<sup>86.</sup> JG draft, 22: "religious ministers>" (TB)

<sup>87.</sup> TB draft, 16: replaces "teachers" with "prop[hets]"

<sup>88.</sup> JG draft, 22: "<having no authority>" (TB)

<sup>89.</sup> JG draft, 22: "God\s/ < kingdom on Earth, >" (TB)

<sup>90.</sup> JG draft, 22: "to <should> \was to/"

<sup>91.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("If I show ... ministers are false teachers") from TB draft, 15-16, without emendations; "while they pretend ... false teachers" from WC draft, 13, without emendations; "it would deluge ... blood" from TB draft, 16.

<sup>92.</sup> JG draft, 22: adds "show"

<sup>93.</sup> Preceding two sentences from WWj.

<sup>94.</sup> JG draft, 22: "<a knowledge of>" (TB)

<sup>95.</sup> JG draft, 22: "<then>" (TB)

<sup>96.</sup> TB draft, 16: adds "and not as a scrib[e]"

<sup>97.</sup> Preceding three sentences from TB draft, 16, without emendations.

<sup>98.</sup> Preceding sentence from WWj.

<sup>99.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 13.

<sup>100.</sup> JG draft, 22: "<to you>" (TB)

<sup>101.</sup> JG draft, 22: adds "I am going"

<sup>102.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 16.

<sup>103.</sup> JG draft, 22: "who sits enthroned in yonder heavens <was once as we are now, and>"

<sup>104.</sup> JG draft, 22: "a\n/ <exalted>"

yonder heavens!<sup>105</sup> that is the great secret.<sup>106</sup> If the veil were rent today, and the Great God who holds this world in its orbit, and who upholds all worlds and all things by his power, was to make himself visible;<sup>107</sup> I say, if you were to see him today, you would see him like a man in form<sup>108</sup>—like yourselves<sup>109</sup>, in all the person, image, and very form as a man;<sup>110</sup> for Adam was created in the very fashion, image and likeness of God, and received instruction from, and<sup>111</sup> walked, talked, and conversed with him, as one man talks and communes with another.<sup>112</sup>

In order to understand the subject of the dead, for the consolation of those who mourn for the loss of their friends, it is necessary we should understand the character and being of God, and how he came to be so;<sup>113</sup> for I am going to tell you how God came to be God.<sup>114</sup> We have imagined and supposed that God was God from all eternity;<sup>115</sup> I will refute that idea, and will<sup>116</sup> take away and do away<sup>117</sup> the veil, so that you may see.<sup>118</sup>

These are incomprehensible ideas to some, but they are simple;<sup>119</sup> it is<sup>120</sup> the first principle of the gospel to know for a certainty the character of God, and to know that we may converse with him as one man converses with another, and that he was once a man like us;<sup>121</sup> yea, that God himself, the Father of us all, dwelt on an earth, the same as Jesus Christ himself did, and I will show it from the Bible.<sup>122</sup>

## [Eternal Life to Know God and Jesus Christ.]

I wish I was in a suitable place to tell it, and that I had the trump of an archangel so that I could tell the story in such a manner that persecution would cease forever. What did Jesus say? (Mark it Elder Rigdon.) The Scriptures inform us that Jesus said, "as the Father hath power in himself, even so hath the Son power"; to do what? Why what the Father did; 124 the

<sup>105.</sup> JG draft, 24: "like unto one of yourselves! < and sits enthroned in yonder heavens!>". Preceding sentence from TB draft, 16, before emendations.

<sup>106.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 13.

<sup>107.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("If the veil ... orbit") from WC draft, 13; "and who upholds ... power" from TB draft, 16; "was to make himself visible" not in any source.

<sup>108.</sup> TB draft, 16: omits "in form"

<sup>109. &</sup>quot;like yourselves" taken from TB draft, 16, in a deleted portion of the first sentence in this paragraph.

<sup>110.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("if you were to see ... like a man") from TB draft, 16; "in all the person ... man" from WC draft, 13.

<sup>111.</sup> JG draft, 24: "<from and>"

<sup>112.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("for Adam was created ... talked") from WC draft, 13; "image and likeness" and "and conversed ... another" from TB draft, 16.

<sup>113.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("In order ... understand") from WC draft, 13; "the character and being of God" from TB draft, 16; "and how he came to be so" from WWj.

<sup>114.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 13.

<sup>115.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 13; "and suppose" from WWj.

<sup>116.</sup> DHC 6:305: omits "will"

<sup>117.</sup> DHC 6:305: omits "and do away"

<sup>118.</sup> Preceding sentence from WWj.

<sup>119.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 13, except "they are simple" from TB draft, 16.

<sup>120.</sup> JG draft, 24: "they are <it is>"

<sup>121.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("the first principle of the gospel") from WC draft, 13; "to know for a certainty ... God" from TB draft, 16; "to know that we may ... another" from WC draft; "and that he was once ... us" from WWj.

<sup>122.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 16.

<sup>123.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("I wish ... tell it") from WWj; remainder from TB draft, 16.

<sup>124.</sup> Preceding five sentences ("What did Jesus say ... Father did") from WC draft, 14.

answer is obvious, in a manner to lay down his body and take it up <sup>125</sup> again. <sup>126</sup> Jesus, what are you going to do? To lay down my life as my Father did, and take it up again. <sup>127</sup> Do you believe it? <sup>128</sup>—if you do not believe it, you do not believe the Bible; <sup>129</sup> the Scriptures say it, and I defy all the learning and wisdom, and all the combined powers of earth and hell together to refute it. <sup>130</sup> Here, then, is eternal life—to know the only wise and true God; <sup>131</sup> and you have got to learn how to be Gods yourselves, and to be kings and priests to God, the same as all Gods have done before you, namely, by going from one small degree to another, and from a small capacity to a great one; <sup>132</sup> from grace to grace, from exaltation to exaltation until you attain to the resurrection of the dead, and are able to dwell in everlasting burnings, and to sit in glory as do those who sit enthroned in everlasting power; <sup>133</sup> and I want you to know that God in the last days, while certain individuals are proclaiming his name, is not trifling with you or me. <sup>134</sup>

### [The Righteous to Dwell in Everlasting Burnings.]

These are the first principles of consolation. <sup>135</sup> How consoling to the mourners when they are called to part with a husband, wife, father, mother, child or dear relative, to know that although the earthly tabernacle is laid down and dissolved they shall rise again to dwell in <sup>136</sup> everlasting burnings in immortal glory, not to sorrow, suffer, or die any more, but they shall be heirs of God and joint heirs with Jesus Christ. <sup>137</sup> What is it? <sup>138</sup> To inherit the same power, the same glory, and the same exaltation until you arrive at the station of a God, and ascend the throne of eternal power the same as those who have gone before. <sup>139</sup> What did Jesus do? Why I do the things I saw my Father do when worlds came rolling into existence. <sup>140</sup>My Father worked <sup>141</sup> out his kingdom with fear and trembling, and I must <sup>142</sup> do the same; <sup>143</sup> and when I get my kingdom I shall present it to my Father, so that he may obtain kingdom upon king-

- 125. JG draft, 24: "<up>"
- 126. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 16.
- 127. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 14.
- 128. Preceding sentence from WWj.
- 129. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 16.
- 130. First part of preceding sentence ("the scriptures ... and wisdom") from TB draft, 16; remainder from WC draft, 14.
  - 131. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 16.
  - 132. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 16, except "from one small degree to another" from WC draft, 14.
- 133. First part of preceding sentence ("from grace to grace") from TB draft, 16; "from exaltation to exaltation" from WC draft, 14; "until you attain ... burnings" based on WWj; "and to sit ... enthroned" from WC draft; "in everlasting power" from TB draft.
  - 134. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 16, except "you or me" from WC draft, 14.
  - 135. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 14.
  - 136. JG draft, 26: "with <in>"
- 137. First part of preceding sentence ("How consoling ... relative") from WC draft, 14, with "mother" and "dear relative" added from TB draft, 16; "to know that, although ... everlasting burnings" from WWj, with "and dissolved" from TB draft; "in immortal ... any more" from WC draft; "they shall be heirs ... Jesus Christ" from WWj.
  - 138. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 14.
  - 139. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 17, with "the same glory" and "until you arrive ... a god" from WWj.
  - 140. JG draft, 26: adds "I-saw"
  - 141. JG draft, 26: "work\ed/"
  - 142. JG draft, 26: "will <must>"
  - 143. Preceding three sentences from WC draft, 14, with "rolling" added based on TB draft, 17.

dom, and it will exalt him in <sup>144</sup> glory. <sup>145</sup> He will then take a higher exaltation, and I will take his place, and thereby become exalted myself. <sup>146</sup> So that Jesus treads in the tracks of his Father and inherits what God did before; <sup>147</sup> and God is thus glorified and exalted in the salvation and exaltation of all his children; <sup>148</sup> it is plain beyond disputation, and you thus learn some of the first principles of the gospel, about which so much hath been said. <sup>149</sup>

When you climb up a ladder you must begin at the bottom and ascend step by step until you arrive at the top, and so it is with the principles of the gospel—you must begin with the first and go on until you learn all the principles of exaltation<sup>150</sup>;<sup>151</sup> but it will be a great while after you have passed through the veil<sup>152</sup> before you will have learned them<sup>153</sup>.<sup>154</sup> It is not all to be comprehended in this world;<sup>155</sup> it will be a great work <sup>156</sup>to learn our<sup>157</sup> salvation and exaltation<sup>158</sup> even beyond the grave.<sup>159</sup> I suppose I am not allowed to go into an investigation of anything that is not contained in the Bible;<sup>160</sup> if I did<sup>161</sup>, I think there are so many *over-wise*<sup>162</sup> men here, that they would cry ["]treason["] and put me to death;<sup>163</sup> so I will go to the old Bible and turn commentator today.<sup>164</sup>

I shall comment on the very first Hebrew word in the Bible; <sup>165</sup> I will make a comment on the very first sentence of the history of creation in the Bible, *berosheit*. <sup>166</sup> I want to analyze the word; *baith*, in, by, through, and everything else. *Rosh* <sup>167</sup>, the head; *sheit*, grammatical termination. <sup>168</sup> When the inspired man wrote it he did not put the *baith* there; <sup>169</sup> an old Jew

- 144. JG draft, 26: "his <Him in>"
- 145. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 14, except "so that he ... upon kingdom" from TB draft, 17.
- 146. Preceding sentence from WWj.
- 147. Preceding sentence based on TB draft, 17, or WC draft, 14.
- 148. Preceding sentence not from any source. JG draft, 26: "<and God is thus glorified ... children;>"
- 149. First part of preceding sentence ("It is plain ... gospel") from TB draft, 17; remainder from WC draft, 14.
- 150. JG draft, 26: "<all> the last principle\s/ <of exaltation>"
- 151. Preceding sentence based on TB draft, 17, which reads: "when you climb a ladder you must begin at the bottom run[g] until you learn the last principle of the gospel."
  - 152. JG draft, 26: "tomb <vail>"
  - 153. JG draft, 26: "the\m//all\ last"
- 154. Preceding sentence based on WWj, which reads: "It will take a long time after the grave to understand the whole."
  - 155. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 17, or WC draft, 14.
  - 156. JG draft, 26: adds "with you"
  - 157. JG draft, 26: "<our>"
  - 158. TB draft, 17: omits "and exaltation"; JG draft, 26: "<& exaltation>"
  - 159. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 17.
  - 160. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 14.
  - 161. DHC 6:307: replaces "did" with "do"
  - 162. JG draft, 28: inserts "\over/ wise" at boln
- 163. WWj reads: "If I should say anything but what was in the bible the cry of treason would be herd"; TB draft, 17, reads: "I think is so many wise men who wo[ul]d. put me to death for treason"; WC draft, 14, reads: "you would cry treason. So many learned and wise men here."
- 164. First part of preceding sentence ("So I will go to the old Bible") from WC draft, 15; remainder from TB draft, 17.
  - 165. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 17.
  - 166. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 15.
  - 167. DHC 6:307: "Roch"
- 168. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 15, except "grammatical termination" not from any source (cf. T&S 5:614).
  - 169. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 15.

without any authority added the word: he thought it too bad to begin to talk about the *head*. <sup>170</sup> It read first "The head one of the Gods brought forth the Gods"; that is the true meaning of the words. <sup>171</sup> *Baurau* signifies to bring forth. <sup>172</sup> If you do not believe it, you do not believe the learned man of God. Learned men can learn you no more than what I have told you. Thus the head God brought forth the Gods in the grand council. <sup>173</sup>

I will transpose and simplify it in the English language. Oh, ye lawyers! ye doctors! and ye priests!<sup>174</sup> who have persecuted me, I want to let you know that the Holy Ghost knows something as well as you do.<sup>175</sup> The head God called together the Gods and sat in grand council to bring forth the world.<sup>176</sup> The grand councilors sat at the head in yonder heavens and contemplated the creation of the worlds which were created at that<sup>177</sup> time. When I say doctors and lawyers, I mean the doctors and lawyers of the Scriptures.<sup>178</sup> I have done so hitherto without explanation<sup>179</sup> to let the lawyers flutter and <sup>180</sup> everybody laugh at them. Some learned doctor might take a notion to say the Scriptures<sup>181</sup> say thus and so, and we must believe the Scriptures, they are not to be altered; but I am going to show you an error in them<sup>182</sup>.<sup>183</sup>

I have an old edition of the New Testament in the Hebrew, Latin, <sup>184</sup> German and Greek languages <sup>185</sup>. <sup>186</sup> I have been reading the German and find it to be the most <sup>187</sup>correct translation <sup>188</sup> and to correspond nearest to the revelations which God has <sup>189</sup> given to me <sup>190</sup> for the last fourteen <sup>191</sup> years. <sup>192</sup> It tells about Jachoboy <sup>193</sup>, the son of Zebedee; it means Jacob; <sup>194</sup> in the English New Testament it is translated <sup>195</sup> James. <sup>196</sup> Now if Jacob had the keys you might talk about James through all eternity and never get the keys. In the 21st verse <sup>197</sup>

```
170. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 17, with "old" added from WWj.
```

```
184. DHC 6:307: "Latin, Hebrew"
```

<sup>171.</sup> Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 15; "of the words" from TB draft, 17.

<sup>172.</sup> Preceding sentence apparently based on WC draft, 15, which reads: "rosheet signifies to bring forth the Eloheim."

<sup>173.</sup> Preceding three sentences from TB draft, 17.

<sup>174.</sup> TB draft, 17: omits "ye priests"; JG draft, 28: "<ye Priests!>" (TB)

<sup>175.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 17; "who have persecuted me" from WC draft, 15.

<sup>176.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 17; "to bring forth the world" from JSj [1844], 68.

<sup>177.</sup> DHC 6:307: replaces "that" with "the"

<sup>178.</sup> Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 15.

<sup>179.</sup> JG draft, 28: "<without explanation>" (TB)

<sup>180.</sup> JG draft, 28: "<in>"

<sup>181.</sup> JG draft, 28: "<Scriptures>" (TB)

<sup>182.</sup> JG draft, 28: "<in them>"

<sup>183.</sup> Preceding three sentences from TB draft, 17, before emendations; "and we must believe the scriptures" from WC draft, 15.

<sup>185.</sup> JG draft, 28: "/languages\" (TB)

<sup>186.</sup> Preceding sentence based on TB draft, 17, and WC draft, 15.

<sup>187.</sup> DHC 6:307: adds "[nearly]"

<sup>188.</sup> JG draft, 28: "<translation>" (TB)

<sup>189.</sup> JG draft, 28: "Have <which God has>" (TB)

<sup>190.</sup> JG draft, 28: "<to me>" (TB)

<sup>191.</sup> TB draft, 17: replaces "fourteen" with "16"

<sup>192.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 17.

<sup>193.</sup> DHC 6:307: "Jacobus"

<sup>194.</sup> Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 15.

<sup>195.</sup> JG draft, 28: "<translated>" (TB)

<sup>196.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 17, and WC draft, 15, without emendation.

<sup>197.</sup> DHC 6:307: omits "verse"

of the fourth chapter of Matthew my old German edition<sup>198</sup> gives the word Jacob instead of James.<sup>199</sup>

The doctors (I mean doctors of law, not of <sup>200</sup> physic) say "If you preach anything not according to the Bible we will cry treason." How can we escape the damnation of hell except God be with us and reveal to us? Men bind us with chains. The Latin says Jachabod <sup>203</sup>, which means Jacob; the Hebrew says Jacob, the Greek says Jacob, and the German says Jacob; here we have the testimony of four against one. I thank God <sup>206</sup>I have got this old book, but I thank him more for the gift of the Holy Ghost. I have got the oldest book in the world, but I have got the oldest book in my heart, even the gift of the Holy Ghost. I have all the four testaments; come here ye learned men and read if you can. I should not have introduced this testimony were it not to back up the word *rosh*, the head, the Father of the Gods. I should not have brought it up only to show that I am right.

#### [A Council of the Gods.]

In the beginning the head of the Gods called a council of the Gods, and they came together and concocted <sup>212</sup>a plan to create the world and people it<sup>213</sup>. <sup>214</sup> When we begin to learn in<sup>215</sup> this way, we begin to learn the only true God and what kind of a being we have got to worship. <sup>216</sup> Having a knowledge of God, we begin to<sup>217</sup> know how to approach him, and how to ask so as to receive an answer. <sup>218</sup>

When we understand the character of God and know how to come to him, he begins to unfold the heavens to us, and to tell us all about it.<sup>219</sup> When we are ready to come to him, he is ready to come to us.<sup>220</sup>

Now I ask all <sup>221</sup>who hear me, why the learned men<sup>222</sup> who are preaching salvation, say

- 198. WC draft, 15: omits "my old German edition"
- 199. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 15, with "through all eternity" from TB draft, 17.
- 200. DHC 6:307: omits "of"
- 201. JG draft, 30: "<The doctors ... treason>"; taken from WWj.
- 202. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 15; "and reveal to us" from TB draft, 17.
- 203. TB draft, 17: "Jackobus"; DHC 6:308: "Jacobus"
- 204. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 17.
- 205. Preceding sentence based on WWj.
- 206. DHC 6:308: adds "that"
- 207. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 17.
- 208. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 15, except "even the gift of the Holy Ghost" not in any source.
- 209. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 17.
- 210. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 15.
- 211. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 18.
- 212. DHC 6:308: adds "[prepared]"
- 213. JG draft, 30: "its inhabitants <people it>"
- 214. Preceding sentence from JSj [1844], 68, except "and its inhabitants" from WWj.
- 215. DHC 6:308: omits "in"
- 216. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 18; "and what kind ... worship" from WC draft, 15.
- 217. JG draft, 30: "<begin to>"
- 218. Preceding sentence from WWj.
- 219. First part of preceding sentence ("When we understand  $\dots$  to us") from JSj [1844], 68; remainder from TB draft, 18.
  - 220. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 15.
  - 221. JG draft, 30: adds "the learned men"
  - 222. JG draft, 30: "the\y/ learned men <learned men>"

that God created the heavens and the earth out of nothing? The reason is that they are unlearned in the things of God, and have not the gift of the Holy Ghost;<sup>223</sup> they account it blasphemy in any one to contradict their idea.<sup>224</sup> If you tell them that God made the world out of something, they will call you a fool.<sup>225</sup> But I am learned and know more than all the world put together;<sup>226</sup> the Holy Ghost does anyhow, and he is<sup>227</sup> within me and<sup>228</sup> comprehends more than all the world, and I will associate myself with him<sup>229</sup>.<sup>230</sup>

#### [Meaning of the Word Create.]

<sup>231</sup>You ask the learned doctors why they say the world was made out of nothing?—and they will answer "Don't the Bible say he *created* the world?"—and they infer from the word *create* that it must have been made out of nothing. Now the word *create* came from the word *baurau*, which does not mean to *create out of nothing*<sup>232</sup>; it means to *organize*, the same as a man would organize materials and build a ship. Hence we infer that God had materials to organize the world out of chaos—chaotic matter, which is element, and in which dwells all the glory<sup>233</sup>. Element had an existence from the time HE had. The pure principles of element are principles which can never be destroyed; they may be organized and re-organized but not destroyed; they had no beginning and can have no end.<sup>234</sup>

#### [The Immortal Intelligence.]

I have another subject to dwell upon which is calculated to exalt man, but it is impossible for me to say much on this subject<sup>235</sup>; I shall therefore just touch upon it, for time will not permit me to say all;<sup>236</sup> it is associated with the subject of<sup>237</sup> the resurrection of the dead, namely, the soul—the mind of man—the immortal spirit;<sup>238</sup> where did it come from? All learned men and doctors of divinity say that God created it in the beginning, but it is not so;<sup>239</sup> the very idea lessens man in my estimation.<sup>240</sup> I do not believe the doctrine; I know better.<sup>241</sup> Hear it all

- 223. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 18, except "in the things ... Holy Ghost" not in any source.
- 224. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 15.
- 225. Preceding sentence from WWj, except "they will call you a fool" reads closer to WC draft, 15.
- 226. First part of preceding sentence ("Bit I am learned") from WWj; remainder from TB draft, 18.
- 227. JG draft, 30: "being <is>"
- 228. JG draft, 30: inserts "\and/" at boln
- 229. JG draft, 30: "it <Him>"
- 230. First part of preceding sentence ("The Holy Ghost does, anyhow") from WWj; "and he is within ... world" from TB draft, 18; remainder reads closer to WWj.
  - 231. Except last sentence, this paragraph from WC draft, 15-16.
  - 232. JG draft, 30: "<out of nothing>" (TB)
  - 233. "which is element ... glory" added from TB draft, 18.
  - 234. Preceding sentence from JSj [1844], 68.
  - 235. JG draft, 31a: "<on this subject>" (TB)
  - 236. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 18, except "subject" and "which is calculated ... man" from WWj.
  - 237. JG draft, 31a: "\of/ and"
- 238. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 16, with "the immortal spirit" from difficult reading in TB draft, 18. WJS, 351, deciphers as "in[ne]r Spirit" and T&S 5:615 as "immortal spirit"
  - 239. Preceding two sentences from WWj, with "and doctors of divinity" from JSj [1844], 68.
  - 240. Preceding sentence amalgamates TB draft, 18, and WC draft, 16.
  - 241. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 16.

ye ends of the world, for God has told me so;<sup>242</sup> and if you don't believe me, it will not make the truth without effect.<sup>243</sup> I will make a man appear a fool before I get through, if he does not believe it.<sup>244</sup> I am going to tell of things more noble.<sup>245</sup>

We say that God himself is a self-existent<sup>246</sup> being; who told you so?<sup>247</sup> It is correct enough, but how did it get into your heads? Who told you that man did not exist in like manner upon the same principles?<sup>248</sup> Man does exist upon the same principles. God made a tabernacle and put a spirit into it, and it became a living soul.<sup>249</sup> (Refers to the old<sup>250</sup> Bible.)<sup>251</sup> How does it read in the Hebrew?<sup>252</sup> It does not say in the Hebrew that God created the spirit of man; it says "God made man out of the earth and put into him Adam's spirit, and so became a living body."<sup>253</sup>

The mind or<sup>254</sup> the intelligence which man possesses is<sup>255</sup> co-equal <sup>256</sup>with <sup>257</sup>God himself. I know that my testimony is true; hence when I talk to these mourners, what have they lost? Their relatives and friends<sup>258</sup> are only separated from their bodies for a short season;<sup>259</sup> their spirits which existed with God<sup>260</sup> have left the tabernacle of clay only<sup>261</sup> for a little moment as it were, and they now exist in a place where they converse together the same as we do on the earth.<sup>262</sup>

I am dwelling on the immortality of the spirit of man.<sup>263</sup> <sup>264</sup>Is it logical<sup>265</sup> to say that the intelligence of spirits<sup>266</sup> is immortal and yet that it had<sup>267</sup> a beginning?<sup>268</sup> The intelligence of spirits had no beginning, neither<sup>269</sup> will it<sup>270</sup> have an end;<sup>271</sup> that is good logic. That which has

- 242. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 18.
- 243. Preceding sentence from WWj.
- 244. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 16.
- 245. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 18.
- 246. DHC 6:310: "self-existing"
- 247. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 18.
- 248. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 16, with "in like manner" from TB draft, 18.
- 249. Preceding two sentences from WWj.
- 250. DHC 6:310: omits "old"
- 251. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 15.
- 252. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 18.
- 253. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 16, with "Adam's" from TB draft, 18.
- 254. JG draft, 31a: "of man <or>"
- 255. JG draft, 31a: "intelligen < ce>t part the spirit exists < which man possesses is>"
- 256. DHC 6:310: adds "[co-eternal]"
- 257. JG draft, 31a: adds "and is as immortal as"
- 258. WC draft, 16: replaces "Their relatives and friends" with "They"; WWj and JSj [1844], 69, use "friends".
- 259. Preceding four sentences from WC draft, 16.
- 260. JG draft, 31a: "< which existed eoequal with God,>"; taken from WC draft, 16.
- 261. JG draft, 31a: "<only>"
- 262. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 16, except "have left the tabernacle ... as it were" not in any source.
- 263. Preceding sentence from WWj.
- 264. Book E-1, 1974: adds erasure of a sentence
- 265. JG draft, 33: "logic<al>"
- 266. JG draft, 33: "a <the intelligence of> spirit\s/"
- 267. DHC 6:311: replaces "had" with "has"
- 268. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 16, before emendation.
- 269. JG draft, 33: "No, because if a spirit has a beginning it <The that intelligence of spirits ... neither>"
- 270. JG draft, 33: "<it>"
- 271. Preceding sentence apparently based on WWj, which reads: "the spirit of man ... does not have a beginning or end"

a beginning may have an end. There never was a time when there were not spirits, for they are co-equal <sup>272</sup>with our Father in heaven. <sup>273</sup>

I want to reason more on the spirit of man, for I am dwelling on the body and spirit of man, on the subject of the dead. I take my ring from my finger and liken it unto the mind of man—the immortal part<sup>274</sup>—because it has no beginning. Suppose you cut it in two, then **as the devil lives**<sup>275</sup> it has a beginning and an end;<sup>276</sup> but join it again and it continues one eternal round<sup>277</sup>; so with the spirit of <sup>278</sup> man, as the Lord liveth, if it had a beginning it will have an end.<sup>279</sup> All the fools, and learned and wise men from the beginning of creation, who say that the spirit of <sup>280</sup> man had a beginning prove that it<sup>281</sup> must have an end, and if that doctrine is true<sup>282</sup> then the doctrine of annihilation would be true.<sup>283</sup> But if I am right, I might with boldness proclaim from the house-tops that God never had the power to create the spirit of man at all.<sup>284</sup> God himself could not create himself.<sup>285</sup>

Intelligence is eternal, and exists upon a self-existent principle; it is a spirit from age to age, and there is no creation about it.<sup>286</sup> All the minds and spirits that God ever sent into the world are susceptible of enlargement.<sup>287</sup>

The first principles of man are self-existent with God. <sup>288</sup> God himself finding he was in the midst of spirits and glory, because he was more intelligent <sup>289</sup> saw proper to institute laws whereby the rest could have a privilege to advance like himself. <sup>290</sup> The relationship we have with God places us in a situation to advance in knowledge; <sup>291</sup> He has power to institute laws to instruct the weaker intelligences, that they may be exalted with himself, so that they might have one glory upon another, and all that knowledge, power, glory and intelligence which is requisite in order <sup>292</sup> to save them in the world of spirits. <sup>293</sup>

This is good doctrine; it tastes good. I can taste the principles of eternal life and so

<sup>272.</sup> DHC 6:311: adds "[co-eternal]"

<sup>273.</sup> JG draft, 33: "<That which has a beginning ... our Father <in heaven>>". The first two of these last four sentences may have been based on WC draft, 16, which reads: "if a spirit have a beginning it will have an end—good logic." The last two sentences have no source.

<sup>274.</sup> JG draft, 33: "spirit <part>"

<sup>275.</sup> Bolded text inserted here from TB draft, 18.

<sup>276.</sup> Preceding text ("I want to reason ... cut it in two") from TB draft, 18; remainder possibly from WWj.

<sup>277.</sup> JG draft, 33: "<but join it ... round>", which is not from any source.

<sup>278.</sup> JG draft, 33: "<the spirit of>"

<sup>279.</sup> Preceding sentence from WWj, except "as the Lord liveth" not from any source.

<sup>280.</sup> TB draft, 18: omits "the spirit of"

<sup>281.</sup> JG draft, 33: "he it"

<sup>282.</sup> JG draft, 33: "<if that doctrine is true,>"

<sup>283.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("All the fools ... wise men") from WC draft, 16; "from the beginning ... beginning" from TB draft, 18; "prove ... true" from WC draft.

<sup>284.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 18.

<sup>285.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 18, or WWj.

<sup>286.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 16, with "is eternal and" from WWj.

<sup>287.</sup> Preceding sentence from JSj [1844], 69.

<sup>288.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 19.

<sup>289.</sup> JG draft, 33: "the greatest < greater more intelligent>"

<sup>290.</sup> Preceding sentence from WB draft, 16-17, before emendation.

<sup>291.</sup> Preceding sentence from WWj.

<sup>292.</sup> TB draft, 19: replaces "intelligence, which is requisite in order" with "so took in hand"

<sup>293.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("The relationship ... exalted with himself") from WWj; remainder from TB draft, 19.

can you; they are given to me by the revelations of Jesus Christ;<sup>294</sup> and I know that when I tell you these words of eternal life as they are given to me, you taste them, and I know that you believe them.<sup>295</sup> You say honey is sweet and so do I. I can also<sup>296</sup> taste the spirit of eternal life; I know that it is good, and when I tell you of these things which were given me by inspiration of the Holy Spirit, you are bound to receive them as sweet, and I<sup>297</sup> rejoice more and more.<sup>298</sup>

## [The Relation of Man to God.]

I want to talk more of the relation of man to God. <sup>299</sup> I will open your eyes in relation to your dead. <sup>300</sup> All things whatsoever God in his infinite wisdom <sup>301</sup> has seen fit and proper to reveal to us, while we are dwelling in mortality, in regard to our mortal bodies, are revealed to us in the abstract and independent of affinity of this mortal tabernacle, but are revealed to our spirits <sup>302</sup> precisely as though we had no bodies at all; <sup>303</sup> and those revelations which will save our spirits <sup>304</sup> will save our bodies. God reveals them to us in view of no eternal dissolution of the body or tabernacle; <sup>305</sup> hence the responsibility, the awful responsibility that rests upon us in relation to our dead; for all the spirits who have not obeyed the gospel in the flesh, must either obey it in the spirit <sup>306</sup> or be damned. <sup>307</sup> Solemn thought—dreadful thought! <sup>308</sup> Is there nothing to be done—no preparation—no salvation for our fathers and friends who have died without having had the opportunity to obey the decrees of the Son of Man? <sup>309</sup> Would to God that I had forty days and nights in which to tell you all; <sup>310</sup> I would let you know that I am not a "fallen prophet." <sup>311</sup>

#### [Our Great Responsibility.]

What promises are made in relation to the subject of the salvation of the dead?<sup>312</sup>—and what kind of characters are those who can be saved although their bodies are moldering and decaying in the grave?<sup>313</sup> When his commandments teach us it is in view of eternity, for we are

- 294. Preceding four sentences from WWj.
- 295. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 17.
- 296. JG draft, 33: "<also>"
- 297. DHC 6:312: omits "I"
- 298. Preceding three sentences from TB draft, 19.
- 299. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 17.
- 300. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 19.
- 301. TB draft, 19: replaces "wisdom" with "reason"
- 302. JG draft, 35: "us <our spirits>"
- 303. First part of preceding sentence ("All things ... revealed to us") from TB draft, 19, with "and proper" from WC draft, 17; "in the abstract ... tabernacle, but" from WC draft; "are revealed ... no bodies" from TB draft, with "precisely" from JSj [1844], 69, and "at all" from WC draft.
  - 304. TB draft, 19: replaces "spirits" with "dead"; JSj [1844], 69: "spirits"
  - 305. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 19.
  - 306. WC draft, 17: omits "in the spirit"
  - 307. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 17.
  - 308. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 19.
- 309. First part of preceding sentence ("Is there nothing ... have died") from TB draft, 19; remainder from WC draft, 17.
  - 310. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 19.
  - 311. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 17.
  - 312. Preceding sentence apparently based on WWj, which reads: "what promises are made"
  - 313. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 19, with "moldering and" added from WC draft, 17.

looked upon by God as though we were in eternity.<sup>314</sup> God dwells in eternity, and does not view things as we do.<sup>315</sup>

The greatest responsibility in this world that God has laid upon us, is to seek after our dead. The Apostle says ["]they without us cannot be made perfect["]; for it is necessary that the sealing power should be in our hands to seal our children and our dead for the fulness of the dispensation of times—a dispensation to meet the promises made by Jesus Christ before the foundation of the world for the salvation of man. The God has laid upon us, is to seek after our dead.

Now I will speak of them:<sup>320</sup> I will meet Paul half way.<sup>321</sup> I say to you Paul, you cannot be perfect without us;<sup>322</sup> it is necessary that those who are gone before, and those who come after us should have salvation in common with us;<sup>323</sup> and thus hath God made it obligatory upon<sup>324</sup> man.<sup>325</sup> Hence God said, "I will<sup>326</sup> send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord; and<sup>327</sup> he shall turn the hearts<sup>328</sup> of the fathers to the children, and the hearts<sup>329</sup> of the<sup>330</sup> children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse."<sup>331</sup>

#### [The Unpardonable Sin.]

I have a declaration to make as to the provisions which God hath made to suit the conditions of man, made from before the foundation of the world. What has Jesus said? All sins and all blasphemies, and every transgression, except one, that man can be guilty of, may be forgiven; and there is a salvation for all men either in this world or the world to come, who have not committed the unpardonable sin, there being a provision either in this world or the world of spirits. Hence God hath made a provision that every spirit in the eternal world can be ferreted out and saved, unless he has committed that unpardonable sin, the swince of the saved of the s

<sup>314.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("When his commandments ... view of eternity") from WC draft, 17; remainder from JSj [1844], 69.

<sup>315.</sup> Preceding sentence from WWj.

<sup>316.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 17, with "that God ... upon us" from TB draft, 19.

<sup>317.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 19.

<sup>318.</sup> JG draft, 35: "seal\ing/ ["i" w.o. "s"] are <power should be>" (TB)

<sup>319.</sup> Preceding sentence from WWj.

<sup>320.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 19.

<sup>321.</sup> Preceding sentence from JSj [1844], 69.

<sup>322.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 19.

<sup>323.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 17.

<sup>324.</sup> JG draft, 35: "to <upon>"

<sup>325.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 19.

<sup>326.</sup> JG draft, 35: "he shall <I will>"

<sup>327.</sup> DHC 6:313: omits "and"

<sup>328.</sup> DHC 6:313: "heart"

<sup>329.</sup> DHC 6:313: "hearts"

<sup>330.</sup> JG draft, 37: "<fathers to the children, and the hearts of the>"

<sup>331.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 19, with quote expanded.

<sup>332.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 19, with "to suit ... of man" added from WC draft, 17.

<sup>333.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 19, or WC draft, 17.

<sup>334.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("All sins ... except one") from WC draft, 17; "that man ... guilty of" from TB draft, 19; "may be forgiven" from WWj.

<sup>335.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("and there is a salvation ... unpardonable sin") based on TB draft, 19, and JSj [1844], 70. TB draft reads: "there is a Sal[vatio]n. for man or in the world to come"; JSj reads: "Salvation for all men who have not committed a certain sin [God] can save any man who has not committed the unpardonable sin". Remainder of sentence ("there being a provision ... spirits") from WC draft, 17.

<sup>336.</sup> Book E-1, 1975, has two lines at bottom of page erased, and one line at the top of p. 1976.

remitted to him either in this world or the world of spirits.<sup>337</sup> God has wrought out a salvation for all men unless they have committed a certain sin, and every man who has <sup>338</sup>a friend in the eternal world can save him unless he has committed the unpardonable sin<sup>339</sup>;<sup>340</sup> and so you can see how far you can be a savior.<sup>341</sup>

A man cannot commit the unpardonable sin after the dissolution of the body, and there is a way possible for escape. Knowledge saves a man, and in the world of spirits no man can<sup>342</sup> be exalted but by knowledge; so long as a man will not give heed to the commandments, he must abide without salvation.<sup>343</sup> If a man has knowledge he can be saved; although if he has been guilty of great sins he will be<sup>344</sup> punished for them, but when he consents to obey the gospel whether here or in the world of spirits, he is saved.<sup>345</sup>

A man is his own tormentor and his own condemner;<sup>346</sup> hence the saying, they shall go into the lake that burns with fire and brimstone.<sup>347</sup> I have no fear of hell fire that don't exist.<sup>348</sup> The torment of disappointment in the mind of man is as exquisite as a lake burning with fire and brimstone;<sup>349</sup> I say, so is the torment of man.<sup>350</sup>

I know the Scriptures and understand them.<sup>351</sup> I said no man can commit the unpardonable sin after the dissolution of the body, nor in this life until he receives the Holy Ghost, but they must do it in this world;<sup>352</sup> hence the salvation of Jesus Christ was wrought out for all men in order to triumph over the devil;<sup>353</sup> for if it did not catch him in one place, it would in another;<sup>354</sup> for he stood up as a Savior.<sup>355</sup> All will suffer until they obey Christ himself.<sup>356</sup>

The contention in heaven was—Jesus said there would be certain souls<sup>357</sup> that would not be saved;<sup>358</sup> and the devil said he could<sup>359</sup> save them all, and laid his plans before the Grand Council, who gave their vote in favor of Jesus Christ; so the devil rose up in rebellion against

<sup>337.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("Hence God ... provision that") from WC draft, 17; "every spirit ... remitted to him" from TB draft, 19; "either ... spirits" from WC draft.

<sup>338.</sup> JG draft, 37, Book E-1, 1976: add "got"

<sup>339.</sup> Book E-1, 1976: "<and every man ... sin>" (JG)

<sup>340.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 19, without interlinear insertion.

<sup>341.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 19.

<sup>342.</sup> JG draft, 37: "a <no> man cannot"

<sup>343.</sup> Preceding three sentences from WC draft, 17-18.

<sup>344.</sup> JG draft, 37: "is <will be>"

<sup>345.</sup> Preceding two sentences from WWj.

<sup>346.</sup> Preceding sentence is based on WC draft, 18, which reads: "A man is his own torment"; and TB draft, 20, which reads: "a sinner has his own mind & is in his own condemner." JSj [1844], 70: "Damned by mortification"; WWj reads "his own mind damns him"

<sup>347.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 18, with "and brimstone" from JSj [1844], 70.

<sup>348.</sup> Preceding bolded sentence from WWj, but omitted in MSHiJS.

<sup>349.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 20, with "of disappointment" from JSj [1844], 70.

<sup>350.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 18.

<sup>351.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 20.

<sup>352.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("I said ... of the body") from WC draft, 18; "nor in this life" not in any source; "but they must ... world" from TB draft, 20.

<sup>353.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 20.

<sup>354.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 18.

<sup>355.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 20.

<sup>356.</sup> Preceding sentence from WWj.

<sup>357.</sup> WC draft, 18: replaces "souls" with "man"; TB draft, 20: "souls"

<sup>358.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 18.

<sup>359.</sup> DHC 6:314: "would"

God, and was cast down with all who put up their heads for him. <sup>360</sup> (Book of Moses-Pearl of Great Price, Ch. 4:1-4; Book of Abraham, Ch. 3:23-28.) <sup>361</sup>

#### [The Forgiveness of Sins.]

All sins shall be forgiven except the sin against the Holy Ghost, for Jesus will save all except the sons of perdition. What must a man do to commit the unpardonable sin? He<sup>363</sup> must receive the Holy Ghost, have the heavens opened unto him, and know God and then sin against HIM. He are a man has sinned against the Holy Ghost there is no repentance for him: he has got to say that the sun does not shine while he sees it; he has got to deny Jesus Christ when the heavens have been opened unto him, and to deny the plan of salvation with his eyes open to the truth of it; and from that time he begins to be an enemy. This is the case with many apostates of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

When a man begins to be an enemy to this work he hunts me;<sup>370</sup> he seeks to kill me and never ceases to thirst for my blood.<sup>371</sup> He gets the spirit of the devil, the same spirit that they had who crucified the Lord of Life, the same spirit that sins against the Holy Ghost.<sup>372</sup> You cannot save such persons<sup>373</sup>;<sup>374</sup> you cannot bring them to repentance;<sup>375</sup> they make open war like the devil,<sup>376</sup> and awful is the consequence.<sup>377</sup>

I advise all of you to be careful what you do, or <sup>378</sup> you may by-and-by find out that you have been deceived. <sup>379</sup> Stay yourselves; do not give way; <sup>380</sup> don't make any hasty moves; you may be saved; if a spirit of bitterness *is* in you, don't be in haste. You may say that man is a sinner; well, if he repents he shall be forgiven. <sup>381</sup> Be cautious—await! When you find a spirit that wants *bloodshed—murder*—the same is not of God, but is of the devil. Out of the abundance of the heart of man the mouth <sup>382</sup> speaketh. <sup>383</sup>

- 360. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 20, with editing and elaboration.
- 361. Preceding references appear only in DHC 6:314.
- 362. First part of preceding sentence ("All sins ... Holy Ghost") from TB draft, 20; remainder from WWj.
- 363. JG draft, 37: "they <he>"
- 364. Preceding two sentences from WWj.
- 365. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 18.
- 366. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 20.
- 367. First part of preceding sentence ("he has got to deny ... unto him") from TB draft, 20; remainder (except "to the truth of it") from JSj [1844], 70.
  - 368. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 20.
  - 369. Preceding sentence from WWj, with full name of church from TB draft, 20.
  - 370. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 20.
  - 371. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 18, with editing.
  - 372. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 20, with "the spirit of the devil" from WWj.
  - 373. JG draft, 39: "them < such persons>"
  - 374. Preceding sentence from WWj.
  - 375. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 18.
  - 376. JG draft, 39: "<they make open war like the devil,>"
  - 377. First part of preceding sentence ("they make ... devil") from WWj; remainder from WC draft, 18.
  - 378. JG draft, 39: "as <or>"
  - 379. First part of preceding sentence ("I advise ... you do") from TB draft, 20; remainder from WC draft, 18.
  - 380. Preceding two sentences based on TB draft, 20.
  - 381. Preceding five sentences ("don't make any hasty ... forgiven") from WWj.
  - 382. JG draft, 39: "<of> man <the mouth>"
  - 383. Preceding three sentences ("Be cautious ... speaketh") from TB draft, 20.

The best men bring forth the best works;<sup>384</sup> the man who tells you words of life is the man who can save you. I warn you against all evil characters who sin against the Holy Ghost, for there is no redemption for them in this world nor in the world to come.<sup>385</sup>

I could go back and trace every subject<sup>386</sup> of interest concerning the relationship of man to God, if I had time.<sup>387</sup> I can enter into the mysteries; I can enter largely into the eternal worlds, for Jesus said, "In my Father's house are many mansions, if it were not so I would have told you; I go to prepare a place for you." (John 14th chap. 2nd v.) Paul says, "There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory. So also is the resurrection of the dead."—(1st Cor. 15th chap., 41st v.)<sup>388</sup> What have we to console us in relation to our<sup>389</sup> dead?<sup>390</sup> We have reason to have the greatest hope and consolations<sup>391</sup> for our dead of any people on the earth<sup>392</sup>;<sup>393</sup> for we have seen them walk worthily in our midst, and seen them sink asleep in the arms of Jesus;<sup>394</sup> and those who have died in the faith are now in the celestial kingdom of God.<sup>395</sup> And hence is the glory of the sun.<sup>396</sup>

You mourners have occasion<sup>397</sup> to rejoice (speaking of the death of Elder King Follett) for your husband and father<sup>398</sup> is gone to wait until the resurrection of the dead<sup>399</sup>—until the perfection of the remainder<sup>400</sup>;<sup>401</sup> for at the resurrection your friend will rise in perfect felicity and go to celestial glory,<sup>402</sup> while many<sup>403</sup> must wait myriads of years before they can receive the like blessings;<sup>404</sup> and your expectations and hopes are far above what man can conceive; for why has God revealed it to us?<sup>405</sup>

I AM AUTHORIZED to say, by the authority of the Holy Ghost that you have no occasion to fear, for he is gone to the home<sup>406</sup> of the just<sup>407</sup>. Don't mourn; don't weep; I know it

```
384. Preceding sentence from JSj [1844], 70.
```

<sup>385.</sup> Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 20.

<sup>386.</sup> DHC 6:315: replaces "subject" with "object"

<sup>387.</sup> Preceding sentence from WWj.

<sup>388.</sup> Preceding text, from "I can enter" to this location, based on TB draft, 20, with expansion of scriptural quotations.

<sup>389.</sup> DHC 6:315: replaces "our" with "the"

<sup>390.</sup> Preceding sentence from WWj.

<sup>391.</sup> DHC 6:315: "consolation"

<sup>392.</sup> JG draft, 41: "<of any people on <the> earth>"

<sup>393.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 20, with "of any people on the earth" from WWj.

<sup>394.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 20, with "worthily" WWj.

<sup>395.</sup> Preceding sentence from WWj.

<sup>396.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 20.

<sup>397.</sup> JG draft, 41:"cause <occasion>"

<sup>398.</sup> JG draft, 41: "<and Father>"

<sup>399.</sup> TB draft, 20: replaces "resurrection of the dead" with "red[emptio]n"

<sup>400.</sup> JSj [1844], 71: replaces "remainder" with "reunion"

<sup>401.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 20, with parenthetical omitted; "resurrection of the dead" from WWj; "until the perfection of the remainder" from JSj [1844], 71.

<sup>402.</sup> JG draft, 41: "<and go to celestial glory>"

<sup>403.</sup> JG draft, 41: "some < many >"

<sup>404.</sup> Preceding sentence from JSj [1844], 71.

<sup>405.</sup> Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 20.

<sup>406.</sup> Book E-1, 1977: "house" emended to "home"

<sup>407.</sup> JG draft, 41: adds "<in celestial glory>"

by the testimony of the Holy Ghost that is within me; $^{408}$  and you may wait for your friends to come forth to meet you  $^{409}$ in the morn of the celestial world. $^{410}$ 

Rejoice, O Israel!<sup>411</sup> your friends who have been murdered for the truth's sake in the persecution<sup>412</sup> shall *triumph* gloriously in the celestial world, while their murderers shall welter for ages<sup>413</sup> in torment, even until they shall have paid the uttermost farthing.<sup>414</sup> I say this for the benefit of strangers.<sup>415</sup>

I have a father, brothers, children and friends who have gone to a world of spirits. They are only absent for a moment;<sup>416</sup> they are in the spirit and we shall soon meet again;<sup>417</sup> the time will soon arrive when the trumpet shall sound.<sup>418</sup> When we depart we shall hail our mothers, fathers, friends, and all whom we love who have fallen asleep in Jesus. There will be no fear of mobs, persecutions, or <sup>419</sup>malicious lawsuits and arrests, but it will be an eternity of felicity.<sup>420</sup>

A question may be asked, "Will mothers have their children in eternity?" Yes! yes! mothers, you shall have your children; <sup>421</sup> for they shall have eternal life, for their debt is paid; there is no damnation awaits them, for they are in the spirit. But as the child dies so shall it rise from the dead and be for ever living in the learning <sup>422</sup> of God. <sup>423</sup> It will never grow <sup>424</sup>, <sup>425</sup> it will still <sup>426</sup> be the child, in the same precise form <sup>427</sup>as it appeared <sup>428</sup> before it died out of its mother's arms, but possessing all the intelligence of a God. <sup>429</sup> Children dwell in the mansions of glory and exercise power, but appear in the same form as when on earth. <sup>430</sup> Eternity is full of thrones, upon which dwell thousands of children reigning on thrones of glory, with not one cubit added to their stature. <sup>431</sup>

I will leave this subject here, and make a few remarks on the subject of baptism. 432 The

- 408. Preceding four sentences from TB draft, 20.
- 409. WWj: adds "in eternity"
- 410. Preceding sentence from WWj.
- 411. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 20.
- 412. DHC 6:315: "persecutions"
- 413. TB draft, 20: replaces "ages" with "years"
- 414. First part of preceding sentence ("Your friends") from TB draft, 20; "who have been ... persecution" from WWj; "shall triumph gloriously" from TB draft; "in the celestial world" from WWj; "while their ... for ages" from TB draft; "in torment ... farthing" from WWj.
  - 415. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 20.
  - 416. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 21, with "children" added from WWj.
  - 417. First part of preceding sentence ("they are in the spirit") from TB draft, 21; remainder from WWj.
  - 418. Preceding sentence based on WWj.
  - 419. JG draft, 41: adds "arrests"
- 420. Preceding two sentences based on following from TB draft, 21: "then shall we hail our Mo[the]r. Fa[the]rs Friends & all no fear of mobs—&c but all one Eternity of felicity."
  - 421. Preceding text ("A question ... children") from WWj.
  - 422. TB draft, 21: apparently replaces "learning" with "burn[in]g"
  - 423. Preceding three sentences from TB draft, 21.
  - 424. DHC 6:316: adds "[in the grave]"
  - 425. Preceding sentence from WWj.
  - 426. JG draft, 43: "<still>"
  - 427. DHC 6:316: adds "[when it rises]"
  - 428. JG draft, 43: "possessed <appeared>"
- 429. First part of preceding sentence ("it will still be ... mother's arms") from TB draft, 21, with "precise form" from WWj, and remainder from JSj [1844], 71.
- 430. Preceding sentence based on following from TB draft, 21: "Children dwell & exercise power in the same form as they laid them down."
  - 431. Preceding sentence from WWj.
  - 432. Preceding sentence from WWj.

baptism of water without the baptism of fire and the Holy Ghost attending it, is of no use; they are necessary<sup>433</sup> and inseparably connected.<sup>434</sup> An individual must be born of water and the spirit in order to get into the kingdom of God. In the German the text bears me out the same as the revelations which I have given and taught for the last<sup>435</sup> fourteen years on that subject<sup>436</sup>. I have the testimony to put in their teeth. My testimony has been true all the time. You will find it in the declaration of John the Baptist; (reads from the German) John says "I baptize you with water, but when Jesus comes, who has the power (or keys)<sup>437</sup> he shall administer the baptism of fire and the Holy Ghost." <sup>438</sup>Great God! where is now all the sectarian world?—and if this testimony is true, they are all damned as clearly as anathema can do it. *I know the text is true*. I call upon all you Germans who know that it is true to say aye<sup>439</sup>. (Loud shouts of aye.)<sup>440</sup>

Alexander Campbell, how are you going to save people with water alone? For John said his baptism was good for nothing without the baptism of Jesus Christ. Herefore not leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith toward God, of the doctrine of baptisms and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment. And this will we do, if God permit. Heb. 6th chap. 1st to 3rd v.) Heb.

There is one God, one Father, one Jesus, one hope of our calling, one baptism; all these three baptisms only make one. 446 Many talk of baptism not being essential to salvation, but this kind of teaching 447 would lay the foundation of their damnation. 448 I have the truth and am at the defiance of the world to contradict me if they can. 449

<sup>450</sup>I have now preached a little Latin, a little Hebrew, Greek and German, and I have fulfilled all. I am not so big a fool as many have taken me to be. The Germans know that I read the German correctly.

#### [The Second Death.]

Hear it all ye ends of the earth—all ye priests—all ye sinners, and all men, repent! repent!<sup>451</sup> obey the gospel;<sup>452</sup> turn to God, for your religion won't save you, and you will be

<sup>433.</sup> DHC 6:316: "necessarily"

<sup>434.</sup> Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 21, with "is of no use" from no source, and "inseparably connected" from JSj [1844], 71.

<sup>435.</sup> DHC 6:316: "past"

<sup>436.</sup> TB draft, 21: omits "on that subject"

<sup>437.</sup> TB draft, 21: omits "(or keys)"

<sup>438.</sup> JG draft, 43: adds "John said his baptism was good for nothing without the baptism of Jesus Christ."

<sup>439.</sup> DHC 6:316: "Eye"

<sup>440.</sup> Preceding text, from "an individual must" to end of paragraph, from TB draft, 21, with light editing.

<sup>441.</sup> Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 21.

<sup>442.</sup> JG draft, 43: "<not>"

<sup>443.</sup> DHC 6:317: "towards"

<sup>444.</sup> DHC 6:317: "baptism"

<sup>445.</sup> Preceding scriptural quote based on JSj [1844], 71.

<sup>446.</sup> Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 21.

<sup>447.</sup> JG draft, 45: "<kind of teaching>" (TB)

<sup>448.</sup> Preceding sentence from WWj.

<sup>449.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 21.

<sup>450.</sup> This paragraph from TB draft, 21.

<sup>451.</sup> Preceding text ("Hear ... Repent!") from TB draft, 21, except "all ye priests" based on JSj [1844], 71.

<sup>452.</sup> Preceding sentence from JSj [1844], 71.

damned. I do not say how long. 453 There have been remarks made concerning all men being redeemed from hell; 454 but I say that those who sin against the Holy Ghost cannot be forgiven in this world or in the world to come; they shall die the second death. 455 Those who commit the unpardonable sin are doomed to Gnolom, to dwell in hell worlds without end; 456 as they concoct 457 scenes of bloodshed in this world, so they shall rise to that resurrection which is as the lake of fire and brimstone. 458 Some 459 shall rise to the everlasting burning of God, for God dwells in everlasting burnings; 460 and some shall rise to the damnation of their own filthiness, which is as exquisite a torment 461 as the lake of fire and brimstone. 462

I have intended my remarks to all, both rich and poor, bond and free, great and small. I have no enmity against any man. 463 I love you all, but I hate some of your deeds; 464 I am your best friend, and if persons miss their mark, it is their own fault. If I reprove a man and he hates me, he is a fool; for I love all men, especially these my brethren and sisters. 465

I rejoice in hearing<sup>466</sup> the testimony of my aged friends.<sup>467</sup> You don't know me;<sup>468</sup> you never knew my heart; no man knows my history; I cannot tell it; I shall never undertake it.<sup>469</sup> I don't blame anyone for not believing my history;<sup>470</sup> if I had not experienced <sup>471</sup>what I have I could<sup>472</sup> not have believed it myself. I never did harm any man since I was born into the world. My voice is always for peace.<sup>473</sup>

 $^{474}$ I cannot lie down until ALL my work is FINISHED. I never think any evil, nor do anything to the harm of my fellow-man. When I am called by the trump of the archangel  $^{475}$  and weighed in the balance, you will all know me then. I add no more. God bless you all: Amen.

<sup>476</sup>Choir sung a hymn at half-past five p.m.

Dismissed with benediction.

<sup>453.</sup> Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 21.

<sup>454.</sup> Preceding sentence from WWj.

<sup>455.</sup> Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 21, except "but I say" from WWi.

<sup>456.</sup> Preceding sentence from WWj, except "are doomed to Gnolom" from JSj [1844], 71.

<sup>457.</sup> DHC 6:317: "concocted"

<sup>458.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 21.

<sup>459.</sup> JG draft, 45: "The saints <some>"

<sup>460.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("Some shall rise ... of God") from TB draft, 21; remainder from JSj [1844], 71.

<sup>461.</sup> TB draft, 21: replaces "which is ... torment" with "same"

<sup>462.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 21.

<sup>463.</sup> Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 21.

<sup>464.</sup> Preceding sentence from JSj [1844], 71.

<sup>465.</sup> Preceding three sentences from TB draft, 21-22.

<sup>466.</sup> Book E-1, 1979: "\h/earing"; "h" apparently w.o. "b"

<sup>467.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 22.

<sup>468.</sup> Preceding sentence from JSj [1844], 71.

<sup>469.</sup> Preceding four sentences from TB draft, 22.

<sup>470.</sup> Preceding sentence from JSj [1844], 71.

<sup>471.</sup> JG draft, 45: adds "it myself"

<sup>472.</sup> DHC 6:317: "would"

<sup>473.</sup> Preceding three sentences from TB draft, 22.

<sup>474.</sup> This paragraph from TB draft, 22.

<sup>475.</sup> TB draft, 22: omits "of the archangel"

<sup>476.</sup> DHC 6:317: omits next two sentences, which appear in T&S 5 (15 Aug. 1844): 617. First line from TB draft, 22.

# 15.

# JOSEPH SMITH ON ZION

# April 1844

#### [DN 7 (15 July 1857): 145-46]

<sup>1</sup>Monday, [April] 8 [1844].—At 9¾ a.m., President Joseph Smith took his seat on the stand and requested the choir to sing a hymn. He called upon Elder B[righam]. Young to read 1st Corinthians, 15 ch[apter]., as his own lungs were injured<sup>2</sup>.

Elder B[righam]. Young said to continue the subject of Pres[iden]t. Smith's discourse yesterday, I<sup>3</sup> shall commence by reading the 15th chapter of 1st Corinthians, from an old Bible, and requested W. W. Phelps to read it<sup>4</sup>.

Prayer by Elder B[righam]. Young, after which the<sup>5</sup> choir sung<sup>6</sup> a hymn.

[President Joseph Smith's Remarks.]<sup>7</sup>

<sup>8</sup>President Joseph Smith said: It is just as <sup>9</sup> impossible for me to continue the subject of yesterday <sup>10</sup> as to raise the dead; my lungs are worn out; <sup>11</sup> there is a time to all things and I must wait. I will give it up and leave the time to those who can make you hear, and <sup>12</sup>will

<sup>1.</sup> Conference minutes for 8–9 Apr. 1844 copied into Book E-1, 1981-2000, on every other line (RLC). *Source*: RDft 8:30 directs scribe to copy the morning session for 8 Apr. 1844 from JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, MS pp. 1-7 [images 47–59] (JG), which begins with a penciled note to "copy it [with] open lines." This source undoubtedly drew on GCM, Bx 1, fd 19, 1-8 [images 33-40] (WC), and GCM, Bx 1, fd 20, MS pp. 23-33 [images 25-36] (TB), and was evidently composed by JG on 24-26 Sept. 1855 (CHOj 18:146-48). For transcription, see vol. 7, I.8, under date. Cf. JSj [1844], 73-75 (*APR*, 468); WWj, vol. 4, 8 Apr. 1844 (*WWj* 2:388-89). First three paragraphs from WC draft, 1.

<sup>2.</sup> JG draft, 1: "had faded <were injured>" (TB)

<sup>3.</sup> JG draft, 1: omits "I"

<sup>4.</sup> JG draft, 1: "\& requested/ W.W. Phelps <to> read \it/" (TB)

<sup>5.</sup> JG draft, 1: omits "the"; Book E-1, 1981: "\the/" (pos. JG)

<sup>6.</sup> DHC 6:318: "sang"

<sup>7.</sup> Due to complexity of the minutes, subtitles have been inserted in brackets.

<sup>8.</sup> Source: JS's sermon from JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, 1-2 (JG) (transcription in vol. 7, I.8, under date), which amalgamates GCM, Bx 1, fd 19, 1-2 (WC), and GCM, Bx 1, fd 20, 23 (TB). Cf. JSj [1844], 73-74 (APR, 468); WWj, vol. 4, 8 Apr. 1844 (WWj 2:388).

<sup>9.</sup> JG draft, 1: "<as>"

<sup>10.</sup> JG draft, 1:"<of yesterday>" (TB)

<sup>11.</sup> Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 23, without emendations.

<sup>12.</sup> DHC 6:318: adds "I"

continue the <sup>13</sup> subject of my discourse some other time. I want to make a proclamation <sup>14</sup> to the Elders; I wanted you to stay in order that I might make this proclamation. You know very well that the Lord has led this church by revelation. I have another revelation in relation to economy in the church—a great, grand, and glorious revelation. <sup>15</sup> I shall not be able to dwell as largely upon it now as at some other time; but I will give you the first principles. <sup>16</sup> You know there has been great discussion in relation to Zion; where it is, and when <sup>17</sup> the gathering of the dispensation is, and which I am now going to tell you <sup>18</sup>. <sup>19</sup> The Prophets have spoken and written upon it; but I will make a proclamation that will cover a broader ground. The whole of America is Zion itself, from north to south; and is described by the Prophets who declare that it is <sup>20</sup> the Zion where the mountain of the Lord should be and that it should be in the center of the land; <sup>21</sup> when Elders shall take up and examine the old prophecies in the Bible they will see it. <sup>22</sup>

The declaration this morning is, that as soon as the Temple and baptismal font are prepared we calculate to give the Elders of Israel their washings and anointings and attend to those last and more impressive<sup>23</sup> ordinances, without which we cannot obtain celestial thrones<sup>24</sup>;<sup>25</sup> but there must be a holy<sup>26</sup> place prepared for that purpose.<sup>27</sup> There was a proclamation made during the time that the<sup>28</sup> foundation of the Temple was laid to that effect, and there are provisions made until the work is completed, so that men may receive their endowments and be made kings and priests unto the Most High God, having nothing to do with temporal things, but their whole time will be taken up with things pertaining to the House of God.<sup>29</sup> There must, however, be a place built expressly for that purpose and for men to be baptized for their dead.<sup>30</sup> It must be built in this the central place;<sup>31</sup> for every man who wishes to save his father, mother, brothers, sisters and friends, he<sup>32</sup> must go through all the ordinances for each one of them separately<sup>33</sup>, the<sup>34</sup> same as for himself, from baptism to ordination, washings and anoint-

- 13. JG draft, 1:"<del>my</del> <the>"
- 14. JG draft, 1: "say a few words < make a proclamation>"
- 15. Preceding six sentences ("There is a time ... in the church") from WC draft, 1; remainder from TB draft, 23.
- 16. Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 1.
- 17. DHC 6:318: replaces "when" with "where"
- 18. JG draft, 1: "\now going/ to \tell you/" (TB)
- 19. Preceding two sentences from TB draft, 23.
- 20. JG draft, 1:"<it is>"
- 21. Preceding four sentences from WC draft, 1, with "and is described by the Prophets ... should be" from TB draft, 23.
  - 22. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 1.
  - 23. WC draft, 1: replaces "impressive" with "imp[ortan]t"
  - 24. JG draft, 1: "<without which we cannot ... thrones>"
  - 25. Preceding sentence from WC draft, 1, without emendation.
  - 26. JG draft, 1: "<holy>"
  - 27. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 23.
  - 28. JG draft, 1: "<the>"
- 29. WC draft, 1, reads: "prov[ision] made during time of laying found[ation]: where men may rec[eive] endowment to make K[ings] and P[ies]ts unto the Most H[igh] G[od]. having nothin[g] to do with temporal things but K[ingdom] of G[od]."; TB draft, 23, reads: "there are provi[sio]ns made until the work is comp[lete]d. to be as K[ings] & P[riests] of the mos[t] H[igh]. God but as all to do with the h[ou]s[e] of God."
  - 30. Preceding sentence from TB draft, 23.
  - 31. Preceding sentence based on WC draft, 1.
  - 32. DHC 6:319: omits "he"
  - 33. JG draft, 2: "<for <each one of> them separately>" (TB)
  - 34. JG draft, 2: omits "the"; Book E-1, 1982: "\the/" (pos. JG)

ings, and receive<sup>35</sup> all the keys and<sup>36</sup> powers of the priesthood, the<sup>37</sup> same as for himself.<sup>38</sup>

I have received instructions from the Lord that from henceforth wherever the Elders of Israel shall build up churches and branches unto the Lord<sup>39</sup> throughout the States, there shall be a Stake of Zion; in the great cities as<sup>40</sup> Boston, New York, &c., there shall be stakes.<sup>41</sup> It is a glorious proclamation, and I reserved it to the last, and designed it to be understood that this work shall commence after the washings, anointings, and endowments have been performed<sup>42</sup> here.<sup>43</sup>

The Lord has an established law in relation to the matter; there must be a particular spot for the salvation of our dead. 44 I verily believe this will be the 45 place; and hence 46 men who want to save their dead can come and bring their families, do their work by being baptized and attending to the other ordinances 47 for their dead, and then may go back again to live and wait till they go to receive their reward. 48 I shall leave my brethren to enlarge on this subject; 49 it is my duty to teach the doctrine: 50 I would teach it more fully 51; 52 the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak. God is not willing to let me gratify you, but I must teach the Elders and they should teach you. 53 God made Aaron to be the mouth piece for the children of Israel 54, and he will make me be God to you in his stead, and the Elders to be mouth for me; 55 and if you don't like it you must lump it. 56 I have been giving Elder Adams instructions 57 in some principles to speak to you, and if he makes a mistake, I will get up and correct him. 58

Elder G. J. Adams preached a discourse which occupied three hours, and which could be heard a great distance  $^{59}$ . [...]  $^{60}$ 

<sup>35.</sup> JG draft, 2: "<have> <receive>" (TB)

<sup>36.</sup> TB draft, 23: "all the protect[io]n of the"; JG draft, 2: "{\keys/} [eoe] of \&/ the"

<sup>37.</sup> Book E-1, 1983: "\the/" (pos. JG)

<sup>38.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 23, except "all the ordinances ... ordination" from WC draft, 1, without emendation.

<sup>39.</sup> IG draft, 2: "<unto the Lord>"

<sup>40.</sup> JG draft, 2: "of <as>" (TB)

<sup>41.</sup> Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 1, with "unto the Lord" and there shall be a stake of Zion" from TB draft, 23.

<sup>42.</sup> JG draft, 2: "<have been performed>" (TB)

<sup>43.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("It is a glorious ... understood") from TB draft, 23; remainder from WC draft, 1, without emendation.

<sup>44.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 2.

<sup>45.</sup> DHC 6:319: replaces "the" with "a"

<sup>46.</sup> JG draft, 2:"<hence>"

<sup>47.</sup> JG draft, 2:"<and attending to the ordinances>"

<sup>48.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 2, with "by being baptized" from TB draft, 23.

<sup>49.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 23.

<sup>50.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 2.

<sup>51.</sup> JG draft, 2:"<I would teach it more fully>"

<sup>52.</sup> JG draft, 2: adds "and"

<sup>53.</sup> Preceding two sentences from WC draft, 2.

<sup>54.</sup> TB draft, 23: omits "for the children of Israel"

<sup>55.</sup> First part of preceding sentence ("God made ... mouthpiece") from TB draft, 23, with last part from WC draft, 2. Last part of TB draft, 23, reads: "& Made me to be their K[ing]. & their God."

<sup>56.</sup> Preceding sentence from TB draft, 23.

<sup>57.</sup> DHC 6:320: "instruction"

<sup>58.</sup> Preceding sentence from WC draft, 2.

<sup>59.</sup> JG draft, 2: "on the Iowa side of the river <a great distance.>" (TB)

<sup>60.</sup> MSHiJS omits G. J. Adams's sermon. See GCM, Bx 1, fd 20, MS pp. 23-29 [images 25-31] (TB); GCM, Bx 1, fd 19, MS pp. 2-8 [images 34-40] (WC); JSj [1844], 74-75 (WR) (APR, 468). Cf. WWj, vol. 4, 8 Apr. 1844 (WWj 2:389).

Choir sung<sup>63</sup> a hymn. Prayer.

[Hyrum Smith Address: Canceled Version.]

<sup>65</sup>President Hyrum Smith called the Conference to order at 25 min. to 4 P.M. and said:—It is a matter of consequence that the Elders of Israel should know when they go to preach to be like Paul—to give a reason for the hope of their calling; and if men<sup>66</sup> cannot vindicate their<sup>67</sup> cause they<sup>68</sup> would be like the ostrich—hide their<sup>69</sup> head<sup>70</sup>. One reason I speak to the Elders is, in consequence of the ten thousand reports which come to me<sup>71</sup> from abroad—almost every foolish<sup>72</sup> man runs to me<sup>73</sup>, to enquire if such and such<sup>74</sup> things are true, and how many spiritual wives a man may have. I know nothing about it; what he might call a spiritual wife, I should not know anything about<sup>75</sup>. In about half an hour after he has<sup>76</sup> gone, another person<sup>77</sup> begins to say<sup>78</sup>: "the Elders tell such and such<sup>79</sup> things all over the country."

I am authorized to tell you from henceforth, that any man who comes in and tells any such damn fool doctrine, to tell him<sup>80</sup> to give up<sup>81</sup> his license. None but a fool teaches such stuff; the devil himself is not such a fool, and every Elder who teaches such stuff ought to have his nose wrung; any one found guilty of such teaching<sup>82</sup> will be published and <sup>83</sup>his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup>President Joseph Smith turned over the conference into the hands of the Twelve.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup>Baptism to be attended at 2½ o'clock.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup>Conference of the Twelve [Apostles] April 8, 1844.

<sup>61.</sup> This paragraph not in JG draft, 2, but added interlinearly in darker ink in Book E-1, 1984 (LH). Source: WWj, vol. 4, 8 Apr. 1844 (WWj 2:389).

<sup>62.</sup> This paragraph from omitted portion of JSj [1844], 75 (WR) (APR, 468).

<sup>63.</sup> DHC 6:320: "sang"

<sup>64.</sup> This paragraph from omitted portion of JSj [1844], 76 (WR) (APR, 469).

<sup>65.</sup> The following bolded text of Hyrum Smith's sermon is from Book E-1, 1984-91, which was canceled and not published in *DN* and DHC. It was replaced with a brief summary that immediately follows. Paragraphing added for convenience and underlining changed to italic. *Source*: The canceled text is from JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, MS pp. 3-7 [images 51-59] (JG) (transcription in vol. 7, I.8, under date), which is an edited version of GCM, Bx 1, fd 20, MS pp. 30-33 [images 33-36] (TB). Cf. JSj [1844], 76 (WR) (*APR*, 469); WWj, vol. 4, 8 Apr. 1844 (*WWj* 2:389).

<sup>66.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "men" with "a man"; JG draft, 3: "a-man <men>"; Book E-1, 1984: "[eoe] m\e/n ["e" w.o. "a"]"

<sup>67.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "their" with "his"; JG draft, 3: "his <their>"; Book E-1, 1984: "their" overwrites "his"

<sup>68.</sup> Book E-1, 1984: "they" overwrites "he"

<sup>69.</sup> Book E-1, 1984: "{\their/}" (pos. JG)

<sup>70.</sup> TB draft, 30, JG draft, 3: "heads"

<sup>71.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "which come to me"; JG draft, 3: "<which come to me>"

<sup>72.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "foolish"; JG draft, 3: "<foolish>"

<sup>73.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "me" with "him"; JG draft, 3: "him <me>"

<sup>74.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "such and such"; JG draft, 3: "<such and such>" (TB)

<sup>75.</sup> TB draft, 30: adds "it"; JG draft, 3: "it"

<sup>76.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "he has" with "the man was"

<sup>77.</sup> JG draft, 3:"<person>" (TB)

<sup>78.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "another person begins to say" with "and wo[ul]d. begin"

<sup>79.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "and such"; JG draft, 3: "<& such>" (TB)

<sup>80.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "to tell him"; JG draft, 3: "<to tell him>" (TB)

<sup>81.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "give up" with "come in to take away"

<sup>82.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "any one ... teaching" with "his name"; JG draft, 3: "his name <any one ... teaching>"

<sup>83.</sup> TB draft, 30: adds "if found guilty"; JG draft, 3: "if found guilty"

license will be taken from him. <sup>84</sup> When Elders are sent to preach the gospel, they are not to preach anything but the gospel, if they wish <sup>85</sup> to show themselves approved and not fools, like <sup>86</sup> the old man who went to preach such wonderful things, <sup>87</sup> old daddy Matthews the Tinman. I wish the Elders of Israel to understand it is lawful for a man to marry a wife, but it is unlawful to have more, and God has not commanded any of you <sup>88</sup> to have more; and if any of you dare to presume to do any such things, it will spoil your fun, for you will never have the spirit to <sup>89</sup> preach the gospel. I despise a man who teaches a pack of stuff that will disgrace himself so; for a man to go into the world, and talk of this spiritual wife system he <sup>90</sup> is as empty as an open sepulchre. If the coat suits any one, let him put it on. I would call the Devil my brother before such a man.

The idea of marrying for eternity is the seal of the covenant, and is easily understood; and as to speaking of it I could make all the world believe it, for it is noble and grand; it is necessary in consequence of the broken covenants in the world. I never saw any scripture but what<sup>91</sup> was written by Prophets to instruct and prepare mankind<sup>92</sup> for eternity. I read, that what God joins together let no man put asunder. I see magistrates and Priests in the world, but not one who is empowered<sup>93</sup> to join together by the authority of <sup>94</sup> God[;] nor yet have I seen<sup>95</sup> any priest that dare say that he has the authority of God; there is not a sectarian Priest in Christendom that dare say he has the authority by direct revelation from God<sup>96</sup>. When I look at the seal of the new<sup>97</sup> covenant and reflect that all<sup>98</sup> the covenants made by the authority of man<sup>99</sup> are only made to be in force<sup>100</sup> during the natural life<sup>101</sup>, and end<sup>102</sup> there[.] I rejoice that<sup>103</sup> what is done by the Lord has an endless duration. No marriage is valid<sup>104</sup> in the morn of the resurrection unless the marriage<sup>105</sup> covenant <sup>106</sup>be sealed on earth<sup>107</sup> by one

```
84. TB draft, 30: omits "from him"; JG draft, 3: "<will be taken from him.>" (TB)
```

<sup>85.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "if they wish"

<sup>86.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "like"; JG draft, 3: "\like/"

<sup>87.</sup> TB draft, 30: adds "is"; JG draft, 3: "is"

<sup>88.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "of you" with "one"; JG draft, 3: "one <of you>"

<sup>89.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "have the spirit to"; JG draft, 3: "<have the spirit to>" (TB)

<sup>90.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "he" with "a man"; JG draft, 3: "a man <he>"

<sup>91.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "but what"; JG draft, 3: "which <but what>" (TB)

<sup>92.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "was written ... mankind" with "or Prophet that wrote any thing"; JG draft, 3: "<to instruct & prepare mankind>" (TB)

<sup>93.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "is empowered" with "has power"; JG draft, 4: "has <is> \em/power\ed/" (TB)

<sup>94.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "the authority of"; JG draft, 4: "<the authority of>" (TB)

<sup>95.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "yet have I seen"; JG draft, 4: "<yet have I seen>"

<sup>96.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "by direct revelation from God"; JG draft, 4: "<br/>by direct revelation from God>" (TB)

<sup>97.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "new"; JG draft, 4: "<new>"

<sup>98.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "and reflect that all"; JG draft, 4: "<& reflect that all>" (TB)

<sup>99.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "made by the authority of man"; JG draft, 4: "<made by the authority of man>" (TB)

<sup>100.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "are only ... in force" with "is"

<sup>101.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "life" with "lives"; JG draft, 4: "life" overwrites "lives"

<sup>102.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "and end" with "but is an end"; JG draft, 4: "but <and> it ends"

<sup>103.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "I rejoice that" with "but"; JG draft, 4: "but <I rejoice that>"

<sup>104.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "marriage is valid" with "man is marr[ie]d."; JG draft, 4: "man is marri\age/ ["age" w.o. "ed"] <i valid>"

<sup>105.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "unless the marriage" with "but the seal of the"; JG draft, 4: "but the seal of the <unless the marriage>"

<sup>106.</sup> TB draft, 30: adds "must"; JG draft, 4: "must"

<sup>107.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "sealed on earth" with "joined"; JG draft, 4: "joined <sealed on earth>"

having the keys and power from the Almighty God to seal on earth, and it shall be bound in heaven 108. Such a sealing will 109 have full 110 effect in the morn of the resurrection.

Almost<sup>111</sup> every principle <sup>112</sup>that is communicated to us is made to have<sup>113</sup> an evil effect through the foolishness of some who seek to build up themselves, and destroy the truth of which they are ignorant<sup>114</sup>. O ye foolish Elders ye<sup>115</sup> are only sent into the world to preach the first principles of the gospel, faith,<sup>116</sup> repentance, <sup>117</sup>baptism<sup>118</sup> for the remission of <sup>119</sup>sins, and the laying on of hands for <sup>120</sup> the gift of the Holy Ghost. All the mysteries are to be taught in Nauvoo where they can be taught so as to be understood. No spiritual wife doctrine<sup>121</sup> ever originated with me.

God Almighty has given to us by Revelation<sup>122</sup> a plan of salvation, redemption, and deliverance, and the power and authority of the Holy Priesthood. Under the constitution of the Almighty God, every thing rightfully and lawfully<sup>123</sup> belongs to man if he fulfils the stipulated conditions<sup>124</sup>; and if a thing belongs to me legally it cannot belong to any one else<sup>125</sup>. I <sup>126</sup>married me a wife, and I am<sup>127</sup> the only man<sup>128</sup> who has<sup>129</sup> any right to her. <sup>130</sup>We had five children; the covenant was made for our lives. She fell into the grave before God showed us His order. God has shown me that the covenant is dead, and had no more force, neither could I have her in the resurrection, but we should be as the angels:—it troubled me. Brother Joseph said you can have her<sup>131</sup> sealed to you<sup>132</sup> upon the same principle

```
108. TB draft, 30: replaces "having the keys ... heaven" with "who has auth[orit]y in order to"; JG draft, 4: "who has authority in order to <having the keys ... heaven>"
```

<sup>109.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "Such a sealing will"; JG draft, 4: "<Such a sealing> \will/"

<sup>110.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "full"; JG draft, 4: "<full>"

<sup>111.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "Almost"; JG draft, 4: "<Almost>"

<sup>112.</sup> JG draft, 4: adds "<of salvation which has been revealed to us is misconstrued by foolish Elders who [will?] thereby produce an evil effect>"

<sup>113.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "is made to have" with "has"; JG draft, 4: "has <is made to have>"

<sup>114.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "through the foolishness ... ignorant"; JG draft, 4: "Elders < who seek to build ... ignorant>"

<sup>115.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "O ye foolish Elders" and replaces "ye" with "you"; JG draft, 4: "/O ye foolish Elders\you<e>"

<sup>116.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "faith"; JG draft, 4: "<faith>"

<sup>117.</sup> JG draft, 4: adds "and"

<sup>118.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "repentance, baptism" with "to repent & be bap[tize]d"

<sup>119.</sup> TB draft, 30: adds "their"

<sup>120.</sup> TB draft, 30: replaces "and the laying on of hands for" with "that they may receive"; JG draft, 4: "that they may receive "; JG dr

<sup>121.</sup> TB draft, 30: omits "doctrine"; JG draft, 4: "<doctrine>"

<sup>122.</sup> TB draft, 31: omits "by revelation"; JG draft, 4: "<by revelation>"

<sup>123.</sup> TB draft, 31: omits "rightfully and lawfully"; JG draft, 4, Book E-1, 1987 (darker ink): "<rightfully and lawfully>" (JG/JG)

<sup>124.</sup> TB draft, 31: adds "legally and lawfully" and omits "if he fulfills ... conditions"; JG draft, 4: "legally and lawfully <ri>rightfully if he fulfills ... conditions>"

<sup>125.</sup> TB draft, 31: omits "else"

<sup>126.</sup> JG draft, 4: adds "<have>"

<sup>127.</sup> TB draft, 31: replaces "am" with "was"; JG draft, 4: "was <am>"

<sup>128.</sup> TB draft, 31: replaces "man" with "one"; JG draft, 4: "one <man>"

<sup>129.</sup> TB draft, 31: replaces "has" with "had"; JG draft, 4: "had<s>"

<sup>130.</sup> TB draft, 31: adds "till"

<sup>131.</sup> TB draft, 31: replaces "have her" with "be"; JG draft, 4: "be <have her>"

<sup>132.</sup> TB draft, 31: replaces "you" with "her"; JG draft, 4: "her <you>"

as you can be baptized for the dead. I enquired<sup>133</sup> what can I do <sup>134</sup>for my second wife? He replied<sup>135</sup> you can also<sup>136</sup> make a covenant with her for eternity and have her<sup>137</sup> sealed to you<sup>138</sup> by the authority of the Priesthood. I named the subject to my present wife,<sup>139</sup> and she said "I will act as proxy for your wife<sup>140</sup> that is dead and I will be sealed to you for eternity myself<sup>141</sup>[,] for I never had my other husband. I love you and I do not want to be separated from you nor be forever alone in the world to come<sup>142</sup>."

If there is any man that has no more <sup>143</sup> sense, and will make a base <sup>144</sup> story of such a fact, his name shall be published[.] What honest man or woman can find fault with such a doctrine as this? None[.] <sup>145</sup> It is a doctrine not to be preached to <sup>146</sup> the *world*; but to the Saints who have obeyed the gospel and gathered to Zion. It is glad tidings of great joy. <sup>147</sup> The Lord has given to Joseph the power to <sup>148</sup> seal on earth and in heaven, those who are found worthy; having <sup>149</sup> the Spirit of Elijah and Elias he has power to seal with <sup>150</sup> a seal that shall never be broken, and it shall <sup>151</sup> be in force in the morn of the resurrection.

Talk about spiritual wives!<sup>152</sup> One that is dead and gone *is* spiritual. We will come up in the morn of the resurrection; and every soul that is saved will receive an eternal increase of glory<sup>153</sup>. Will you believe this, (loud shouts of aye)[.] Every great and<sup>154</sup> good principle should be taught to the Saints, but some<sup>155</sup> must not be taught to the world; until they are prepared to receive them<sup>156</sup>; it would be like casting pearls before swine.<sup>157</sup> <sup>158</sup>No man must

```
133. TB draft, 31: omits "I enquired"; JG draft, 4: "<I enquired>"
       134. TB draft, 31: "for more"; JG draft, 4: "more"
       135. TB draft, 31: omits "He replied"; JG draft, 4: "<He replied>"
       136. TB draft, 31: omits "also"; JG draft, 4: "<also>"
       137. TB draft, 31: omits "have her"
       138. TB draft, 31: replaces "you" with "her"
       139. TB draft, 31: omits "by the authority ... wife"; JG draft, 4: "<br/>by the authority ... wife,>"
       140. TB draft, 31: replaces "your wife" with "the one"; JG draft, 4: "the one <your wife>"
       141. TB draft, 31: omits "myself"; JG draft, 4: "<myself>"
       142. TB draft, 31: omits "for I never had any other ... to come"; JG draft, 4: "< for I never had any other ... to
come>"
       143. TB draft, 31: omits "more"; JG draft, 4: "<more>"
       144. TB draft, 31: replaces "a base" with "any"; JG draft, 4: "any <base>"
       145. TB draft, 31: omits "What honest ... None"; JG draft, 5, Book E-1, 1987: "<What honest ... None>"
(JG/JG)
       147. TB draft, 31: omits "but to the saints ... joy."; JG draft, 5: "<but to the saints ... joy.>"
       148. TB draft, 31: replaces "The Lord ... power to" with "there is a power to"; JG draft, 5: "there is a power to
<The Lord ... power> \to/"
       149. TB draft, 31: replaces "Those who are found ... having" with "how?"; JG draft, 5: "having < Those who
are found ... having>"
       150. TB draft, 31: omits "he has power to seal with"; JG draft, 5: "<he has power to seal with>"
       151. TB draft, 31: omits "it shall"
       152. TB draft, 31: omits "Talk about spiritual wives!"; JG draft, 5: "< Talk about spiritual wives—>"
       153. TB draft, 31: omits "will received ... glory"; JG draft, 5: "<will receive <an> eternal glory <increase> of
glory>"
       154. TB draft, 31: omits "great and"; JG draft, 5: "<great and>"
       155. TB draft, 31: omits "some"; JG draft, 5: "<some>"
       156. TB draft, 31: omits "until they are ... them"; JG draft, 5: "<until they are ... them>"
       157. TB draft, 31: omits "it would be like ... swine"; JG draft, 5: "<it would be like ... swine>"
       158. Book E-1, 1988, has a line and a half erased, which apparently was a repetition of a previous sentence:
```

{Every great and good principle should be taught to the Saints.}"

attempt<sup>159</sup> to preach them<sup>160</sup>. I believe every good<sup>161</sup> man should have<sup>162</sup> one wife in this life, and I know if I had two I should not know what to do with them<sup>163</sup>; they might quarrel about me, and I might get a whipping. One is enough, and I<sup>164</sup> warn all of you not to attempt it; if a man should begin to find you out, you would get into some cell in Alton. Be careful what you teach; if you say anything one thousand miles off, it comes here. There are God's spirits and the Devil's spirits, and some carry it.

If any man preach any false doctrine I shall disgrace him. God has commanded you to preach repentance to this generation; if this generation will not receive this Book of Mormon they<sup>165</sup> will have no greater; the remaining portion<sup>166</sup> is too strong for the people. The world has no faith; you are not commanded to preach anything but the first principles of the gospel. There are many things that are good and great to the Saints. Get the wife sealed to you167 that God and your country let you have, and if any brother hears any person preach such stuff wring his nose but168 look out or he may be stouter than you. No man would have more than one wife or they will join together and 169 beat him. If I was a woman, and got so fooled I would hide my head. I give the sisters leave to wring his nose who teach such stuff; I'll bear you out in it; give him justice. If I can't get you clear W. W. Phelps and the Constitutional 170 Congress can. Why don't you teach what God tells you to teach<sup>171</sup>, and tell nothing more; remember the young Prophet who prophesied against the altar of Jeroboam, and who afterwards got decoyed away, and was devoured by the lion. Just do what you are told to do; the day of choosing and anointing is nigh at hand, and every man who does his duty will have his endowment. A man who preaches anything contrary to what he is told, will not be blessed or anointed or endowed. It is the power of God that is going to convert the world; and 172 nothing but the power of God.

Every man who<sup>173</sup> knows me knows that I have taught these principles from the beginning. Brother Hyrum will live twenty years hence, and you will then find that I have spoken the truth. It is as much as you can do to get the people<sup>174</sup> to repent. We calculate to send out about one thousand of you—put one thousand Elders together and you can raise a heaven<sup>175</sup> on earth, and you will have a great deal of knowledge. We want every Elder<sup>176</sup> to be successful to bring his<sup>177</sup> ten, and when the house is dedicated we want to send out about ten thousand, in about a year and a half. The Savior was kind and merciful to the

```
159. Book E-1, 1988: "<No man must attempt>" (JG)
160. TB draft, 31: replaces "them" with "it"; JG draft, 5: "it <them>"
161. TB draft, 31: replaces "every good" with "if a"; JG draft, 5: "if a <every good>" (TB)
162. TB draft, 31: replaces "should have" with "has"; [G draft, 5: "<should> ha\ve/ ["ve" w.o. "s"]" (TB)
163. TB draft, 31: omits "with them"; JG draft, 5: "<with them>" (TB)
164. TB draft, 31: omits "I"
165. TB draft, 31: omits "they"
166. TB draft, 31: omits "portion"
167. TB draft, 31: omits "sealed to you"; JG draft, 5: "<sealed to you>" (TB)
168. TB draft, 31: omits "but"; JG draft, 5: "\but/"
169. TB draft, 31: omits "join together and"; JG draft, 5: "<join together and>"
170. TB draft, 31:"Continental < Constitutional>"
171. TB draft, 31: replaces "teach" with "tell"; JG draft, 5: "tell < teach>"
172. TB draft, 32: omits "and"; JG draft, 6: inserts "\&/" at boln
173. TB draft, 32: replaces "who" with "<that>"
174. TB draft, 32: replaces "people" with "them"; JG draft, 6: "them <people>" (TB)
175. JG draft, 6: "hell <heaven>" (TB)
176. JG draft, 6: "you <every Elder>" (TB)
177. TB draft, 32: replaces "his" with "you"; JG draft, 6: "you <his>" (TB)
```

publicans and harlots, and it requires Elders to have purity and virtue. We are in a different dispensation; it is the honest and pure in heart that will hearken to the everlasting covenant; they are those who are noble and good; <sup>178</sup>they that give you food, and clothe you. We want the honest in heart—the virtuous—the noble; we want the good seed gathered here. Let all men repent, and the Elders gather out the good seed, and bring it to Nauvoo.

We want you to understand that if you preach anything wrong, you will be published. We don't want bogus makers, counterfeiters, or preachers of the spiritual wife system. We shall see the wicked flee when no man pursueth. I want you to be wise <sup>179</sup>as serpents<sup>180</sup> and harmless as doves. Preach principles that will stand the test of ages; teach them good principles, and save souls. There is not so much difference in the world as you may suppose; take away their prejudices, and you sill find them nearly like yourselves. Go forth as men of God—be wise—and you will find good friends wherever you go; drink deep of the Spirit of Truth; a great and mighty work shall be wrought in the world; they are only waiting to hear the truth. Have a well ordered life and a godly conversation, when thousands and tens of thousands shall flock to the standard, and go up to Zion. Why? because they are good souls. Have the knowledge of truth drove into you like a broadside. I am serious in what I say, and it has the power of God with it. Spoke an hour and a half.

181 Sidney Rigdon concurred in his remarks. [...] 182
12 min. to 6, adjourned to April 9, at 8 a.m.

[Hyrum Smith Address: Abbreviated Version.]

<sup>183</sup>President Hyrum Smith called the conference to order at 25 minutes to four p.m., and spoke to the assembly one hour and a half.

He treated upon the subject of the Elders preaching abroad. He said it was a matter of consequence that the Elders of Israel should know what they were about when they go to preach the gospel. They should, like Paul, be ready to give a reason for the hope of their calling. When they are sent to preach the gospel, they should preach the gospel and nothing else, if they wish to stand approved themselves. The Elders are sent into the world to preach faith, repentance, baptism for the remission of sins, and the laying on of hands for the reception of the Holy Ghost, and they should let the mysteries alone.

God has commanded you to preach repentance to this generation, and if this generation will not receive the first principles of the gospel and the Book of Mormon they will receive nothing greater. Just go and do as you are told and God will bless you.

It is the power of God that is going to convert the world and nothing but the power of God. Every man who knows me knows that I have taught these principles from the beginning. It is the honest and pure in heart that will harken to the everlasting covenant; they are those who are noble and good, they will feed and clothe you and receive your testimony, and we want the Elders to gather out the good seed to Nauvoo. The day will come when you will

<sup>178.</sup> TB draft, 32: adds "he says"; JG draft, 6: "He says"

<sup>179.</sup> JG draft, 6: adds "stewards"

<sup>180.</sup> TB draft, 32: replaces "as serpents" with "servants"

<sup>181.</sup> This and next line not in JG draft, 7, but based on JSj [1844], 76 (WR) (APR, 469).

<sup>182.</sup> MSHiJS omits SR's remarks. See GCM, Bx 1, fd 20, MS pp. 32-33 [images 35-36] (TB).

<sup>183.</sup> Book E-1, 1984: adds "<[See addenda page 11]>" (LH). The next seven paragraphs are from Book E-1, Addenda, 11 (LH), and replace the previous canceled (bolded) text. It was added between 14 May 1856-8 July 1857 (see MSHi Chronology). *Source*: Based on JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, MS pp. 3-7 [images 51-59] (JG) (transcription in vol. 7, I.8, under date), which is an edited version of GCM, Bx 1, fd 20, MS pp. 30-33 [images 33-36] (TB). Hyrum Smith's sermon was abbreviated, and his discussion of the "spiritual wife system" omitted.

see the wicked flee when no man pursueth. I want you to be wise as serpents and harmless as doves; preach principles that will stand the test of ages; teach them good precepts and save souls; go forth as men of God and you will find friends wherever you go. Drink deep of the Spirit of Truth and a great and mighty work shall be wrought in the world; hundreds and tens of thousands shall flock to the standard and go up to Zion.

Many other remarks were made by the speaker.

 $^{184} A fter$  which Sidney Rigdon made a few remarks and concurred in what br[other]. Hyrum had said. [...]  $^{185}$ 

12 minutes to 6 adjourned to April 9th, at 8 o'clock a.m.

<sup>186</sup>Trees begin to look green.

#### [Special Meeting of Elders.]

 $^{187}$ Tuesday, 9.—At 8 a.m. the Elders assembled at the stand (President B[righam]. Young presiding) $^{188}$  and were addressed by Elder Amasa Lyman [...] $^{189}$ , after  $^{190}$ which President B[righam]. Young said:

#### [Address of Brigham Young.]

<sup>191</sup>What has been given is correct; the speech and conduct of Elders one towards another is frequently wrong<sup>192</sup>; one Elder will speak evil of another, and while you undertake to<sup>193</sup> trample others<sup>194</sup> you will sink yourself. A man has sinking principles; but if his feelings are elevated, he will build up others and build up himself; just as sure as one Elder tries to build himself upon<sup>195</sup> the destruction of another he will surely sink himself.

I would like to sit and hear the brethren teach<sup>196</sup> for a week, but as business is pressing, we must hurry through. Preach repentance to this generation; faith must go before repentance, and of course all men<sup>197</sup> must follow the course and obey the<sup>198</sup> laws and ordinances<sup>199</sup> for the remission of sins, so as to receive the gift of the Holy Ghost, and then your mission is done.

<sup>184.</sup> This and next line based on JSj [1844], 76 (WR) (APR, 469).

<sup>185.</sup> MSHiJS omits SR's remarks. See GCM, Bx 1, fd 20, MS pp. 32-33 [images 35-36] (TB).

<sup>186.</sup> Book E-1, 1991, cancels this line; omitted in *DN* and DHC. *Source*: CHOj 1:6, 8 Apr. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.12).

<sup>187.</sup> *Source*: This introductory paragraph is based on JSj [1844], 77 (WR) (*APR*, 469). For the remainder of the conference minutes for the morning session of 9 Apr. 1844, featuring the sermons of B. Young, H. Smith, and H. C. Kimball, RDft 8:31 directs scribe to copy JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, MS pp. 7-11 [images 59-67] (JG), which drew on GCM, fd 20, MS pp. 34-40 [images 38-44] (TB). Cf. WWj, vol. 4, 9 Apr. 1844 (*WWj* 2:389-91).

<sup>188.</sup> Book E-1, 1991 (darker ink): "<(President ... Presiding)>" (LH)

<sup>189.</sup> MSHiJS omits A. Lyman's sermon. See GCM, fd 20, MS p. 34 [image 38] (TB).

<sup>190.</sup> Book E-1, 1991: adds erasure of about two words

<sup>191.</sup> Source: B. Young's sermon is from JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, MS pp. 7-8 [images 59-61] (JG), which is an edited version of GCM, fd 20, pp. 34-35 [images 38-39] (TB). Cf. JSj [1844], 77 (WR) (APR, 469); WWj, vol. 4, 9 Apr. 1844 (WWj 2:390).

<sup>192.</sup> TB draft, 34: omits "is frequently wrong"

<sup>193.</sup> DHC 6:321: omits "undertake to"

<sup>194.</sup> TB draft, 34: "ano[the]r"

<sup>195.</sup> Book E-1, 1991: "on"

<sup>196.</sup> TB draft, 34: replaces "the brethren teach" with "one another talk"; JG draft, 7: " $\frac{1}{1}$  one another talk < the brethren teach > "

<sup>197.</sup> TB draft, 34: omits "all men"; JG draft, 7: "<all men>"

<sup>198.</sup> TB draft, 34: replaces "and obey the" with "of"; JG draft, 7: "of <and obey the>"

<sup>199.</sup> TB draft, 34: omits "and ordinances"; JG draft, 7: "<and ordinances>"

Let a man who goes into the vineyard build up all he can. If a man preaches anything in error, pray to God that no man may remember it any more. No Elder will correct another in public before unbelievers unless<sup>200</sup> he has the sinking principle. I call all the Elders together to witness that I <sup>201</sup>always use charity, for it covers a multitude of sins.

Let us obey<sup>202</sup> the proclamation of Joseph Smith concerning the Elders going forth into the vineyard, to build up the Temple, get their endowments and be prepared to go forth and preach the gospel. You may build up Zion and<sup>203</sup> learn to be men and not children. It was a perfect sweepstakes when the Prophet called North and South America Zion. Let us go to and build the Temple with all our mights<sup>204</sup> that we may build up the kingdom when established and her cords lengthened. It is a perfect knock-down to the devil's kingdom. There is not a faithful<sup>205</sup> Elder who cannot if he is humble and diligent<sup>206</sup> build up the<sup>207</sup> church; there are<sup>208</sup> many men <sup>209</sup>will give you large sums to build a stake of Zion where they live<sup>210</sup>; it proves the words of the Prophet of the<sup>211</sup> last days.

The priesthood is fitted to every capacity in the world; there are blessings and conditions in that priesthood that suit every man; this will suit the condition of thousands, because it is as broad as the heavens, deep as hell and<sup>212</sup> wide as eternity.

I am asked all sorts of questions about making Gods and devils and organizing the eternal worlds, but we could not get it precisely into our understandings so as to make them; <sup>213</sup>the God we serve is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. There is no need of breaking the law of the land if you keep the law of the Lord. I want a wife that can take care of my children when I am away, who can pray, lay on hands, anoint with oil, and baffle the enemy, and this is a spiritual wife.

The sweepstakes is a perfect knock-down to the devil. We will build up<sup>214</sup> the<sup>215</sup> churches and establish Zion and her stakes<sup>216</sup>; this is a fire which<sup>217</sup> cannot be put out; it has spread far faster than ever it<sup>218</sup> did before; if you kick us and cuff us we will turn the world upside down, and make the cart draw the horse. We want to build the Temple and have the roof on this fall, in the name of Israel's God. There are hundreds of Elders who will sell their

216. TB draft, 35: omits "and her stakes"; JG draft, 8: "<and her stakes>"

215. DHC 6:322: omits "the"

217. JG draft, 8: "and <which>"
218. TB draft, 35: replaces "it" with "we"

<sup>200.</sup> TB draft, 34: replaces "before unbelievers unless" with "without"; JG draft, 7: "without <before unbelievers unless>" 201. TB draft, 34: adds "would"; JG draft, 7: "would" 202. TB draft, 34: omits "Let us obey"; JG draft, 7: "<Let us obey>" 203. TB draft, 34: omits "and"; JG draft, 7: "<and>" 204. DHC 6:321: "might" 205. TB draft, 34: omits "faithful"; JG draft, 7: "an <faithful>" 206. TB draft, 34: omits "if he is humble and diligent"; JG draft, 7: "<if he is humble and diligent>" 207. TB draft, 34, JG draft, 7: replace "the" with "a" 208. TB draft, 34: replaces "there are" with "how"; JG draft, 7: "how <there are>" (TB) 209. DHC 6:321: adds "who" 210. TB draft, 34: replaces "as stake of Zion where they live" with "there"; JG draft, 7: "<a stake of Zion where> the\y/ ["y" w.o. "re"] <live>" 211. JG draft, 7: "<the>" 212. TB draft, 34: omits "and"; JG draft, 8: "<&>" 213. TB draft, 35: "if we c♦♦♦s th" 214. TB draft, 35: "<up>"

property<sup>219</sup> to build the Temple; let us<sup>220</sup> pay up our tithing; if there are any<sup>221</sup> men who have not paid their tithing, they<sup>222</sup> will not get in there. Let the branches send teams with provisions to work all the year.

We are acquainted with the views of Gen. Smith, the democrats and Whigs and all factions. It is now time to have a President of the United States. Elders will be sent to preach the gospel and electioneer; the government belongs to God; no man can draw the dividing line between the government of God and the government of the children of men. You can't touch the gospel without infringing upon the common avocations of men; they may have helps and governments in the church, but it is all one at last.

#### [Address of Patriarch Hyrum Smith.]

<sup>224</sup>Patriarch Hyrum Smith said: I never knew a<sup>225</sup> proclamation to be understood at once. Pres[iden]t. B[righam]. Young wished to draw the attention of the brethren<sup>226</sup>, first to build the Temple and get your washings, <sup>227</sup>anointings, and endowments; after that to build up branches throughout the nations. We must do all we can to build up<sup>228</sup> the Temple, and after that to build up<sup>229</sup> churches. The gathering will continue here until the Temple is so far finished that the Elders can get their<sup>230</sup> endowments, and after that the gathering will be from the nations to <sup>231</sup>North and South America, which is<sup>232</sup> the land of Zion. North and South America are the symbols of the wings; the gathering from the old countries will always be to headquarters, and I have no doubt this conference will do a great deal of good.

We have every power and principle to teach the people. Say what God says and say no more; never deviate one fraction from what God tells you. Elder Rigdon's remarks were very correct; give out the simple principles; a man never fails who only says what he knows; and if any man says more and can't give reasons, he falls short. Preach the first principles of the gospel<sup>233</sup>—preach them over again; you<sup>234</sup> will find that<sup>235</sup> day after day new ideas and additional light concerning them will be revealed to you<sup>236</sup>. You can enlarge upon them<sup>237</sup> so as

```
219. JG draft, 8: "<their property>" (TB)
```

<sup>220.</sup> TB draft, 35: omits "let us"

<sup>221.</sup> TB draft, 35: replaces "are any" with "is some"

<sup>222.</sup> TB draft, 35: omits "they"

<sup>223.</sup> JG draft, 8: "<and>"

<sup>224.</sup> Source: H. Smith's sermon is from JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, MS pp. 8-10 [images 61-65] (JG) (transcription in vol. 7, I.8, under date), which is an edited version of GCM, fd 20, pp. 35-36 [images 39-40] (TB). Cf. JSj [1844], 77 (WR) (APR, 469).

<sup>225.</sup> TB draft, 35, JG draft, 8: replace "a" with "one"; Book E-1, 1994 (darker ink): "one \a/" (US)

<sup>226.</sup> TB draft, 35: omits "of the brethren"

<sup>227.</sup> JG draft, 8: adds "and"

<sup>228.</sup> TB draft, 35: omits "up"

<sup>229.</sup> DHC 6:322: omits "up"

<sup>230.</sup> TB draft, 35: replaces "is so far finished ... their" with "has its"; JG draft, 8: "has its <is so far finished ... their>" (TB)

<sup>231.</sup> TB draft, 35: adds "the"; JG draft, 8: "the"

<sup>232.</sup> TB draft, 35: omits "which is"; JG draft, 9: "<which is>"

<sup>233.</sup> TB draft, 35: omits "of the gospel"; JG draft, 9: "<of the gospel>"

<sup>234.</sup> TB draft, 35: replaces "you" with "a man"; JG draft, 9: "a man <you>"

<sup>235.</sup> TB draft, 35: omits "that"; JG draft, 9: "<that>"

<sup>236.</sup> TB draft, 35: replaces "new ideas ... to you" with "first things"; JG draft, 9: "first things <new ideas ... to you>"

<sup>237.</sup> TB draft, 35: replaces "them" with "it"; JG draft, 9: "it <them>"

to comprehend them clearly<sup>238</sup>. You will then be able<sup>239</sup> <sup>240</sup>to make them<sup>241</sup> more plainly<sup>242</sup> understood by those you teach<sup>243</sup>, so that you will meet with<sup>244</sup> scarcely any honest man but will <sup>245</sup>obey them, and none who can oppose<sup>246</sup>. Adduce sufficient reason to prove all things, and you can convert every honest man in the world. The knowledge of <sup>247</sup> the gospel of Jesus Christ is not prevalent in the world, although it is written in the Holy Book; you can prove it by the Holy Book they profess to believe in, and your arguments will be<sup>248</sup> so strong and<sup>249</sup> convincing that people will hear and obey<sup>250</sup> it by thousands. The Savior says that to you it is given to know the mysteries of God, but to the world it is not given<sup>251</sup>; you have power; you are authorized to put down <sup>252</sup>every foolish thing you hear; a wise man will put it out of existence as he goes along, for light cleaveth unto light, knowledge to knowledge, and<sup>253</sup> intelligence to intelligence<sup>254</sup>.

We engage in the election the<sup>255</sup> same as in<sup>256</sup> any other principle; you are to vote for good men, and if you do not do this it is <sup>257</sup>sin; to vote for wicked men it would be sin. Choose the good and refuse the evil; men of false<sup>258</sup> principles have preyed upon us like wolves upon helpless lambs<sup>259</sup>. Damn the rod of tyranny; curse it; let every man use his liberties according to the Constitution. Don't fear man or devil; electioneer with all people, male and female, and exhort them<sup>260</sup> to do the thing that is right. We want a President of the U.S.<sup>261</sup>, not a party President but a President of the whole people<sup>262</sup>, for a party President<sup>263</sup> disfranchises the opposite<sup>264</sup> party; have a President who will maintain every man in his rights.

```
238. TB draft, 35: replaces "them clearly" with "it verily"; JG draft, 9: "it verily <them clearly>"
```

<sup>239.</sup> TB draft, 35: replaces "You will then be able" with "so as"; JG draft, 9: "so as < You will <then > be able >"

<sup>240.</sup> Book E-1, 1994: adds ellipses over erasure of probably "more plainly"

<sup>241.</sup> TB draft, 35: replaces "them" with "it"; JG draft, 9: "it <them>"

<sup>242.</sup> Book E-1, 1994: "<more plainly>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>243.</sup> TB draft, 35: omits "understood by those you teach"; JG draft, 9: "plain <plainly understood by those you teach>"

<sup>244.</sup> TB draft, 35: omits "you will meet with"; JG draft, 9: "<you may <will> meet with>"

<sup>245.</sup> TB draft, 35: adds "not"

<sup>246.</sup> TB draft, 35: replaces "them, and none who can oppose" with "it"; JG draft, 9: " $\pm$  <them, and none who can oppose>"

<sup>247.</sup> TB draft, 35: omits "The knowledge of"; JG draft, 9: "<The knowledge of>"

<sup>248.</sup> TB draft, 35: omits "and your arguments will be"; JG draft, 9: "<and your arguments will be>"

<sup>249.</sup> JG draft, 9: "in <and>"

<sup>250.</sup> TB draft, 35: omits "and obey"; JG draft, 9: "<and obey>"

<sup>251.</sup> TB draft, 35: replaces "it is not given" with "&c."

<sup>252.</sup> TB draft, 35: adds "errors"; JG draft, 9: "errors"

<sup>253.</sup> JG draft, 9: "<and>"

<sup>254.</sup> TB draft, 36: replaces "and intelligence to intelligence" with "&c."

<sup>255.</sup> TB draft, 36, JG draft, 9: omit "the"; Book E-1, 1995: "<the>" (pos. LH)

<sup>256.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "in"; JG draft, 9: "<in>"

<sup>257.</sup> DHC 6:322: adds "a"

<sup>258.</sup> TB draft, 36: replaces "men of false" with "all"; JG draft, 9: "all <men of false>"

<sup>259.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "upon helpless lambs"; JG draft, 9: "<upon their prey helpless lambs>"

<sup>260.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "and exhort them"

<sup>261.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "of the U.S."; JG draft, 9: "<of the U.S>"

<sup>262.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "but a President of the whole people"; JG draft, 9: "<br/>but a President of the whole people>"

<sup>263.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "President"; JG draft, 9: "<President>" (TB)

<sup>264.</sup> TB draft, 36: replaces "opposite" with "o[the]r."; JG draft, 9: "other <opposite>"

I wish all of you<sup>265</sup> to do all the good you can; we will try to<sup>266</sup> convert the nations into one solid union. I despise the principle that divides the nation into party and faction; I want it to grow up like a green bay tree. Damn the system of splitting up the nation into<sup>267</sup> opposing<sup>268</sup> belligerent parties<sup>269</sup>; whatever<sup>270</sup> are the rights of men guaranteed by the Constitution<sup>271</sup> of these United States, let them have them<sup>272</sup>; then if we were all in Union, no one dare attempt to put a warlike foot<sup>273</sup> on our soil. I don't like to see the rights of Americans trampled down; I am opposed to the policy of <sup>274</sup> all such persons<sup>275</sup> as would allow Great Britain or<sup>276</sup> any other power<sup>277</sup> to take from us<sup>278</sup> Oregon <sup>279</sup>or any portion of our national Territory<sup>280</sup>, and damn all who attempt it. Lift up your voices like thunder; there is power and influence enough among us<sup>281</sup> to put in a President. I don't wonder at the old Carthagenian lawyer being afraid of Joseph Smith being elected.

 $^{282}$ [A $^{283}$   $^{284}$ unanimous vote  $^{285}$ was passed by the immense assembly $^{286}$  for Joseph Smith to be the candidate for $^{287}$  the next $^{288}$  President. $^{289}$ ]

#### [Address of Heber C. Kimball.]

<sup>290</sup>Elder Heber C. Kimball arose and<sup>291</sup> said:—What br[other]. Hyrum has told you

```
265. TB draft, 36: omits "of you"; JG draft, 9: "<of you>"
```

<sup>266.</sup> DHC 6:323: replaces "to" with "and"

<sup>267.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "system of splitting ... into"; JG draft, 9: "<system of splitting ... into>"

<sup>268.</sup> DHC 6:323: "opposite"

<sup>269.</sup> TB draft, 36: replaces "parties" with "powers"; JG draft, 10: "powers <parties>"

<sup>270.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "ever"; JG draft, 10: "what<ever>"

<sup>271.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "of men ... Constitution"; JG draft, 10: "<of men ... Constitution>"

<sup>272.</sup> TB draft, 36: replaces "them" with "it"; JG draft, 10: "it <them>"

<sup>273.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "a warlike foot"; JG draft, 10: "<a warlike foot>" (TB)

<sup>274.</sup> TB draft, 36: replaces "am opposed to the policy of" with "damn"; JG draft, 10: " $\frac{1}{100}$ " am opposed to the policy of>"

<sup>275.</sup> TB draft, 36: "things <persons>"

<sup>276.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "Great Britain or"; JG draft, 10: "< Great Redeemer or>"

<sup>277.</sup> TB draft, 36: replaces "other power" with "one"; JG draft, 10: "one <other power>"

<sup>278.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "from us"; JG draft, 10: "<from us>"

<sup>279.</sup> JG draft, 10: adds "<<del>from us</del>>"

<sup>280.</sup> TB draft, 36: replaces "portion of our national Territory" with "other place"; JG draft, 10: "other place <portion of our National Territory>"

<sup>281.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "among us"; JG draft, 10: "<among us>"

<sup>282.</sup> Brackets appear in DN and DHC 6:324; parentheses in TB draft, 36, and JG draft, 10.

<sup>283.</sup> TB draft, 36: replaces "A" with "the"; JG draft, 10: "The <A>"

<sup>284.</sup> TB draft, 36: adds "clearest & biggest vote & the most"; JG draft, 10: "clearest and biggest vote and the most"

<sup>285.</sup> TB draft, 36: adds "that ever"; JG draft, 10: "that ever"

<sup>286.</sup> TB draft, 36: replaces "by the immense assembly" with "in the world went"; JG draft, 10: "in the world, went <br/>by the immense assembly for>"

<sup>287.</sup> TB draft, 36, JG draft, 10: omit "the candidate for"

<sup>288.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "the next"; JG draft, 10: "<the next>"

<sup>289.</sup> Book E-1, 1996 (darker ink): "... to be the next President \" \( \text{Vandidate for the next President/" (US)} \)

<sup>290.</sup> Source: H. C. Kimball's sermon is from JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, MS pp. 10–11 [images 65–67] (JG) (transcription in vol. 7, I.8, under date), which is an edited version of GCM, fd 20, pp. 36 [images 40] (TB). TB's draft is sketchy with large portions of text inserted interlinearly and includes the following note: "<[HCK] will put this into proper order>" (TB). Revision continued with JG's draft, including significant insertion of text. Cf. JSj [1844], 77 (WR) (APR, 469).

<sup>291.</sup> JG draft, 10: "<arose and>"

is God's truth, and will eventually come to pass.<sup>292</sup> As he<sup>293</sup> was making his observations to the Elders<sup>294</sup> it made me think of the first time that I went out into the vineyard to preach; I dwelt on one subject till it branched out<sup>295</sup> like unto a tree that was cultivated until the branches shot forth in all directions<sup>296</sup>. Suppose you had only one<sup>297</sup> seed to plant, and that seed was an acorn<sup>298</sup>, and you<sup>299</sup> spend <sup>300</sup>your time in cultivating it till it comes forth a great and mighty tree, branching forth<sup>301</sup> with many branches and bearing fruit<sup>302</sup> abundantly after its own kind<sup>303</sup>. <sup>304</sup>So it is with the first principles of the gospel, they branch out in all directions unfolding new light continually<sup>305</sup>; they are eternal principles<sup>306</sup>. <sup>307</sup> I never preached anything else but the first principles; when first we went to England we preached nothing else<sup>308</sup>, and never even<sup>309</sup> touched on the gathering, <sup>310</sup> as there was no place of gathering, the church having been driven from Jackson county and also from Kirtland, and the Prophets, Patriarchs, Apostles and Saints were wandering in the wilderness seeking for a home<sup>311</sup>; but as soon as the people<sup>312</sup> were baptized<sup>313</sup> and received the Holy Ghost<sup>314</sup>, the most of them<sup>315</sup> had the spirit of prophecy, and prophesied of coming to this land, as being the land of Zion<sup>316</sup>, and the time would come that they should<sup>317</sup> come here<sup>318</sup>, yet we never taught the doctrine of<sup>319</sup> the gathering or Book of Doctrines<sup>320</sup> and Covenants<sup>321</sup>.

```
292. TB draft, 36: omits preceding sentence; JG draft, 10: "<What Bro[the]r. Hyrum has said <told you> is God's truth, and will <eventually> come to pass.>"

293. TB draft, 36: replaces "he" with "Pres Smith"; JG draft, 10: "President <Hyrum> Smith <he>"
294. JG draft, 10: "<to the Elders>"
295. DHC 6:324: omits "out"
296. TB draft, 36: "ike unto a Tree ... shoot forth>" and omits "in all directions"; JG draft, 10: "<in all directions>"
297. TB draft, 36: omits "one"
298. TB draft, 36: "<& that seed was an acorn>"
299. TB draft, 36: "/you\"
```

302. Book E-1, 1997: "\fruit/" (pos. RLC)

300. TB draft, 36: adds "all"; JG draft, 10: "all"

303. TB draft, 36: omits "with many branches ... own kind"; JG draft, 10: "<with many branches, and bearing fruit <abundantly> of its kind \after/ ["after" w.o. "of"] its own kind>"

304. TB draft, 36: adds "&"; JG draft, 10: "and"

305. TB draft, 36: omits "unfolding new light continually"; JG draft, 10: "<unfolding new light continually>"

306. JG draft, 10: "\they/ ["they" w.o. "it"] is an <are> eternal principle\s/"

307. TB draft, 36: "<& so it is with ... it is an eternal prin[ciple]:>"

308. TB draft, 36: replaces "else" with "but the 1st prin[ciples]"

301. TB draft, 36: "<till it comes forth ... branching forth>"

309. TB draft, 36: omits "even"; JG draft, 10: "<even>"

310. TB draft, 36: "<when first we ... on the gathering>"

311. TB draft, 36: omits "as there was no place ... home"; preceding text ("as there was no place ... home") replaced in JG draft, 10, with "<(No 1)>"; this note has not been located.

312. TB draft, 36: replaces "the people" with "they"; JG draft, 10: "they <people>"

313. TB draft, 36: "<but as soon as they were bap[tize]d.>"

314. TB draft, 36: omits "and received the Holy Ghost"; JG draft, 10, Book E-1, 1997: "<and received the Holy Ghost>" (JG/RLC)

315. TB draft, 36: replaces "the most of them" with "they all"; JG draft, 10: "they all <most of them>"

316. TB draft, 36: replaces "Zion" with "promise"; JG draft, 10: "Promise < Zion>"

317. TB draft, 36: "wo[ul]d."; JG draft, 10: "w<sh>ould"

318. TB draft, 36: "<as being the Land ... here>"

319. TB draft, 36: omits "the doctrine of"

320. DHC 6:324: "Doctrine"

321. TB draft, 36: "<Book of> Doctrine & \Covenants/"

If you tell the people to stay, they will gather here stronger than ever. If you want<sup>322</sup> to cut anything off, you should know how to restore; you should never cut off the ears of the people until you are able to make them others.<sup>323</sup> It is no<sup>324</sup> matter what way you convert them, so that you convert them to believe the doctrines of the very Bible they have always professed to believe<sup>325</sup>. It is no use attempting to teach them other things until you can make them believe the principles contained in the Bible which they have been taught to reverence and believe from their infancy. It teaches the gathering and all the principles of the gospel necessary to be taught to the unbelieving world.<sup>326</sup> This is the thrashing floor where the wheat is gathered to be thrashed<sup>327</sup>; there are a great many green heads, and they of course have to be pelted a little harder<sup>328</sup>. After the wheat is thrashed it has<sup>329</sup> to go through the fanning-mill<sup>330</sup>, and then the screen, and then the smut-mill<sup>331</sup>; then it has<sup>332</sup> to be ground, and to be bolted<sup>333</sup>, but many *bolt* away and leave<sup>334</sup>. If you get a cudgeling don't be mad, for your heads are green. We are going<sup>335</sup> to arrange a plan<sup>336</sup> for conferences <sup>337</sup> and we design to send Elders to all the<sup>338</sup> different States<sup>339</sup> to<sup>340</sup> get up meetings and protracted meetings, and electioneer for Joseph to be the next President<sup>341</sup>.

<sup>342</sup>A great many of the Elders will necessarily have to leave their families, and the mothers will have to assume the responsibility of governing and taking care of the children to a much greater extent than when their husbands were at home. I therefore exhort them to be humble, faithful and diligent, seeking to the Lord for wisdom to rear up their children in righteousness and prepare them to roll on the work of the Lord, when their fathers<sup>343</sup> shall have been worn out in the ministry. The mothers, therefore, are the persons who will more or less have to train the children.

<sup>344</sup>20 minutes to 11.—A call was made for the volunteers to go preaching to pass out

<sup>322.</sup> TB draft, 36: replaces "you want" with "a man wants"

<sup>323.</sup> TB draft, 36: "<you should never cut ... others.>"

<sup>324.</sup> TB draft, 36: "\is/ d[oe]s. not"

<sup>325.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "believe the doctrines", "very", and "they have always ... believe"; JG draft, 10: "<believe the doctrines> the <very> Bible <they have always ... believe>"

<sup>326.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "It is no use ... world"; Preceding text ("It is no use ... world") replaced in JG draft, 10, with "<(No 3)>", which has not been located.

<sup>327.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "where the wheat ... thrashed"; JG draft, 10: "<where the wheat ... thrashed>"

<sup>328.</sup> TB draft, 36: "heads green" and omits "and they of course ... harder"; JG draft, 10: "heads green <<heads> and they of course ... harder>"

<sup>329.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "the wheat is thrashed it has"

<sup>330.</sup> TB draft, 36: "Smut mill"; JG draft, 10: "smut <fanning> mill"

<sup>331.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "then the screen and then the" and reads "Fanning mill"; JG draft, 10: "fanning <then the screen & then the smutt> mill"

<sup>332.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "it has"

<sup>333.</sup> TB draft, 36: "& going to be bolt"

<sup>334.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "and leave"; JG draft, 10: "<and leave>"

<sup>335.</sup> TB draft, 36: replaces "are going" with "want"; JG draft, 10: "want <are going>"

<sup>336.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "a plan"; JG draft, 10: "<a plan>"

<sup>337.</sup> TB draft, 36: adds "& Elders"

<sup>338.</sup> TB draft, 36: omits "all the"; JG draft, 10: "<all the>"

<sup>339.</sup> TB draft, 36: replaces "States" with "Branches"; JG draft, 10: "branches < States>"

<sup>340.</sup> TB draft, 36: replaces "to" with "go &"

<sup>341.</sup> TB draft, 36: replaces "for Joseph to be the next President" with "there"; JG draft, 11: "there  $\leq$  for Joseph to be the next President"

<sup>342.</sup> Except for last sentence, JG draft, 11, replaces this paragraph with "<(No 2)>"; this note has not been located. It is apparently an expansion of the last sentence, which appears in TB draft, 36, as follows: "The mothers are the persons who train the children." The sentence was copied in JG draft, 11, but canceled.

<sup>343.</sup> Book E-1, 1998: "father"

<sup>344.</sup> Source: Following four paragraphs from JSj [1844], 78 (WR) (APR, 469-70), with light editing. Deleted

to the green. A great company moved<sup>345</sup> out and then returned to their seats on the right of the stand, and the names of those who could go six months were first taken, then three months, &c., and were numbered 244, which were read and corrected.<sup>346</sup>

W[illiam]. W. Phelps made a few remarks in relation to principles. 347

20 minutes to 1.—Adjourned for one hour.

P.M. 348 Met according to adjournment. The names of the volunteers were called and places assigned to each<sup>349</sup>.

# [President Brigham Young's Instruction to the Elders.]

<sup>350</sup>President B[righam]. Young said: Take care of yourselves, be wise, be humble and you will prosper.<sup>351</sup> I curse all who degrade themselves with corruption and licentiousness<sup>352</sup> as many have done. 353 Magnify your calling, keep yourselves pure and innocent, and your path shall be 354 clear as the horizon. We have all manner of prejudices to contend with<sup>355</sup>; we thank God for the gospel, the Book of Mormon and the Temple, and sing glory to God; and yet there are 356 characters among us who from mere covetousness<sup>357</sup> will squeeze a sixpence two inches long, and<sup>358</sup> we have all their iniquity to bear.

We have the honor to be the first fruits of this dispensation and have to 359 contend with floods of oppression. Go humbly and prayerfully, trusting and believing in God, and what you desire to do, you will accomplish<sup>360</sup>. Cease not to ask the Father what you shall do, and he will give you the Spirit; you know not the day of your visitation. What is asked for in the name of Jesus Christ will be granted. J. C. Bennett's power fell like the lightning. God<sup>361</sup> was asked not to let Jo[e] Duncan be governor, and it<sup>362</sup> was so. We asked the Lord to deliver us from Gov[ernor]. Reynolds, of Missouri, 363 and he shot himself and has 364 gone

material supplied here in bold type.

345. JSj [1844], 78: replaces "moved" with "walked"

- 346. See GCM, Bx 1, fd 20, MS pp. 37-39 [images 41-43] (TB), for a list of the names and mission destinations of these 244 volunteers.
  - 347. See GCM, Bx 1, fd 20, MS pp. 40 [images 44] (TB), for brief account of WWP's remarks.
  - 348. DHC 6:325: omits "P.M."
  - 349. JSi [1844], 78: replaces "to each" with "for their mission"
- 350. Source: For B. Young's instructions, RDft 8:31 instructs scribe to copy JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, MS p. 11 [image 67] (JG) (transcription in vol. 7, I.8, under date), which is a revised version of GCM, Bx 1, fd 20, MS p. 40 [image 44] (TB). Cf. JSj [1844], 79 (WR) (APR, 470); WWj, vol. 4, 8 Apr. 1844 (WWj 2:290).
  - 351. TB draft, 40: omits "and you will prosper"; JG draft, 11: "<and you will prosper> and"
  - 352. TB draft, 40: omits "with corruption and licentiousness"; JG draft, 11: "<with corruption and licentiousness>"
  - 353. TB draft, 40: adds "bef[ore]: but"; JG draft, 11: "before; but"
  - 354. TB draft, 40: omits "keep yourselves pure ... shall be"; JG draft, 11: "<and keep yourselves pure ... shall be>"
  - 355. TB draft, 40: omits "to contend with"; JG draft, 11: "<to contend with>"
  - 356. TB draft, 40: replaces "there are" with "those very"; JG draft, 11: "those very <there are>"
  - 357. TB draft, 40: omits "among us who ... covetousness"; JG draft, 11: "<among us who ... covetousness>"
  - 358. TB draft, 40: omits "and"; JG draft, 11: "<and>"
- 359. TB draft, 40: replaces "of this dispensation and have to" with "we"; JG draft, 11: "<of this dispensation & have to > we"
  - 360. TB draft, 40: replaces "accomplish" with "do it"; JG draft, 11: "do it <accomplish>"
  - 361. Book E-1, 1999: "God | \God/" (pos. GAS)
  - 362. TB draft, 40: replaces "it" with "he"
- 363. Book E-1, 1999: "God was sought to ask him to assist us from Gov. Reynolds < we asked the Lord to deliver us from Gov Reynolds of Mo.>" (pos. GAS)
  - 364. Book E-1, 1999: "is < shot himself and has>" (pos. GAS)

to hell. 365 As for 366 Squire Warren, of Quincy, it takes three 367 of him to make a shadow 368.

The Lord<sup>369</sup> is cutting off the <sup>370</sup>bitterest branches. Look<sup>371</sup> at the explosion of the big gun on board of the *Princeton* war-steamer<sup>372</sup> at Washington. <sup>373</sup>God will deliver his faithful Saints. You will be innocent and do a good work; you will<sup>374</sup> come back and bring your sheaves with you<sup>375</sup> rejoicing. Every man has the privilege<sup>376</sup> of practicing godliness and<sup>377</sup> virtue, and of<sup>378</sup> manifesting himself as a servant of the Most High God. D[octo]r. Foster lost his money by gambling and joined blacklegs. Those men who say there is evil in the church<sup>379</sup> are evil themselves; this doctrine is the best for any man to practice and will do him<sup>380</sup> good. Ask of God that you may have wisdom to do<sup>381</sup> all things. If you hear anything of an Elder preaching false doctrine, ask of God in full faith that it may be taken <sup>382</sup>off the minds of the people. **There will be no more General Conferences held here until the Temple is completed.**<sup>383</sup>

<sup>384</sup>A contribution was taken up for me<sup>385</sup>; \$100 was raised, and another \$100 loaned.

<sup>386</sup>The weather has been beautiful for the Conference and they have been the greatest, best, and most glorious five consecutive days ever enjoyed by this generation; much good was done. Many spectators were present from Quincy, Alton, Warsaw, Fort Madison and other towns. When we consider the immense

```
365. Preceding sentence in TB draft, 40, and JG draft, 11, read: "God was sought to ask him to assist us from the Govr. Reynolds & he is gone to hell".
```

<sup>366.</sup> TB draft, 40: omits "As for"

<sup>367.</sup> DHC 6:326: replaces "three" with "two"

<sup>368.</sup> TB draft, 40, JG draft, 11: add "he is dying"; Book E-1, 1999: "he is dying"

<sup>369.</sup> TB draft, 40: replaces "The Lord" with "he"

<sup>370.</sup> JG draft, 11: adds "literal"

<sup>371.</sup> Book E-1, 1999: "L" overwrites "l"

<sup>372.</sup> TB draft, 40: omits "the explosion ... steamer"; JG draft, 11: "<the explosion of the big gun on board of the> <at the Princeton <Steamer> explosion>"; Book E-1, 1999: "<war> steamer" (US)

<sup>373.</sup> TB draft, 40: adds "&"; JG draft, 11: "and"

<sup>374.</sup> TB draft, 40: omits "you will"

<sup>375.</sup> TB draft, 40: omits "with you"

<sup>376.</sup> TB draft, 40: "prin[ciple]"; JG draft, 11: replaces "privilege" with "principle"; Book E-1, 2000 (pencil): "principle <privilege>" (pos. GAS)

<sup>377.</sup> TB draft, 40: omits "and"; JG draft, 11: inserts "\and/" at boln

<sup>378.</sup> JG draft, 11:"<of>"

<sup>379.</sup> TB draft, 40: omits "in the church"; JG draft, 11: "<in the Church>" (TB)

<sup>380.</sup> TB draft, 40: omits "and will do him"; JG draft, 11: omits "and will do him"; Book E-1, 2000: "<and will do him>" (JG)

<sup>381.</sup> JG draft, 11: "<do>"

<sup>382.</sup> TB draft, 40, JG draft, 11: add "from"; Book E-1, 2000: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>383.</sup> Preceding bolded sentence appears in TB draft, 40, but omitted in MSHiJS; it was copied into JG draft, 11, but canceled.

<sup>384.</sup> This paragraph added interlinearly in darker ink in Book E-1, 2000 (LH). *Source*: Probably from WWj, vol. 4, 8 Apr. 1844 (*WWj* 2:391), which reads: "A contribution was taken up for Joseph Smith to meet a debt. \$100 dollars was donated another hundred loaned." JSj [1844], 79 (WR) (*APR*, 470), gives more details: "El[der]. G[eorge]. J. Adams said Lieut[enant] Smith had to raise \$1750.00 this month, and called on all who could to give 5.00 each 1.00 each &c. & more than 50.00 were paid down 100.00 offered to be lent, and the elders agreed to sustain the president with uplifted hand."

<sup>385.</sup> DHC 6:326: replaces "me" with "President Joseph Smith"

<sup>386.</sup> DHC 6:326: adds "*Tuesday, April 9th*, [continued]." Source: First two sentences from CHOj 1:7, 9 Apr. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12); remainder is perhaps based on the description of the meetings by a visitor in NN 2 (1 May 1844): [210]; and NN 2 (22 May 1844): [221].

number present, <sup>387</sup>the good order that was preserved, it speaks much in favor of the morality of the city. <sup>388</sup>In the afternoon I rode out with Emma, Dr. Goforth and others to the mound. The peach trees look beautiful.

 $[...]^{389}$ 

<sup>390</sup>I copy from the *Millennial Star* the minutes of the Conference for the past four days, held in the Music Hall, Liverpool, England.

<sup>391</sup>According to previous announcement, the General Conference of the various branches of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints commenced its sittings in the Music Hall, Liverpool, on the 6th of April, 1844, Elder Reuben Hedlock, president of the mission, presiding, and Elder J. S. Cantwell, acting as clerk<sup>392</sup>.

<sup>393</sup>It was with very peculiar feelings that we met the brethren who came as deputations from the conferences in this land. The reflection that fourteen years ago the church of Jesus Christ was organized in these last days of six members only, and that probably at the present time, in both hemispheres, she numbers one hundred and fifty thousand; this reflection together with the thought, that simultaneously with ourselves, our brethren in Nauvoo would be assembled in conference also, to consider the situation of the church generally, and to meditate on the adoption of such measures as may be necessary for rolling on the great work of the Lord, excited within us peculiar feelings that we had not experienced on former occasions.

#### MORNING SERVICE.

After opening meeting by singing and prayer, it was voted unanimously that Elder Reuben Hedlock preside over the conference, and that Elder J. S. Cantwell act as clerk <sup>394</sup>.

... 393

The number of officers present at the opening <sup>396</sup> are as follows: High Priests, 10; Elders, 23; priests, 5; teachers, 3; deacons, 2. The representation of the various conferences was then called for:—

Manchester Conference represented by Elder Charles Miller, including the branches of Manchester, Stockport, Ashton, Duckenfield, Newton Moor, Mottram, Bolton, Edgeworth Moor, Edgerton, Leith, Chewmoor, Breightmet Fold, Bradshaw, Tottington, Summerseat, Bury, Haslingden, Royton, Oldham, Rochdale, Eccles, Pendlebury, Heatons, Ratcliffe, Halfacre<sup>397</sup>, Crossmoor, Didsbury, Middleton, Crompton Fold, Marble Bridge, Ashworth Tops, Vale House; comprises 1583 members, 2 high priests, 41 elders, 100 priests, 56 teachers, 19 deacons.

Baptized since last general conference, 194.

<sup>387.</sup> DHC 6:326: adds "and"

<sup>388.</sup> *Source*: First sentence from WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 9 Apr. 1844 (per Dean C. Jessee's notes in SRMH). Comment about peach trees from CHOj 1:7, 9 Apr. 1844 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.12).

<sup>389.</sup> BHR moved the last paragraph in this chapter to this location (from p. 330 to p. 326).

<sup>390.</sup> Following introductory paragraph omitted in DHC 6:326.

<sup>391.</sup> Source: Remainder of chapter from "General Conference," MSt 4 (Apr. 1844): 194-200.

<sup>392.</sup> Bolded text added in DHC 6:327 does not appear in MSt 4:194 or DN.

<sup>393.</sup> DHC 6:327 omits following paragraph.

<sup>394.</sup> MSt 4:194: adds "of the conference"

<sup>395.</sup> MSt 4:194 adds paragraph reporting R. Hedlock's address.

<sup>396.</sup> MSt 4:194: adds "of the Conference was then called for, which"

<sup>397.</sup> DHC 6:327: "Halfare"

Liverpool Conference—represented by Elder Mitchelson, including Liverpool, the Isle of Man, Chester, part of Wales, Warrington, Newton<sup>398</sup>, St. Helens and Graseby; comprises 596 members, 3 high priests, 29 elders, 39 priests, 19 teachers, 11 deacons. Baptized since last general conference, 107.

Preston Conference—represented by Elder John Banks, including Preston, Lancaster, Kendal, Brigsteer Holme, Heskin, Hunter's Hill. Euxton, Leyland, Southport and Longton; comprises 594 members, 1 high priest, 16 elders, 23 priests, 17 teachers, 4 deacons. Baptized since last general conference, 21.

London Conference—represented by Elder John Cairns, including London, Newbury, Woolwich, Dover and Luton; comprises 324 members, 1 high priest, 11 elders, 21 priests, 5 teachers, 5 deacons. Baptized since last general conference, 47.

Macclesfield Conference—represented by Elder Galley, including Macclesfield, Bollington, Middlewich, Northwich, Plumbley and Crewe; comprising<sup>399</sup> 219 members, 1 high priest, 10 elders, 22 priests, 14 teachers, 7 deacons. Baptized since last general conference, 15.

Birmingham Conference—represented by Elder Crook, including Birmingham, Gritsgreen, Oldbury, Wolverhampton, Dudley, Brittlelane, Bilston, Kidderminster, Leamington, Bloxwich, Stratford-upon-Avon, Catthorpe, Westbromwich, Penydarren, Abersychan, Beaufort, Rumny<sup>400</sup>, Tredegar, Merthyr Tydvil, Aberdare; comprises 707 members, 38 elders, 49 priests, 27 teachers, 12 deacons. Baptized since last general conference, 200.

Wooden Box—represented by Elder Robert Crook, including Wooden Box, Dunstall, Branstone, Barton and Colebille; comprising<sup>401</sup> 96 members, 9 elders, 10 priests, 6 teachers, 5 deacons. Baptized since last general conference, 60.

Staffordshire Conference—represented by Elder George Simpson, including Burslem, Hanley, Stoke-upon-Trent, Newcastle, Baddeley<sup>402</sup> Edge, Bradley Green, Knutton Heath, Longton, Coxbank, Prees, Tunstall, Leek, Longport, Hassall<sup>403</sup> Green, Allsager's Bank; comprising<sup>404</sup> 370 members, 1 high priest, 29 elders, 48 priests, 20 teachers, 11 deacons.

Edinburgh Conference—represented by Elder George<sup>405</sup> P. Waugh, including Edinburgh, Wemyss, Sterling and Pathhead<sup>406</sup>; comprising<sup>407</sup> 330 members, 11 elders, 16 priests, 7 teachers, 3 deacons. Baptized since Nov[ember]. 1843, 37.

Garaway Conference—represented by Elder Blakey, including Garway, Llanfoist, Buckle, Ewiasharold, Llanthony and Llanvano; comprises 172 members, 4 elders, 9 priests, 8 teachers, 1 deacon.

Glasgow Conference—represented by Elder James Houston, including Glasgow, Paisley, Kilbirnie, Bridge of Weir, Thorny Bank and Shaws, Campsie, Renfrew, Greenock, Ayr, Bonhill, Balfrone, Johnstone, Airdrie, Irvine and Dalry<sup>408</sup>; comprising<sup>409</sup> 833 members, 1 high priest, 26 elders, 39 priests, 30 teachers, 19 deacons.

<sup>398.</sup> DHC 6:327: omits "Newton"

<sup>399.</sup> DHC 6:327: "Comprises"

<sup>400.</sup> MSt 4:195: "Rummy"

<sup>401.</sup> DHC 6:328: "Comprises"

<sup>402.</sup> MSt 4:195, DHC 6:328: "Baddely"

<sup>403.</sup> DHC 6:328: "Hassell"

<sup>404.</sup> DHC 6:328: "Comprises"

<sup>405.</sup> MSt 4:195: "G."

<sup>406.</sup> DHC 6:328: "Pathead"

<sup>407.</sup> MSt 4:195: "comprises"; DHC 6:328: "Comprises"

<sup>408.</sup> MSt 4:195: "Daly"; DHC 6:328: "Calry"

<sup>409.</sup> DHC 6:328: "Comprises"

Sheffield Conference—represented by letter, including Sheffield, Woodhouse, Dennington and Brampton; comprises 201 members, 5 elders, 9 priests, 5 teachers, 3 deacons.

Bradford Conference—represented by Elder William<sup>410</sup> Speakman, including Bradford, Idle, Leeds, Doncaster; comprises 206 members, 9 elders, 15 priests, 8 teachers, 6 deacons. Baptized since last general conference, 44.

Ireland—represented by Elder Sloan, including Hillsborough, Crawfordsburn and Melusk; comprises 52 members, 5 elders, 1 priest, 1 teacher.

Lincolnshire Conference—represented by letter, comprises 27 members, 2 elders, 2 priests, 1 teacher, 1 deacon. Baptized since last general conference, 17.

Worcestershire Conference—represented by Elder Thomas Smith, including Earls Common, Pinvin, Flyford Flavel, Worcester, Broomsgrove<sup>411</sup>, Randan Woods, Barford, St. John's and Milton; comprises 140 members, 6 elders, 10 priests, 3 teachers, 3 deacons. Baptized since last general conference, 28.

Clitheroe Conference—represented by Elder William Snalam, including Clitheroe, Chatburn, Downham, Waddington, Ribchester, Chaighley<sup>412</sup> and Settle; comprises 299 members, 16 elders, 22 priests, 18 teachers, 4 deacons. Baptized since last general conference, 14.

Leicester Conference<sup>413</sup>—represented by Elder Thomas Margetts, including Leicester and Nottingham; comprises 127 members, 5 elders, 10 priests, 1 teacher, 2 deacons.

Cheltenham Conference—represented by letter, consists of eighteen branches, comprises 532 members, 17 elders, 30 priests, 13 teachers, 5 deacons. Baptized since last general conference, 90.

Bath—represented by letter, comprising 31 members, 1 elder, 2 priests.

Wolverton—represented by letter, comprises 8 members, 1 elder, 2 priests.

Carlisle<sup>414</sup>—represented by letter, comprises 160 members, 8 elders, 19 priests, 8 teachers, 3 deacons, and contains four branches.

Littlemoor—represented by letter, comprises 6 members, 1 priest.

Bedfordshire Conference<sup>415</sup>—represented by letter, includes 12 branches, comprising<sup>416</sup> 184 members, 14 elders, 20 priests, 9 teachers, 2 deacons.

The number of members and authorities<sup>417</sup> of each conference being ascertained as nearly as possible, it was determined that the delegates should represent the condition of each conference; and what alterations or measures were necessary to be adopted for the well being of each.

 $[...]^{418}$ 

Elder Charles<sup>419</sup> Miller having remarked that he had been challenged to discussion, and had accepted it, it led<sup>420</sup> to some remarks from Elder Ward as to the very little good effected in general by discussions; and that it was beneath the servants of God to turn aside from the path of duty, to wrangle and dispute like the people of the world; and that while the professors of

<sup>410.</sup> MSt 4:195: omits "William"

<sup>411.</sup> DHC 6:328: "Bromsgrove"

<sup>412.</sup> DHC 6:329: "Chaighley"

<sup>413.</sup> Book E-1, 2002: omits "Conference"

<sup>414.</sup> Book E-1, 2003 (darker ink): "<Conference>" (LH)

<sup>415.</sup> MSt 4:195: omits "Conference"; Book E-1, 2003 (darker ink): "<Conference>" (LH)

<sup>416.</sup> DHC 6:329: "Comprises"

<sup>417.</sup> MSt 4:196: replaces "and authorities" with "&c."

<sup>418.</sup> MSt 4:196 includes paragraph containing Charles Miller's remarks.

<sup>419.</sup> MSt 4:196: omits "Charles"; Book E-1, 2003 (darker ink): "<Charles>" (RLC)

<sup>420.</sup> MSt 4:196: "which circumstances led"; Book E-1, 2003: "\it/ led <{i\pmathbf{t}}>"; second "it" in pencil (pos. RLC)

modern religion were in a manner devouring each other, the path of the Saints ought to be onward in the proclamation of the principles of truth.

Elder Hedlock agreed with the remarks of Elder Ward, and stated that it was 421 in perfect accordance with the advice of the First Presidency, and 422 ought to be guarded against as much as possible.

<sup>423</sup>Elder George Mitchelson then arose to state that the work of the Lord in the Liverpool Conference was progressing slowly<sup>424</sup>.

The condition of North Wales being stated by Elder Joseph Martin, it was proposed by Elder Ward and carried, that Elder Martin be permitted to ordain to the lesser priest-hood such officers as he may feel led by the spirit to be necessary.

# EVENING MEETING.

The meeting being opened by Elder Charles Miller with singing and prayer, Elder John Banks rose to state the condition of the Preston Conference. The church he said had been much harassed, as well as much blessed previously, it having been the place where the standard of the fulness of the gospel had been first plated in these islands in the last days; it had also been the subject of the attacks of the enemy in an extraordinary manner; many had also emigrated and Satan appeared to have singled some of them out for his victims, through whose influence at times much evil had been done; but, notwithstanding all this, the condition of the Preston Conference, with the exception of the distant branches in the north, was in a much better condition than for a long time past, and he trusted would ultimately overcome, and be eminently successful in gathering in the honest in heart.

<sup>425</sup>Moved by Elder Ward, and seconded by Elder Charles Miller, that Elder John Banks be ordained to the office of high priest, to preside over the Preston Conference. Carried.

Elder John Cairns said<sup>426</sup> the London Conference <sup>427</sup>was at present in a good state, the officers united and the Saints generally rejoicing in the truth.

Elder James Galley spoke on the condition of the Macclesfield Conference, stating that while some of the Saints were not in a good condition, yet they had many that were—that there was so much false<sup>428</sup> religion in the neighborhood, that the principles of truth were hard to be received, while the people generally were in much slavery to the landowners and dare not open their doors for preaching; yet, notwithstanding all things, he still

<sup>421.</sup> DHC 6:329: "they were"

<sup>422.</sup> DHC 6:329: adds "that the evil"

<sup>423.</sup> DHC 6:329-30 deletes the following bolded section and replaces it with the following explanation: "The remaining sessions of the conference were devoted to hearing reports from the several conferences comprising the mission, giving instruction relative to ordaining men to the ministry, and the manner of conducting the ministry of the Church to make it effective. Among other items of interest was a communication from the Twelve in Nauvoo making the nomination of Elders Reuben Hedlock and Thomas Ward to preside over the British Mission, which nomination was accepted by the conference, and these brethren were unanimously sustained as the presidency of the mission. The publication of the *Millennial Star* had been ordered suspended by the Twelve, but the conference voted by unanimous acclamation that this conference request the quorum of the Twelve to permit the continued publication of that periodical. The minutes of the conference state that ... "Then follows the two unbolded paragraphs below.

<sup>424.</sup> *MSt* 4:196: adds "save in the Isle of Man, where the people were coming out and embracing the principles of the truth."

<sup>425.</sup> MSt 4:196: adds "It was then"

<sup>426.</sup> MSt 4:196: replaces "said" with "rose to state the condition of"

<sup>427.</sup> MSt 4:196: adds "which he remarked"

<sup>428.</sup> MSt 4:196: omits "false"

considered they had a good prospect of success, as the officers and Saints generally were determined to be united in rolling onward the work of the Lord.

Elder Crook stated that in the Birmingham Conference they had much union and love—that by experience and discipline, and a little whipping now and then, he had learned what weapon to use in the service of the Lord in order to be successful, and that was the first principles; for those he found to be irresistible.

<sup>429</sup>Moved by Elder T. Smith, seconded by Elder Crook, that Catthorpe, Learnington and Stratford-upon-Avon, now included in the Birmingham Conference, be transferred to the Worcestershire Conference. Carried.

<sup>430</sup>Moved by Elder Ward and voted, that the branches of Wooden Box, Dunstall, Branstone<sup>431</sup>, Barton, and Colebille be organized into a conference; to be called the Derbyshire Conference, and that Elder William Cooper Royle preside over the same.

 $^{432}$ Also voted that Elder Crook be ordained to the office of high priest, to preside over the Birmingham Conference.

<sup>433</sup>Also moved by Elder Ward and voted, that the branches of Beaufort, Rumney<sup>434</sup>, Tredager, Merthyr Tydvil, and Aberdare be organized into a conference to be called the Merthyr Tydvil Conference, and that Elder William Henshaw preside over the same.

Sunday Morning<sup>435</sup>, 7<sup>436</sup>.—The meeting being opened by singing, and prayer by Elder Ward, the business of considering the state of the various conferences was resumed.

Elder George P.<sup>437</sup> Waugh <sup>438</sup>remarked upon the condition of the Edinburgh Conference, that it was much better than it had been, but that a change of laborers would be of especial benefit.

Elder Ward remarked that, were the officers of the church of one heart and of one mind, their ministry would be effectual whether they were assisted by foreign aid or not—that success could never be expected while individuals were seeking the gratification of their own private feelings.

Elder Hedlock spoke on the evil of ordaining officers to sit in council merely, and exhorted the presiding Elders to select only such as had the opportunity of laboring and becoming useful in the kingdom of God.

The mission of Elder John Cairns, voted in the council of the Twelve in Nauvoo to go to Scotland, was then laid before the conference for their acceptance, and confirmed by a unanimous vote.

Elder George Simpson remarked <sup>439</sup>the Staffordshire Conference <sup>440</sup>was varied in its condition, but much better than some time ago<sup>441</sup>. The influence of evil reports had been much felt by them, but he rejoiced to say that the presidents of the various branches were much united.

```
429. MSt 4:196: adds "It was then"
```

<sup>430.</sup> MSt 4:197: adds "It was then"

<sup>431.</sup> Book E-1, 2004 (different ink): "<Branstone>" (RLC)

<sup>432.</sup> MSt 4:197: adds "It was". This paragraph added interlinearly in Book E-1, 2004 (RLC).

<sup>433.</sup> MSt 4:197: adds "It was"

<sup>434.</sup> MSt 4:197: "Rummy"

<sup>435.</sup> Book E-1, 2004: "<morning>" (RLC)

<sup>436.</sup> MSt 4:197: omits "7"

<sup>437.</sup> MSt 4:197: omits "George P."

<sup>438.</sup> MSt 4:197: adds "having"

<sup>439.</sup> MSt 4:197: adds "on"

<sup>440.</sup> MSt 4:197: adds "that it"

<sup>441.</sup> MSt 4:197: adds "he could have anticipated"

Elder Blakey stated that the Garway Conference had been much disorganized, but that it was now progressing; the conference was very extensive, and that he frequently had to walk over eighty miles to obtain the *Millennial Stars!* 

It was moved by Elder Ward, and seconded by Elder Cairns, that Abergavenny, now attached to this conference, be united to the Merthyr Tydvil Conference, under the presidency of Elder Henshaw.

Elder Houston stated that the Glasgow Conference was in a good condition, and the officers were 442 united.

It was then proposed by Elder Hedlock, and seconded by Elder Thomas Ward that Elder James Ure be appointed to preside over the Sheffield Conference, and that he be ordained to the office of high priest. Carried unanimously.

Elder William<sup>443</sup> Speakman said, in<sup>444</sup> the Bradford Conference, the Saints were much united and that the prospects generally were very cheering, although some time ago they had been under the necessity of cutting many off.

Elder Reuben<sup>445</sup> Hedlock remarked on the practice of cutting off the members of the church; that in many cases it was done in much too summary a manner; that the Elders should bear in mind that they were to be the saviors of men and not the destroyers. He would also admonish them against the establishment of bylaws, which in many cases had been the cause of much evil, and individuals had been separated from the body of Christ for the violation of laws which the kingdom of God never recognized. He exhorted the officers to diligence in their labors, to the practice of righteousness and holiness, that they might secure the esteem of the Saints, and that their counsel might be sought after and be adhered to.

Elder Thomas<sup>446</sup> Ward remarked on the position of the people of God, who, from the darkness that beclouds the religious world, had been brought into the marvelous light of the fulness of the gospel, wherein we rejoiced, and for which the gratitude of our hearts must ever be offered; and urged the Elders to measure by this reflection as a standard the dire consequences<sup>447</sup> of being separated from the church of Christ.

## AFTERNOON SERVICE.

Meeting <sup>448</sup>opened with singing, prayer <sup>449</sup> by Elder Mitchelson, and singing <sup>450</sup>, when Elders McGuffie and Domville <sup>451</sup> were called upon to administer the ordinance of the Lord's Supper.

The congregation being numerous, and many strangers present, the business of the conference was postponed, and the afternoon was occupied very profitably by Elders Cairns, Crook, Henshaw, Margetts, Miller, and priest Walker, bearing testimony to the truth of the work of the Lord.

<sup>442.</sup> MSt 4:197: adds "very"

<sup>443.</sup> MSt 4:197: omits "William"

<sup>444.</sup> MSt 4:197: replaces "in" with "with regard to"

<sup>445.</sup> MSt 4:197: omits "Reuben"

<sup>446.</sup> MSt 4:197: omits "Thomas"

<sup>447.</sup> MSt 4:197: replaces "dire consequences" with "importance"

<sup>448.</sup> MSt 4:198: adds "was"; Book E-1, 2006: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>449.</sup> MSt 4:198: omits "with singing, prayer"; Book E-1, 2006 (darker ink): "<with singing, prayer>" (RLC)

<sup>450.</sup> MSt 4:198: "with singing and prayer"; Book E-1, 2006 (darker ink): "{with singing} and {\singing/} ["singing" w.o. "{prayer}"]" (RLC)

<sup>451.</sup> MSt 4:198: "Dombville"; Book E-1, 2006: "Dom{b}ville"

#### EVENING SERVICE.

This service was opened with singing, and prayer by Elder Hedlock, who proceeded to address the assembly on the principles of the church, on his experience for eleven years in connection with it; also on the order of the kingdom of God, and the manner of sitting in judgment on matters that required it. He exhorted all persons to the adoption of the scriptural mode of settling differences—to the practice of humility, that we might be exalted in the due time of the Lord. He enlarged on the greatness of the plan of salvation—on the importance of the truths committed unto the officers of preaching those principles which would prove to all either a savor of life unto life or of death unto death. He admonished them to beware in what manner they handled the word of life, and to take heed that their garments were clear of the blood of this generation. He urged upon them faithfulness in the work which they were engaged, that they might be found worthy to be endowed with greater power to go forth to bind up the law and seal up the testimony, that the end might come.

Monday $^{452}$ ,  $8^{453}$ .—The meeting was opened by singing, and prayer by Elder John Cairns.

<sup>454</sup>Moved by Elder Ward, seconded by Elder Miller, that Elder Blakey be appointed to preside over the Garway Conference. Carried.

 $^{455}$ Voted that Elder Struthers be appointed to preside over the Bedfordshire Conference for the time being.

Elder Hedlock spoke at some length on the duties of the high priesthood—on the evil of bylaws, and the cutting off of members for the violation of them—on the honoring of each person in his office, and of the equality of privileges in<sup>456</sup> council enjoyed by the priesthood; also, on the duties of priests and teachers visiting the members, that it be done in the spirit of love.

Clitheroe Conference was stated by Elder Snalam to be in a good condition.

## AFTERNOON SERVICE.

[...]<sup>457</sup>

Elder Hedlock having called for such volunteers as could go out to labor in the vineyard, Elder James Sloan came forward, and being asked whether he at present wished to go home to Nauvoo, or to labor in the ministry, he declared it to be his wish to go out and preach.

Elder Thomas Margetts having stated that the prospects in Leicester and the surrounding country were of the most encouraging kind, it was voted that Leicester and Nottingham and the surrounding country be organized into a conference, to be called the Leicestershire Conference, and that Elder Thomas Margetts preside over the same.

<sup>452.</sup> MSt 4:198: adds "Morning"

<sup>453.</sup> MSt 4:198: omits "8"

<sup>454.</sup> MSt 4:198: adds "It was then"

<sup>455.</sup> MSt 4:198: adds "It was also"

<sup>456.</sup> Book E-1, 2006: "and" emended to "in"

<sup>457.</sup> MSt 4:198 includes paragraph mentioning approaching trial of Elder Snalam "on the various charges against him."

<sup>458</sup>Voted that Elder Thomas Harris go and <sup>459</sup> labor about the neighborhood of Lancaster, under the direction and presidency of Elder John <sup>460</sup> Banks.

<sup>461</sup>Also voted that Elder George<sup>462</sup> P. Waugh be appointed to preside over the Froomshill Conference.

Voted also that Elder John Johnson be appointed to preside over the Cheltenham Conference.

Voted that Priest William Walker be ordained an Elder, and be appointed to labor in Hull.

#### EVENING SERVICE.

The meeting being opened by singing and prayer, the appointment of Elder Hedlock, in connection with Elder Ward, to the presidency of the churches in this land, was read from the minutes of the Council of the Twelve, held in Nauvoo, when the sanction of the conference was called for and given unanimously.

Elder Ward then proceeded to lay the state of the presidency in the British Isles before the church. He remarked that he, in connection with Elder Hedlock, felt the greatest anxiety that the position of the presidency should be thoroughly understood, and that all the business and proceedings of the same should be conducted in such a manner as to be open to the inspection of all. They were at present laboring under considerable difficulties in consequence of so many demands made upon their resources by the authorities of Nauvoo, in sending over a number of families at the expense of the means arising from the emigration department. He rejoiced to state that any profits arising from business in Liverpool were to be subject to the order of the authorities at Nauvoo, and that they had given us directions to send all the poor Saints, and that they should truly rejoice in appropriating any means in their hands for that purpose.

Elder Walker spoke on upholding the presidency, and eloquently expressed his confidence in the same.

Elder Cairns spoke on the purchase of the various publications. He remarked that the sale of the publications was absolutely necessary in order that the work of the Lord might roll onward—that it was a great mistake to suppose that because the Saints purchased the publications, they would therefore not contribute as much for the support of those who labored amongst them; he was not afraid of this; only let the Saints be thoroughly imbued with the principles contained in the publications, and he knew that they would be prepared to act in righteousness, and would never forget that the laborer was worthy of his hire. He had found our publications hid up in a cupboard, the Saints not knowing that there were such; but he had made it a rule to take them with him to the meetings, and the consequence was that he disposed of them 464. Strangers became interested in the principles of truth by their perusal, and the Saints became more openhearted and ready to minister unto those who labored amongst them.

<sup>458.</sup> MSt 4:198: adds "It was"

<sup>459.</sup> MSt 4:198: omits "and"

<sup>460.</sup> MSt 4:198: omits "John"

<sup>461.</sup> MSt 4:198: adds "It was"

<sup>462.</sup> MSt 4:198:"G."

<sup>463.</sup> MSt 4:199: adds "Elder Hedlock spoke at some length on the order of sitting in judgment on superior officers."

<sup>464.</sup> MSt 4:199: replaces "them" with "the publications"

Elder Allen spoke on <sup>465</sup>liberality and benevolence being exercised, with full confidence in God, and related several anecdotes illustrative of the subject.

Elder Galley having spoken on the same subject,

<sup>466</sup>Voted unanimously—that this Conference, now assembled, covenant to stand by and uphold the presidency in England, by our prayers on their behalf and also by pecuniary aid.

Elder Hedlock then <sup>467</sup>addressed the assembly on the subject of the publications, and was desirous of taking the sense of that meeting on <sup>468</sup>same. It was true that the Quorum of the Twelve had advised that the publication of the *Millennial Star* be stopped, and had given him authority to publish a circular as occasion might require, but he believed most sincerely that the stoppage of the *Star* would have a most injurious tendency.

Several having spoken to the same effect, Elder Ward remarked, that if a publication was to be issued at all, it appeared trifling with the interests<sup>469</sup> of the cause to change the name, inasmuch as the office had received the name of the *Millennial Star* office, and many letters came to them with that address.

<sup>470</sup>Moved by Elder Cairns, and voted by unanimous acclamation, "That this conference request the Quorum of the Twelve to permit the continued publication of the *Millennial Star.*"

<sup>471</sup>Moved by Elder Ward, and seconded by Elder Webb, that Priest William Bayliss be ordained to the office of an Elder. Carried.

```
Tuesday ^{472}, 9^{473}.—The meeting being opened by singing and prayer, 1^{-1474}
```

<sup>475</sup>Voted that Elder James Sloan go to preside over the Bradford Conference, and that Elder William Speakman go to preside over the Clitheroe Conference, occasionally preaching at Leeds, under the presidency of Elder Sloan.

Elder Hedlock having spoken at great length on the organization of the priesthood, and the relative duties of each officer according to his calling, exhorting them to consider the great work in which they were engaged, and not hinder their usefulness by being too tenacious of authority, or giving heed to little trifling matters, while the great work of rolling onward the truth be entirely forgotten.

```
[...]<sup>476</sup>
```

 $^{477}\mbox{Voted}$  that Elder Glaud Roger go to labor with Elder James Ure in the Sheffield Conference.

<sup>465.</sup> MSt 4:199: adds "the exercise of"

<sup>466.</sup> MSt 4:199: adds "It was"

<sup>467.</sup> MSt 4:199: adds "arose and"

<sup>468.</sup> MSt 4:199, DHC 6:330: add "the"

<sup>469.</sup> DHC 6:330: "interest"

<sup>470.</sup> *MSt* 4:199: adds "It was then". DHC 6:330 deletes remainder of bolded section and replaces it with the following note: "Then followed the action of the conference upon the subject noted above. Permission must have been given soon afterwards to renew the publication of the *Star*, since it missed but one issue, that of May, 1844.—it was then published monthly. See vols. v and vi."

<sup>471.</sup> MSt 4:199: adds "It was then"

<sup>472.</sup> MSt 4:199: adds "Morning"

<sup>473.</sup> MSt 4:199: omits "9"

<sup>474.</sup> MSt 4:199: adds "It was moved by elder Hedlock, and seconded by elder T. Harris, that elder William Snalam be removed from the Clitheroe Conference. Carried."

<sup>475.</sup> MSt 4:200: adds "It was then"

<sup>476.</sup> MSt 4:200: adds "It was then voted that elder Webb be appointed to labour in the place where he now is."

<sup>477.</sup> MSt 4:200: adds "It was also"

The sittings of the Conference were then brought to a close by President Reuben Hedlock engaging in prayer and thanksgiving, at four o'clock p.m.

<sup>478</sup>The mayor and marshal received a notification to produce docket and other papers in case of O. F. Bostwick, before the circuit court at Carthage; also a similar notification to produce papers in case of Amos Davis appealed before circuit court.

<sup>478.</sup> *Source*: Based on JSLP, Bx 4, fd 14, 1-4 (US) (transcriptions in vol. 8, VI.14). BHR moved this paragraph above immediately preceding excerpt from *MSt* (from p. 330 to p. 326).

# 16.

# F. M. HIGBEE SUES JOSEPH SMITH April-May 1844

[DN 7 (22 July 1857): 153-54 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>Wednesday, [April] 10 [1844].—The Twelve were in Council arranging a plan of <sup>2</sup> appointing<sup>3</sup> conferences.

<sup>4</sup>Extract of a letter from Elder James Sloan: "The Marquis of Downshire, who opposed the Saints at Hillsborough in Ireland, has had the pleasure of his son, Lord William, being killed by his horse at a hunt in England, a few weeks past, and Mr. Reilly, his agent, who aided in their abuse, has received the third attack of some paralytic affliction and obliged to resign his office; his son again, who headed a mob to annoy the Saints and prevent preaching, has gone to Cork in bad health, and not expected to recover; so much for them."

<sup>5</sup>Thursday, 11.—In general<sup>6</sup> council, in the<sup>7</sup> Masonic Hall, morning and afternoon; had a very interesting time, the Spirit of the Lord was with us, and we closed the council with loud shouts of Hosanna.

<sup>8</sup>Friday, 12.—The Twelve met in council. Rode out with br[other]s. Parker and Clayton to look at some land.

<sup>9</sup>A conference was held at Cypry, Tuscaloosa county, Alabama, Elder Benjamin L. Clapp president, and John Brown clerk. 7 branches were represented, consisting of 192 members, 12 Elders, 5 Priests, 4 Teachers, and 2 Deacons, all in good standing.

<sup>1.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 80 (WR) (APR, 470). Cf. CHOj 1:7 (TB).

<sup>2.</sup> DHC 6:331: replaces "of" with "for"

<sup>3.</sup> JSj [1844], 80: replaces "appointing" with "arranging"

<sup>4.</sup> DHC 6:331 omits this paragraph. *Source*: Based on J. Sloan, Liverpool, Eng., to Charles Warner, Nauvoo, IL, 10 Apr. 1844, CHL (MS 15542).

<sup>5.</sup> Source: First sentence from JSj [1844], 81 (WR) (APR, 470); remainder from WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 11 Apr. 1844 (IC, 129; DMQP, 17), which reads: "At the Pres[iden]ts A.M. afterwards in the council. We had a glorious interview. Pres[iden]t J[oseph] was voted our P[rophet]. P[riest]. & K[ing]. with loud Hosannas."

<sup>6.</sup> JSj [1844], 81: omits "general"

<sup>7.</sup> DHC 6:331: omits "the"

<sup>8.</sup> Source: First sentence from WRj 10:8 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13); remainder from WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 12 Apr. 1844 (NTNLF, 410), with light editing.

<sup>9.</sup> Source: Based on "Minutes of the Mississippi and Alabama conferences ...," T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 573.

<sup>10</sup>Saturday, 13.—A.M. [William Clayton] at President Joseph's recording Deeds. He prophesied the entire overthrow of this nation in a few years.

<sup>11</sup>At 10 a.m. met in city council. George P. Styles was appointed city attorney. I advise <sup>12</sup> that the council take such a course as will protect the innocent; that in many cases the attorney <sup>13</sup> would get his pay of the individual employing him <sup>14</sup>, that the appointment would be a valuable <sup>15</sup>consideration, and for one year <sup>16</sup>a salary of \$100 would be sufficient; perhaps \$150<sup>17</sup> the next year, &c., increasing as the city increases, and if \$100 would not satisfy, we had better have no attorney. "I would rather give my <sup>18</sup> services as counselor &c., than levy a tax the people are not able to pay, and that every man ought to be willing to help prop the city by bearing a share of the burden till the city is able to pay a higher salary. My <sup>19</sup> opinion is <sup>20</sup> that the officers of the city should <sup>21</sup> be satisfied with a very small compensation for their services <sup>22</sup>. I have <sup>23</sup> never received \$25 for my <sup>24</sup> services, <sup>25</sup>but the peace I have <sup>26</sup> enjoyed in the rights and liberties of the city has <sup>27</sup> been ample compensation."

I<sup>28</sup> suggested the propriety of inserting<sup>29</sup> a clause in the ordinance to be made<sup>30</sup> relating to the city attorney<sup>31</sup>, <sup>32</sup>authorizing him<sup>33</sup> to claim fees of parties in certain cases, and the small salary satisfy the attorney in cases where he can get no fees from his client. "I<sup>34</sup> would rather be docked \$100 in my salary<sup>35</sup> than have the \$200 given to the city attorney by the city."

I also proposed that the council take into consideration the payment of the police; also proposed that a public meeting be called<sup>36</sup> in each ward to see **if the people will pay the police, and**<sup>37</sup> if they will not, then the council will take the case into consideration.

<sup>10.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 13 Apr. 1844 (IC, 129; DMQP, 17).

<sup>11.</sup> *Source*: Following three paragraphs closely follow NCCM, Rough Book [1844], 8-10 (WR) (*NCHCM*, 234-36), with emendations in pencil in JG's hand.

<sup>12.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): "President remarked <advised>" (JG)

<sup>13.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): "\t/he <attorney>" (JG)

<sup>14.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): "<him>" (JG)

<sup>15.</sup> NCCM, 9: adds "considerable"

<sup>16.</sup> NCCM, 9: adds "perhaps"

<sup>17.</sup> Book E-1, 2009 (darker ink): "{\\$150/}"; DHC 6:331: "\$160"

<sup>18.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): "his <my>" (JG)

<sup>19.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): "His <my>" (JG)

<sup>20.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): "was <is>" (JG)

<sup>21.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): "<should>" (JG); Book E-1, 2009 (darker ink): "<should>" (RLC)

<sup>22.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): "salary < compensation for their services.>" (JG)

<sup>23.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): "had <I have>" (JG)

<sup>24.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): "his <my>" (JG)

<sup>25.</sup> DHC 6:332: adds "[as counselor]"

<sup>26.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): "he had <I have>" (JG)

<sup>27.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): "ha\s/ ["s" w.o. "d"]" (JG)

<sup>28.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): inserts "\I/" at boln (JG)

<sup>29.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): "<inserting>" (JG)

<sup>30.</sup> Book E-1, 2009: adds "to be made" to follow "city attorney"

<sup>31.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): "<relating to the city attorney>" (JG)

<sup>32.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): adds "of" (JG)

<sup>33.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): "the city attorney <him>" (JG)

<sup>34.</sup> NCCM, 9 (pencil): inserts "\I/" at boln (JG)

<sup>35.</sup> NCCM, 9: "<in his <my> salary>"; cancellation and second-level insertion in pencil by JG.

<sup>36.</sup> NCCM, 9: omits "be called"

<sup>37.</sup> DHC 6:332: omits "if the people ... and"

<sup>38</sup>At 1 p.m., the municipal court sat in the assembly room, where I asked Dr. R. D. Foster if he bore my expenses to Washington, or any part thereof.

Foster replied he did not.

I stated that Dr. Goforth had said that he was taken in a secret council when Foster told him he had paid my expenses.<sup>39</sup>

Dr. Foster replied he never had a secret interview with Dr. Goforth, and gave his version of the meeting.

I then asked him, ["]have I ever misused you any way?["]

Foster said ["]I do not feel at liberty to answer this question, under existing circumstances.["]

I again asked him—["]Did I ever misuse you?["]

He again replied—["]I do not feel at liberty to answer under existing circumstances.["]

I then asked—["]Did I ever wrong you in deal or personally misuse you in any shape?["]

Foster said—["]I do not feel at liberty to answer; I have treated you Christianly and friendly too, so far as I have had the<sup>40</sup> ability.["]

I then asked him to tell me where I had done wrong, and I will ask his forgiveness, for I want you to prove to this company by your own<sup>41</sup> testimony that I have treated you honorably.

Foster then said—["]I shall testify no further at present.["]

I then asked Justice Aaron Johnson—["]Did I ever make oath before you against Simpson?["]

He<sup>42</sup> replied, ["]not before the prosecution.["]

I then told the whole story.

Andrew Colton then came up before the municipal court on habeas corpus, and was discharged on the insufficiency of the papers.

After which, I preferred the following charge before the High Council against Dr. Robert D. Foster "for unchristian-like conduct in general, for abusing my character privately<sup>43</sup>, for throwing out slanderous insinuations against me, for conspiring against my peace and safety, for conspiring against my life, for conspiring against the peace of my family, and for lying."

<sup>44</sup>A charge was preferred against Harrison Sagers for teaching spiritual wife doctrine and neglecting his family, which was handed over to the High Council to act upon.

<sup>45</sup>At 2 p.m. Elder John Taylor delivered a political discourse.

<sup>46</sup>About 5 p.m. the *Maid of Iowa* <sup>47</sup>arrived at the Nauvoo House wharf, filled with passengers

<sup>38.</sup> *Source*: Following account of R. D. Foster's case before the Municipal Court and High Council (comprising seventeen paragraphs) from JSj [1844], 83-86 (WR) (*APR*, 470-71), with light editing and change to first person. Foster's case is not mentioned in NHCM.

<sup>39.</sup> Book E-1, 2010: adds "&c."

<sup>40.</sup> JSj [1844], 84, Book E-1, 2010: omit "the"

<sup>41.</sup> DHC 6:333: omits "own"

<sup>42.</sup> Book E-1, 2010 (pencil): "\?/ who <He>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>43.</sup> Book E-1, 2010: replaces "privately" with "privily"

<sup>44.</sup> Source: Based on NHCM, Book 4, 27-28 (NHCM [2005], 136-38; NCHCM, 489-91). Cf. JScSup, fd 14, 81-86, for papers relating to Sagers's case: JS, Complaint against H. Sagers, 21 Nov. 1843; Lucinda Sagers, Complaint against H. Sagers, ca. Apr. 1844; William Marks to H. Sagers, Summons to appear before High Council on 13 Apr., 10 Apr. 1844; Lucinda Sagers vs. H. Sagers, Transcript of trial, [13 Apr. 1844].

<sup>45.</sup> This paragraph added interlinearly in darker ink in Book E-1, 2010 (LH). *Source*: Based on WWj, vol. 4, 13 Apr. 1844 (*WWj* 2:391).

<sup>46.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 86 (WR) (APR, 471), with light editing.

<sup>47.</sup> JSj [1844], 86: adds "Steamer"; Book E-1, 2010: adds erasure

from England, led by William Kay. 210 souls started from Liverpool, and nearly all arrived in good health and spirits, one smaller company having previously arrived<sup>48</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>The Twelve Apostles arranged the appointments for the general conferences in the United States, as follows:

Quincy, Ill.	Sat. an	d Sun.	May	4 and	5
Princess Grove, [Ill.]	"	"	"	11	12
Ottowa, [Ill.]	"	"	"	18	19
Chicago, [Ill.]	"	"	"	25	26
Comstock, Kalamazoo county, Mich.	"	"	June	1	2
Pleasant Val[ley]., [Mich.]	"	"	"	8	9
Frankland, Oakland county, Mich.	"	"	"	15	16
Kirtland, Ohio	"	"	"	22	23
G. A. Neal's, six miles west of 54 Lockport, New York	"	"	"	29	30
Batavia, [New York]	"	"	July	6	7
Portage, Alleghany co[unty]., New York	"	"	"	13	14
Hamilton, Madison co[unty]., New York	"	"	"	20	21
Oswego, N[ew].Y[ork].	"	"	June	29	30
Adams, Jefferson co[unty]., New York	"	"	July	6	7
London, Caledonia co[unty]., New York	"	"	June	15	16
Northfield, Washington co[unty]., ten miles south <sup>55</sup>					
of Montpelier, at Lyman Houghton's, New York	**	"	"	29	30
Fairfield, Essex co[unty]., at Elder Tracy's, New York	**	"	July	13	14
Boston, Mass.	**	"	June	29	30
Salem, [Mass.]	"	"	July	6	7
New Bedford, [Mass.]	"	"	"	13	14
Peterboro, N. H.	"	"	"	13	14
Lowell, Mass.	"	"	"	27	28
Scarboro, Maine	"	"	"	6	7
Vinal Haven, [Maine]	"	"	"	13	14
Westfield, Mass.	"	"	"	27	28
Farmington, Conn. <sup>56</sup>	"	"	Aug.	3	4

<sup>48.</sup> JSj [1844], 86: replaces "having previously arrived" with "about a week before from Liverpool"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>Sunday, 14.—Rainy day. No meeting at the stand. I preached on board the *Maid of Iowa*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>Committee of the Council met in the afternoon at my office.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>Monday, 15.—At home settling with Dan Jones for steamboat *Maid of Iowa*. She has returned in debt about \$1,700. After much conversation and deliberation, I agreed to buy out Jones, by giving him property in the city worth \$1,231 and assuming the debts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>I rode out in the afternoon.

<sup>49.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 87 (WR) (APR, 471), with last sentence from WRj 10:8 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>50.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 87 (WR) (APR, 471).

<sup>51.</sup> Source: "At home" from JSj [1844], 88 (WR) (APR, 471); remainder of paragraph from WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 15 Apr. 1844 (NTNLF, 410), with light editing and change to first person.

<sup>52.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 88 (WR) (APR, 471).

<sup>53.</sup> *Source*: Following list of appointments from "General Conferences in the United States, for 1844," *T&S* 5 (15 Apr. 1844): 506-7.

<sup>54.</sup> Book E-1, 2011 (darker ink): "W\est of/" (pos. RLC)

<sup>55.</sup> DHC 6:334: omits "south"

<sup>56.</sup> DHC 6:334: replaces "Conn." with "Mass"

New Haven, [Conn.]	Sat. an	d Sun.	"	10	11
Canaan, [Conn.]	"	"	"	17	18
Norwalk, [Conn.]	"	"	"	24	25
N[ew].Y[ork]. City, N.Y.	"	"	"	17	18
Philadelphia, Pa.	"	"	Aug.	31	Sep. 1
Dresden, Weekly county, Tenn.	"	"	May	25	26
Eagle Creek, Benton co[unty]., Tenn.	"	"	June	8	9
Dyer co[unty]., C. H. [Tenn.]	"	"	"	22	23
Rutherford co[unty]., C. H., Tenn.	"	"	July	20	21
Lexington, Henderson co[unty]., Tenn.	"	"	Aug.	3	4
New Albany, Clinton co[unty]., Ky.	"	"	June	29	30
Alquina, Fayette co[unty]., Ia.	"	"	"	1	2
Pleasant Garden, Ia.	"	"	"	15	16
Fort Wayne, Ia.	"	"	"	29	30
Northfield, Boon co[unty]., Ia.	"	"	July	13	14
Cincinnati, Ohio	"	"	May	18	19
Pittsburgh, Pa.	"	"	June	1	2
Leechburg, [Pa.]	"	"	"	15	16
Running Water branch, Noxuble co[unty]., Miss.	"	"	"	1	2
Tuscaloosa, Ala.	"	"	"	22	23
Washington City, D.C.,	Sept. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.				

<sup>57</sup>We also publish the names [...] of the Elders who are appointed to the several States, together with their appointments. Those who are numbered with the figures 1 and 2 will take the presidency of the several States to which they are appointed.

# MAINE.

Josiah <sup>58</sup> Butterfield 1st	Jonathan H. Hale
Elbridge <sup>59</sup> Tufts 2nd	Henry Herriman
Sylvester <sup>60</sup> B. Stoddard	John Moon

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Willard <sup>61</sup> Snow 1st	Harley Mowrey <sup>62</sup>
Howard Egan 2nd	Israel Barlow
Alvin Cooley	David Clough, sen. 63
John S. Twiss	Calvin Reed
Charles A. Adams	Chilion Mack
Bethuel <sup>64</sup> Miller	Isaac Barton
Abraham <sup>65</sup> D. Boynton	

<sup>57.</sup> *Source*: Following introduction and list of mission appointments and B. Young's closing statement from "Special Conference," *T&S* 5 (15 Apr. 1844): 504-6. Cf. *NN* 1 (17 Apr. 1844): [202].

<sup>58.</sup> DHC 6:335:"J."

<sup>59.</sup> T&S 5:504: "Ellridge"

<sup>60.</sup> DHC 6:335: "S."

<sup>61.</sup> DHC 6:335: "W."

<sup>62.</sup> T&S 5:504: "Morey"; DHC 6:335: "Morley"

<sup>63.</sup> T&S 5:504: omits "sen."

<sup>64.</sup> T&S 5:504: "Pethuel"

<sup>65.</sup> DHC 6:335: "A."

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

Daniel Spencer 1st George Lloyd
Milton F. Bartlett Orlando D. Hovey
Daniel Loveland Nathaniel Ashby
Joseph J. Woodbury Samuel P. Hoyt
William<sup>66</sup> H. Woodbury Daniel W. Gardner
John R. Blanchard

#### RHODE ISLAND.

William Seabury 1st Melvin Wilbur Thomas McTaggart

# CONNECTICUT.

Elisha<sup>67</sup> H. Davis 1st Quartus<sup>68</sup> S. Sparks

# VERMONT.

Warren Snow Erastus Snow 1st William Hyde<sup>69</sup> Dominicus Carter Levi W.70 Hancock Denman Cornish Alfred Cordon<sup>71</sup> Jeremiah Hatch Martin Titus Charles Snow<sup>72</sup> James C.<sup>73</sup> Snow William Haight A. M. Harding John D. Chase Josiah H. Perry Isaac Houston Amos Hodges

#### NEW YORK.

Charles<sup>74</sup> W.<sup>75</sup> Wandell 1st William Newland Marcellus Bates 2nd Allen Wait Truman Gillett William H. Parshall A. A. Farnham C. H. Wheelock Edmund Ellsworth Timothy B. Foote Gregory Bentley George W. Fowler Homer C. Hoyt Henry L. Cook William W. Dryer<sup>76</sup> Isaac Chase Simeon A. Dunn Elijah Reed Daniel Shearer Solon Foster James W. Phippin Hiram Bennett James<sup>77</sup> H.Van Natta Chandler Holbrook

<sup>66.</sup> DHC 6:335: "W."

<sup>67.</sup> T&S 5:505, DHC 6:336: "E."

<sup>68.</sup> T&S 5:505:"Q."

<sup>69.</sup> *T&S* 5:505: "Ide"

<sup>70.</sup> T&S 5:505: omits "W."

<sup>71.</sup> Book E-1, 2012: "< Alfred Cordon>" (RLC)

<sup>72.</sup> Book E-1, 2012: "< Charles Snow>" (RLC)

<sup>73.</sup> T&S 5:505: omits "C."

<sup>74.</sup> DHC 6:336: "C."

<sup>75.</sup> T&S 5:505: omits "W."

<sup>76.</sup> Book E-1, 2013: "D\r/yer"

<sup>77.</sup> DHC 6:336:"J."

Samuel P. Bacon Lyman Hall Bradford W.<sup>78</sup> Elliot William Felshaw J. R. G. Phelps Daniel Fisher Joseph B.79 Noble D. H. Redfield John Tanner Martin H. Tanner Thomas E. FullerG.<sup>80</sup> D. Goldsmith O. M. Duel Charles Thompson Samuel White B. C. Ellsworth William<sup>81</sup> R. R. Stowell Archibald Bates William D. Pratt David Pettigrew Marcellus McKeown<sup>82</sup> Ellis Eames Horace S. Eldridge

NEW JERSEY.

Ezra T. Benson 1st John Pack

PENNSYLVANIA.

David<sup>83</sup> D.<sup>84</sup> Yearsley 1st William P. McIntyre Edson Whipple 2nd Jacob Zundall John Duncan Or[r]in D. Farlin Stephen Post Henry Mouer<sup>85</sup> George<sup>86</sup> Chamberlain G.W. Crouse Thomas Hess Jacob Shoemaker Stephen Winchester A. J. Glaefke Henry Dean<sup>87</sup> Hyrum Nyman J. M. Cole James Downing Charles Warner

DELAWARE.

John JonesJonathan O. DukeWarren SnowJustus Morse

MARYLAND.

Jacob Hamblin Patrick Norris Lyman Stoddard

VIRGINIA.

Benj. 88 Winchester 1st James Park
Seabert 89 C. Shelton 2nd A. W. Whitney
Geo. D. Watt 3rd Pleasant Ewell

<sup>78.</sup> T&S 5:505: omits "W."

<sup>79.</sup> DHC 6:336: "P."

<sup>80.</sup> Book E-1, 2013: "Gilbert"

<sup>81.</sup> DHC 6:336: "W."

<sup>82.</sup> T&S 5:505: "McKown"

<sup>83.</sup> DHC 6:337:"D."

<sup>84.</sup> *T&S* 5:505: omits "D."

<sup>85.</sup> T&S 5:505: "Mower"

<sup>86.</sup> DHC 6:337: "G."

<sup>87.</sup> T&S 5:505: "Deane"

<sup>88.</sup> DHC 6:337:"B."

<sup>89.</sup> DHC 6:337:"S."

Chapman Duncan W. E. Higginbottom John F. Betts<sup>90</sup> Joseph King Alfred B. Lambson Peter Fife Robert Hamilton David Evans

NORTH CAROLINA.

A. McRae 1st John Holt Aaron Razer 2nd John Houstoun<sup>91</sup> Thomas Guymon, James Sanderson

George Watt

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Alonzo LeBaron 1st **Ekells Truly** John M. Emell William Smith

William D. Lyman

GEORGIA.

Morgan L. Gardner Miles Anderson

Isaac BeebeS. E. Carpenter

KENTUCKY.

John D. Lee 1st D. D. Hunt D. H. Rogers M. B. Welton Samuel B. Frost Horace B. Owens John O. Angus Joseph Holbrook Hiram W. Mikesell Charles Spry John H. Reid Garret W. Mikesell

Horace M. Alexander<sup>92</sup> William Watkins

TENNESSEE.

J. J. Casteel<sup>93</sup> A. O. Smoot 1st Joseph<sup>94</sup> A. Kelting Alphonzo Young 2nd Jonathan<sup>95</sup> Hampton W.W. Riley

Amos Davis Alfred Bell

Libeus<sup>96</sup> T. Coon Armstead Moffit[t] Jackson Smith David<sup>97</sup> P. Rainey William<sup>98</sup> P.Vance James Holt H. D. Buys Warren Smith Alfred<sup>99</sup> D. Young John<sup>100</sup> J. Sasnett Henry<sup>101</sup> B. Jacobs Joseph Younger

<sup>90.</sup> T&S 5:505: "Petts"

<sup>91.</sup> DHC 6:337: "Houston"

<sup>92.</sup> Book E-1, 2013 (pencil): adds "<Horace M. Alexander>" (RLC); omitted in T&S 5:505, DN, and DHC.

<sup>93.</sup> DHC 6:338: "Castell"

<sup>94.</sup> DHC 6:338: "J."

<sup>95.</sup> DHC 6:338:"J."

<sup>96.</sup> DHC 6:338: "L."

<sup>97.</sup> DHC 6:338:"D."

<sup>98.</sup> DHC 6:338: "W."

<sup>99.</sup> DHC 6:338: "A."

<sup>100.</sup> DHC 6:338:"J."

<sup>101.</sup> DHC 6:338: "H."

George<sup>102</sup> W. Langley George<sup>103</sup> Penn

John L. Fullmer Joseph Mount<sup>104</sup>

ALABAMA.

Benjamin<sup>105</sup> L.<sup>106</sup> Clapp 1st George<sup>108</sup> W. Brandon Lorenzo<sup>107</sup> D. Butler Thomas<sup>109</sup> J. Brandon

MISSISSIPPI.

John<sup>110</sup> B. Walker Ethan Barrus<sup>111</sup> Daniel Tyler

LOUISIANA.

J. B. Bosworth 1st Henry<sup>112</sup> H. Wilson William Nelson John Kelly George Pew Lorenzo Moore

ARKANSAS.

Andrew<sup>113</sup> A. Simmons<sup>114</sup> Darwin Chase

John<sup>115</sup> A. McIntosh, Nathaniel Leavitt<sup>116</sup>

OHIO.

Lorenzo Snow 1st
Lester<sup>117</sup> Brooks 2nd
Alfred Brown
John<sup>119</sup> J. Riser
James<sup>120</sup> Carroll
L. O. Littlefield
John<sup>121</sup> M. Powers
Milo Andrus
John Lovelace
William<sup>122</sup> H. Folsom
John Cooper

William Batson
George<sup>118</sup> C. Riser
Clark Lewis
B. W. Wilson
A. W. Condit
Loren Babbitt
Elijah Newman
Milton Stow
Edson Barney
Hiram Dayton
Jacob Morris

102. DHC 6:338:"G."

103. DHC 6:338: "G."

104. T&S 5:505: "Monut"

105. DHC 6:338:"B."

106. T&S 5:505: omits "L."

107. DHC 6:338:"L."

108. DHC 6:338:"G."

109. DHC 6:338: "T."

110. DHC 6:338:"J."

111. T&S 5:505: "Barrows"

112. DHC 6:338:"H."

113. DHC 6:338: "A."

114. T&S 5:505: "Timmons"

115. DHC 6:338:"J."

116. T&S 5:505: "Levett"

117. DHC 6:338: "L."

118. DHC 6:338: "G."

119. DHC 6:338:"J."

120. DHC 6:339:"J."

121. DHC 6:339:"J."

122. DHC 6:339: "W."

Simeon<sup>123</sup> Carter Ezra Strong John Nichols J. M. Emmett Allen Tulley David Jones Nathaniel Childs Phinehas<sup>124</sup> H. Young Jesse Johnson S. P. Hutchins John<sup>125</sup> A. Casper Joseph<sup>126</sup> H. Foster Joseph Rose Nathan T. Porter

William<sup>127</sup> Brothers Ezra Vincent Lysander Dayton<sup>128</sup> Jared Porter

John W. Roberts

#### INDIANA

Urban<sup>129</sup> V.<sup>130</sup> Stewart Amasa Lyman 1st George<sup>131</sup> P. Dykes 2nd Washington Lemon A. L. Lamoreaux Edward Carlin

Lorenzo<sup>132</sup> D. <sup>133</sup> Young Charles Hopkins

F. M. Edwards William Snow Salmon Warner Nathan Tanner Franklin<sup>134</sup> D. Richards William Martindale Samuel<sup>135</sup> W. Richards Henry Elliott John Mackley<sup>136</sup> Aaron<sup>137</sup> F.<sup>138</sup> Farr John Jones James Newberry Frederick Ott Abraham Palmer

John G. Smith

#### MICHIGAN.

Charles<sup>139</sup> C. Rich 1st William Savage Harvey Green 2nd David Savage Thomas Dunn Graham Coltrin R. C. 140 Sprague Samuel Parker Joseph Curtis Jeremiah Curtis Charles<sup>141</sup> W. Hubbard Zebedee Coltrin

123. DHC 6:339: "S."

124. DHC 6:339:"P."

125. DHC 6:339:"J."

126. DHC 6:339:"J."

127. DHC 6:339: "W."

128. T&S 5:506, Book E-1, 2014: move "Lysander Dayton" to follow "Hiram Dayton"

129. DHC 6:339:"U."

130. T&S 5:506: omits "V."

131. DHC 6:339: "G."

132. DHC 6:339:"L."

133. T&S 5:506: omits "D."

134. DHC 6:339:"F."

135. DHC 6:339: "S."

136. DHC 6:339: "Mackey"

137. DHC 6:339: "A."

138. T&S 5:506: omits "F."

139. T&S 5:506: "C."

140. T&S 5:506: replaces "C." with "D."

141. DHC 6:339: "C."

Reuben W. Strong Levi<sup>143</sup> N. Kendall Stephen<sup>142</sup> D. Willard William Gribble **I. Van Deuzen**<sup>144</sup>

#### ILLINOIS.

Elisha<sup>145</sup> H. Groves 1st Morris Phelps 2nd H. <sup>147</sup> Olmstead H. W. Barnes Galena

Hiram Mott
David Candland
W. A. Duncan
William O. Clark
Almon Bathrick
Philip<sup>152</sup> H. Buzzard
Zachariah Hardy
John Hammond
George<sup>153</sup> W. Hickerson

Daniel Allen
David Judah
Thomas Dobson
James Nelson
David Lewis

ohn Vance
Samuel<sup>146</sup> Mulliner
John Gould
Zenus H. Gurley
Jefferson Hunt
Jacob<sup>148</sup> L. Burnhan

Zenus H. Gurley
Jefferson Hunt
Jacob<sup>148</sup> L. Burnham
David<sup>149</sup> J. Kershner
Nathaniel<sup>150</sup> Leavitt
John Laurence<sup>151</sup>
Nathan A. West
Levi Jackman
Abel Lamb
Howard Coray
Stephen Markham
Levi Stewart
James Graham
Timothy S. Hoyt<sup>154</sup>
Duncan McArthur
E. R. Swackhammer<sup>155</sup>

MISSOURI.

Andrew<sup>156</sup> H. Perkins 1st John Lowry 2nd William G. Rule William Coray O. M. Allen William H. Jordan

A. C. Nickerson

# WISCONSIN TERRITORY.

# S. H. Briggs.

# FREE.

F. Nickerson 1st L. S. Nickerson

142. DHC 6:339: "S."

143. DHC 6:339: "L."

144. *T&S* 5:506: adds "IVan Deuzen"

145. DHC 6:339:"E."

146. DHC 6:340: "S."

147. Book E-1, 2014: "Harvey"

148. T&S 5:506:"J."

149. DHC 6:340:"D."

150. DHC 6:340:"N."

151. Book E-1, 2015: "Lawrence"

152. DHC 6:340: "P."

153. DHC 6:340: "G."

154. DHC 6:340: "Hoit"

155. T&S 5:506: adds "E R Swackhammer"

156. DHC 6:340: "A."

Those Elders who are numbered in the foregoing list to preside over the different States will appoint conferences in *all places* in their several States where opportunities present, and will attend ALL the conferences, or send experienced and able Elders, who will preach the truth in righteousness, and present before the people "General Smith's views of the powers and policy of the General Government," and seek diligently to get up electors who will go for him for the presidency. All the Elders will be faithful in preaching the gospel in its simplicity and beauty, in all meekness, humility, long-suffering and prayerfulness; and the Twelve will devote the season to traveling and will attend as many conferences as possible.

Elder B. Winchester is instructed to pass through Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia, to visit the churches, hold conferences and preside over them.

BRIGHAM YOUNG, Pres[iden]t.

W. RICHARDS, Clerk of the Quorum of the Twelve. **Nauvoo, April 15, 1844.**<sup>157</sup>

158I copy from the Washington Globe of 14th March:—

A NEW ADVOCATE FOR A NATIONAL BANK.—We have cast our eyes hastily over General Smith's (Mormon Joe) "Views of the powers and policy of the Government of the United States. Nauvoo, 1844." This illustrious individual "goes the whole figure" with Messrs. Clay, Webster, Sargeant, and the Whig party in general, for a national bank. After this, who can doubt the propriety of such an institution? Here is Joe's plan for a "fiscal agent," which is quite as sensible, both in nature and object, as the famous fiscalities.

["]For the accommodation of the people in every State and Territory let Congress show their wisdom by granting a national bank, with branches in each State and Territory, where the capital stock shall be held by <sup>159</sup>the mother bank, and by the States and Territories for the branches, and whose officers and directors shall be elected yearly by the people, with wages at the rate of two dollars a day for services; which several banks shall never issue any more bills than the amount of capital stock in her vaults and the interest. The net gain of the mother bank shall be applied to the national revenue, and that of the branches to the States and Territories revenue. And the bills shall be par throughout the nation, which will mercifully cure that fatal disorder known in cities as *brokerage*, and leave the people's money in their own pockets.["]

The Prophet seems to be thoroughly imbued with the Whig financial doctrines. He wants a national bank for the "accommodation of the people," and to save the federal and State treasuries from *taxation*. In two respects, however, we think Jo's plan has decided advantages over those of Messrs. Clay and Webster. He sticks to the specie basis, dollar for dollar; and his plan is more economical, as the officers <sup>160</sup> are to be elected by the people, "with wages at the rate of two dollars per day." There is another recommendation, however, of this "great financier" which we fear will somewhat embarrass the practical operation of his scheme. He tells the people:

"Petition your State legislatures to pardon every convict in the several penitentiaries; blessing them as they go, and saying to them in the name of the Lord—'Go thy way and sin no more."

<sup>157.</sup> This line appears only in T&S 5:506.

<sup>158.</sup> Following introduction and excerpt from the Washington Globe appears in MSHiJS and DN, but omitted in DHC 6:341. Source: T&S 5 (15 Apr. 1844): 510-11.

<sup>159.</sup> T&S 5:510, Book E-1, 2015: add "the nation for"

<sup>160.</sup> T&S 5:510, Book E-1, 2016: "offices"

We fear, that if this humane recommendation be adopted, the "specie basis" would soon disappear from Joe's mother bank and branches, including that of Nauvoo, which would quickly show a "beggarly account of empty boxes."

Perhaps, however, we are unnecessarily apprehensive of the small thieves who fall into the clutches of the law, since the great thieves, who robbed millions from the late Whig bank and its satellites are permitted to roam at large with perfect impunity. Upon the whole, however, we will do General Smith the justice to state, that we think his financial doctrines more sound, his views more honest, and his scheme more feasible than those of the hypocrites and quacks, who, supported by a great party, have fleeced the country to the very quick, and are now eager to repeat the application of the shears.

The following passage calls vividly to mind Mr. Clay's Hanover speech, in which he promised a perfect millennium to the country, as soon as a Whig President should be elected:

"The country will be full of money and confidence, when a national bank of twenty millions, and a State bank in every State with a million or more, give a tone (an order of nationality) to money matters, and make a circulating medium as valuable in the purses of a whole community as in the coffers of a speculating banker or broker."

The Prophet is not only thoroughly imbued with the financial doctrines of the Clay-and-Webster school, but has caught the very tone of their "eloquence".

The General is not an admirer of lawyers. "Like the good Samaritan," he exclaims, "send every lawyer, as soon as he repents and obeys the ordinances of heaven, to preach the gospel to the destitute without purse or scrip, pouring in the oil and the wine." How it must have delighted his heart to learn that the pious Daniel has lately become an eloquent preacher!—though we fear he does not "repent and obey the ordinances of the gospel," nor is contented—not he—to preach "without purse or scrip," however willing to "pour in the oil and the wine."

We cannot refrain from treating our readers to the following glowing passage, in which our friend Joseph so eloquently describes the defeat of Mr. Van Buren. We have read nearly all the Whig slang on this same subject; and we have met with nothing to equal the gloomy grandeur of this portentous paragraph:

"At the age, then, of sixty years our blooming republic began to decline, under the withering touch of Marin Van Buren. Disappointed ambition, thirst for power, pride, corruption, party spirit, faction, patronage, perquisites, fame, tangling alliances, priestcraft and spiritual wickedness in high places, struck hands, and reveled in midnight splendor. Trouble, vexation, perplexity and contention, mingled with hope, fear and murmuring, rumbled through the Union and agitated the whole nation, as would an earthquake at the center of the earth, heaving the sea beyond its bounds, and shaking the everlasting hills. So, in hopes of better times, while jealousy, hypocritical pretensions, and pompous ambition were luxuriating on the ill-gotten spoils of the people, they rose in their majesty, like a tornado, and swept through the land, till General Harrison appeared, as a star among the storm clouds, for better weather."

After this, won't Mr. Botts give way, and let General Smith be the Whig candidate for the Vice-Presidency? But let us finish the picture:

"The good man died before he had the opportunity of applying one balm to ease the pain of our groaning country; and I am willing the nation should be the judge, whether General Harrison, in his exalted station, upon the eve of his entrance into the world of spirits, told the truth or not, with acting President Tyler's three years perplexity pseudo-Whig-democrat reign, to heal the breaches or show the wounds, secundum artem, (according to art.) Subsequent events, all things considered, Van Buren's downfall, Harrison's

exit, and Tyler's self-sufficient turn, on the whole go to show, as a Chaldean might exclaim: Beram etai elauh beshmayauh gauhah rauzeen—(certainly there is a God in heaven to reveal secrets.)"

Joseph is unquestionably a great scholar as well as financier. Cannot Mr. Clay persuade the General to accompany him on his electioneering tour? With Poindexter, Prentiss the bear, the borer, Joe Smith, and a few other quadrupeds to complete his menagerie, he could not fail to convince the moral and enlightened people of the United States of the necessity of a national bank, and of their duty to make him President.

Before we close, we have a few suggestions to make. We propose, then, that Joe Smith (Mr. Biddle being out of the way) be made president, and George Poindexter cashier, of the new Whig national bank that is not to be; that the mother bank be established at Nauvoo, with branches all over<sup>161</sup> creation; that the *honorable* Mr. Mitchell be appointed counsel, and that Mr. Webster have unlimited power to draw, with Governor Doty of Wisconsin as his security. With this arrangement, we should have the perfection of a Whig system of finance.

[DN 7 (29 July 1857): 161-62]

<sup>162</sup>I<sup>163</sup> made the following reply:

# THE GLOBE.

"The wise shall inherit glory, but shame shall be the promotion of fools."—(Solomon's Proverbs).

In the daily *Globe* of March 14th, Mr. Blair notices my "Views on the powers and policy of our Government," under the head of "A new advocate for a national bank," with remarks and extracts. As it does not be peak a gentleman to tell all he knows, nor indicate wisdom to murmur at the oddities of men, I rarely reply to the many remarks, sayings and speculations upon me and my plans, which seem to agitate the world, for like the showers upon the verdure of the earth, they give me vigor, beauty, and expansion; but when a man occupies a station in his country which ought to be honored as an exaltation, which ought to be sustained with dignity, and which should be filled by a friend and a patriot of the nation, too wise to be cozened by counterfeit principles, too great to blur his fame with sophistry, too proud to stoop to the vanity that is momently wasting the virtue of the government, and too good to act the hypocrite to accumulate wealth, or to frustrate the ends and aims of justice—I feel it my duty to bring forth the truth that the man and his measures, if right may be sustained; and if wrong, may be rebuked.

Without reference to men, parties, or precedents, the plan of banking suggested in my "Views," is assumed upon the all-commanding, and worthily considered, omnipotent petition of the people, and whether as a "fiscal agent," "great financier, prophet, priest, or king," I act wisely and righteously, so as to answer their virtuous prayers, without fear, favor, or partiality, and produce union, give satisfaction to twenty millions of freemen, rather than sport with their holy supplications to boost a few hungry, crafty, hypocritical demagogues into office to gamble for the "loaves and fishes," no matter whether the game is played "upon the tables of the living or the coffins of the dead," or whether I raise the honor and credit of the nation above the little, picayune, cramped, narrow minded

<sup>161.</sup> T&S 5:511, Book E-1, 2018: "over all"

<sup>162.</sup> Following introduction and JS's response to *Washington Globe* appears in MSHiJS and *DN*, but omitted in DHC 6:341. *Source: T&S* 5 (15 Apr. 1844): 508-10.

<sup>163.</sup> Book E-1, 2018 (darker ink): "{\I/}" (RLC)

schemes of the dominant, undominant, and would be dominant parties, cliques, knots and factions; or whether, like the venerable fathers, I launch my new ship into the great ocean of existence, and, like them, luckily bring relief to the oppressed, is all the same, so long as the people are honored as noble in their patriotism and almighty in their majesty, vox populi vox Dei!

But it is extraneous, irrelevant and kick shawing to connect me or any part of my "Views on the powers and policy of the Government" with Mr. Clay, Mr. Webster, Mr. Adams, Mr. Benton, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Van Buren, or any of their galvanic cronies—what have they done to benefit the people? The simple answer is—nothing but draw money from the treasury. It is entirely too late in the age of this republic to clarify a Harry of the West, deify a Daniel of the East, quidify a Quincy of the Whigs, or bigify a Benton of the democrats, leaving Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Van Buren such fair samples of bogus-democracy, that he that runs may read. As the beautiful excellence of a head may be a desideratum only remedied by the "Excelsior" of the brain, so a great man ought to exhibit his wisdom by his liberality to the unfortunate among men as a token of philanthropy, unbounded by party lines, unfettered by chain cable opinions and untrammeled by cast iron rules. Why slur the noble project of letting the prisoners go free by petition? It is sanctioned by ancient custom; it is the counsel of God and would be the only visible testimony to the world that this realm is what it professes to be, a Government of liberty!

Heaven, earth, and hell know that the penitentiaries of the several States are a disgrace to the United States, and a stink in the nostrils of the Almighty. And the county and city prisons are still worse. Unfortunate men, and in nine cases out of ten innocent, are hurled into prison by corrupted judges, suborned witnesses, or ungodly men who gamble themselves into Congress, into legislatures, into courts, into churches, and into notice and power and then damn their friends and fellow beings to prison, wretchedness and ruin. And in ninety and nine cases out of a hundred the prisoners are treated meaner than dogs, half starved to put money into the pockets of speculators, fed upon unwholesome provisions, whipped without mercy and even murdered with impunity. Look at the beastly conduct of \* \* \* to the female in Auburn State Prison, N.Y. Remember a man was whipped to death, not long since in Alton Penitentiary, Illinois; and it is not uncommon to lacerate with the "rope's end" thirty men at once in the parish prisons of New Orleans, so that the voice of reason now cries from the vast numbers of prisons and the multiplying number of prisoners in the United States for relief; and the death like groans from cells, bastilles, castles, and cursed holes throughout the whole earth, is ascending up into the ears of the Lord of Sabbaoth to be avenged of such cruelty. And when great men in high places see a Governor Reynolds shoot out his own brains with a rifle, or gaze upon the havoc made by the bursting of a "great gun" among the "executives" of the nation, then know ye, the hour of his judgment is come!

The United States is the boasted land of "liberty," where "these truths are held self evident"—that "ALL men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, LIBERTY and the pursuit of happiness"; but at the same time, in the face of these truths, slavery is tolerated by law, imprisonment is tolerated by law, and murder is tolerated by law, <sup>164</sup> and even fifteen thousand free citizens are exiled from one State to another, and the General Government has no power (according to the opinions of Van Buren and Benton) to redress the wrong.

O, Queen Victoria, and ye lords and commons of Great Britain, what think ye of a Republican Government?—and how do you imagine your daughter will come out in her

attempt at equal rights and reigning in righteousness? Pshaw! (will they answer) your coffers are robbed with impunity; your citizens are mobbed, and driven like chaff from the threshing floor, and the government controlled by a set of money gambling, chicken hearted, public fed cowards, cannot redress you! Ask the reigning sovereigns of Europe, Africa and Asia, what they think of the boasted Republic in America, and will they not laugh in the face of the whole world, and taunt the United States by exclaiming, Ah, hah! ah, hah!

If there is any power in a Republican Government, in a real case of necessity, you have failed to find just men to exercise it. Party spirit cuts the cords of union; patronage veils the face of justice and bribery closes the lips of honor, and when the wicked rule the people mourn.

Perhaps it may be said, the *government has been* adequate to the calls of justice, and I answer, if it has, it was because the officers in authority considered their *honor* and the rights of the people paramount to *patronage*, *pelf and popularity!* 

They were patriots who carried out the poet's explanation of true greatness:

"A wit's a feather and a chief's a rod, But an honest man's the noblest work of God."

It is said that "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," and when men are called "quadrupeds," and ridicule occupies the place of reason, and the virtue, dignity, honor, power, and majesty of the people seem to be buried in rubbish, covered with dust, mildewed with fog, tainted with treachery, burlesqued by blackguards, or humbled by debauchees, it is high time for humanity to exclaim, "How has the gold become dim and where has the glory departed?"

The only suggestion worthy of commendation relative to a national bank, in Mr. Blair's remarks, is, that the mother bank should be located at *Nauvoo*.

This is correct, for Nauvoo as a city, collectively or individually, cannot be reproached with dishonor, crime, corruption or bribery. Neither has a Swartout<sup>165</sup> or Price mingled his millions with the majesty of monarchs by walking out of the unwalled and ungated Nauvoo. The blood of commodores and congressmen, shed by the heaven-daring, hell-begotten, earth-disgracing practice of dueling, has never stained the virtuous soil or city of Nauvoo. Nor does a slave raise his rusting fetters and chains, and exclaim, "O liberty, where are thy charms?" Wisdom, freedom, religion, and virtue, like light, love, water and air, "spread undivided and operate unspent" in the beloved Nauvoo, while the gay world and great politicians may sing, and even the "great Globe" itself may chime the melodious sounds:

Hail, Columbia, "free and equal,"

Lo, the Saints, the Mormons, bless ye!
Felt thy glory most severely,

When Missouri gave them jesse.

Hail, Columbia, "free and equal,"

Negro slaves, like common cattle,
Bought and sold for cash at auction;

Prayers and chains together rattle!

Hail, Columbia, "free and equal,"

"Liberty," as patriots won it,

Crown'd the "head" of freemen's money;

Now the goddess sits upon it!

Hail, Columbia, "free and equal,"

"Gold and silver" is thy "tender";

Treasury notes (aside from Biddle)

Foreign loans and fallen splendor!

As the "world is governed too much" and as there [...]<sup>166</sup> is not a nation or dynasty, now occupying the earth, which acknowledges Almighty God as their lawgiver, and as, "crowns won by blood, by blood must be maintained," I go emphatically, virtuously, and humanely for a THEO-DEMOCRACY, where God and the people hold the power to conduct the affairs of men in righteousness. And where liberty, free trade, and sailor's rights, and the protection of life and property shall be maintained inviolate for the benefit of ALL. To exalt mankind is nobly acting the part of a God; to degrade them is meanly doing the drudgery of the devil. "Unitas, libertas, caritas esto perpetua!"

With the highest sentiments of regard for all men, I am an advocate of unadulterated freedom.

JOSEPH SMITH.

Nauvoo, Ill., April 15, 1844. 167

<sup>168</sup>Tuesday, 16.—**At home.** Rode out to br[other]. Greenwood's, but he was not returned. 5 p.m. had a long talk with Chauncey L. Higbee and Esq. Marr, in front of my house, and read to them Dr. A. B. Williams' and M. G. Eaton's affidavits<sup>169</sup> before Esq. Wells.

<sup>170</sup>The Twelve Apostles met in council.

<sup>171</sup>Wednesday 17.—Rode out with br[other]. H[eber]. C. Kimball and William Clayton to the steamboat landing.

<sup>172</sup>Remainder of the day at home.

 $^{173}$ This days  $Nauvoo\ Neighbor\$ printed Williams' and Eaton's affidavit about Jackson, Foster, Laws &c. and my reply to the  $Washington\ Globe$ .

<sup>174</sup>Thursday, 18.—9 a.m., went into general council until noon and introduced J. W. Coolidge, D. S. Hollister, and added L[yman]. Wight's name; and then declared the council full. [...]<sup>175</sup> During

<sup>166.</sup> Book E-1, 2021: adds ellipses over erasure, but there is no missing text in T & S = 5.510.

<sup>167.</sup> Dateline appears only in T&S 5:510.

<sup>168.</sup> *Source*: Second sentence from WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 16 Apr. 1844 (*NTNLF*, 410); remainder from JSj [1844], 89 (WR) (*APR*, 471), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type.

<sup>169.</sup> DHC 6:341: "affidavit"

<sup>170.</sup> Source: Based on WWj, vol. 4, 16 Apr. 1844 (WWj 2:392).

<sup>171.</sup> Source: WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 17 Apr. 1844 (NTNLF, 410).

<sup>172.</sup> Source: Apparently a surmise based on [Si [1844], 90 (WR) (APR, 471).

<sup>173.</sup> Source: From unused portion of JSj [1844], 90 (WR) (APR, 471).

<sup>174.</sup> Source: First part of sentence ("9 a.m. ... noon") from JSj [1844], 91 (WR) (APR, 471); remainder from WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 18 Apr. 1844 (IC, 129; DMQP, 17-18). Deleted material supplied here from WCj in bold type; italic added.

<sup>175.</sup> WC included a list of fifty-two names of "those who have been called upon to form the grand K[ingdom] of G[od]. by Revelation."

# the day much precious instructions were given, and it seems like heaven began on earth and the power of God is with us.

<sup>176</sup>While at dinner I made mention of the report that Foster, Higbee, &c., were paying someone's board at my table so as to catch something <sup>177</sup>against me, <sup>178</sup>so that if the report is true they may have something to carry back.

2 to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  p.m. in council.

<sup>179</sup>At 6 p.m., B[righam]. Young, W[illard]. Richards, J[ohn]. Taylor, G[eorge]. A. Smith, H[eber]. C. Kimball, W[ilford]. Woodruff, of the Twelve Apostles; A[lpheus]. Cutler, S[amuel]. Bent, G[eorge]. W. Harris, A. Johnson, W[illiam]. Marks, of the city council<sup>180</sup>; C[harles]. C. Rich, A[masa]. [M.] Lyman, of the High Council; W[illiam]. W. Phelps, N[ewel]. K. Whitney, John Smith, J[ohn]. M. Bernhisel, Joseph Fielding, G[eorge]. J. Adams, E[rastus]. Snow, R[eynolds]. Cahoon, J. W. Coolidge, John Scott, J[ohn]. D. Lee, Levi W. Hancock, S. Williams, Jos. Young, J[ohn]. P. Greene, J[ohn]. D. Parker, A[lexander]. McRae, G[eorge]. D. Watt, and W[illiam]. Clayton held a council and unanimously cut off Robert D. Foster, Wilson Law, William Law, and Jane Law, of Nauvoo; and Howard Smith, of Scott county, Illinois, from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints for unchristian-like conduct and their names were published in the *Times and Seasons*<sup>181</sup>.

<sup>182</sup>Friday, 19.—A company of about 80 Saints arrived.

<sup>183</sup>In the evening rode to the upper steamboat landing.

<sup>184</sup>Saturday, 20.—Emma started for St. Louis to purchase goods.

<sup>185</sup>I rode out with Dr. Bernhisel and my boys Frederick and Alexander to the prairie, which is now very green.

<sup>186</sup>Elders B[righam]. Young and W[ilford]. Woodruff rode to Lima and spent the night with Father Morley.

<sup>187</sup>Sunday, 21.—At home; rainy day: a meeting at the stand; Elder Erastus Snow preached "On the Law of Nature."

<sup>188</sup>Elders Young and Woodruff attended a conference and preached to the Saints in Lima, where 26 Elders volunteered to go out preaching.

<sup>189</sup>Elder Kimball attended a conference at Ramus.

<sup>176.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 91 (WR) (APR, 471-72), with light editing.

<sup>177.</sup> Book E-1, 2022: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>178.</sup> Book E-1, 2022: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>179.</sup> See also *T&S* 5 (15 Apr. 1844): 511; WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 18 Apr. 1844 (*IC*, 129; DMQP, 18); WRj 10:9 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13); QTAM, 18 Apr. 1844 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.4).

<sup>180.</sup> JSj [1844], 91: omits "of the city council"

<sup>181.</sup> JSj [1844], 91: omits "and their names were published in the Times and Seasons"

<sup>182.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:9 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>183.</sup> Source: Apparently based on a surmise.

<sup>184.</sup> Source: [Sj [1844], 93 (WR) (APR, 472), with elaboration about purpose of trip.

<sup>185.</sup> *Source*: Description of prairie from CHOj 1:8, 20 Apr. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.12). Remainder undetermined; possibly from restricted portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3.

<sup>186.</sup> Source: Based on WWj, vol. 4, 20 Apr. 1844 (WWj 2:392).

<sup>187.</sup> *Source*: "At home; rainy day" from JSj [1844], 94 (WR) (*APR*, 472), remainder from CHOj 1:8, 21 Apr. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>188.</sup> Source: Based on WWj, vol. 4, 21 Apr. 1844 (WWj 2:392). Cf. JSj [1844], 94 (WR) (APR, 472).

<sup>189.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 94 (WR) (APR, 472).

<sup>190</sup>Monday, 22.—All night lightning, thundering, raining with strong east wind, which continued through the day.

<sup>191</sup>The river is <sup>192</sup> very high; all the mills in the city stopped on account of the high water.

This morning a man who had put up at my house, told me he wanted to see me alone. I went into my room with him, when he told me he was a prophet of God, that he came from Vermont, and he prophesied that this government was about to be overthrown, and the kingdom which Daniel speaks of was about to be established somewhere in the west, and he thought in Illinois.

My brother William arrived from New Jersey with some 40 or 50 Saints. I spent some time with him in the evening 193.

<sup>194</sup>Elders Young and Woodruff started for Nauvoo, but on account of a tremendous storm of hail and rain they were glad to take shelter at brother William Draper's, where they spent the night.

<sup>195</sup>Tuesday, 23.—At home. From 9 to 12 a general meeting of citizens friendly to my election was held in the hall to elect a delegate to go to the Baltimore convention, to be held on the first Monday in May. D. S. Hollister was elected, and [Orson] Hyde and O[rson] Pratt from Washington [were also elected]. <sup>196</sup>

From 3 to 5 p.m. again assembled, and many speeches were made, &c., and appointed the second Monday in May to hold a State convention at Nauvoo. 197

In the evening **at sunset** visited Agnes, my brother Carlos' widow, and [then] Dr. Richards, with Hyrum.

<sup>198</sup>Wednesday, 24.—**At home and about the city.** 

<sup>199</sup>Rode up to the steamboat landing, where we found Elder J. M. Grant, who introduced me to<sup>200</sup> Judge William Richards of New Jersey; took him to brother Winchester's.

<sup>201</sup>In the evening brother Ezra Thayer, Dr. Richards and Dr. Williams were in my room, and a man who boarded at the Masonic Hall; at their request, I gave them a history of the Laws' proceedings in part, in trying to make a difficulty in my family, &c.

<sup>202</sup>Gave recommendations to Elders Amasa [M.] Lyman and D. S. Hollister.

<sup>190.</sup> Source: Based on CHOj 1:8, 21-22 Apr. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI. 12).

<sup>191.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 95 (WR) (APR, 472), with light editing.

<sup>192.</sup> DHC 6:342: omits "is"

<sup>193.</sup> JSj [1844], 95: omits "in the evening"

<sup>194.</sup> Source: Based on WWj, vol. 4, 22 Apr. 1844 (WWj 2:392).

<sup>195.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1844], 96 (WR) (APR, 472), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>196.</sup> Hyde and Pratt had left Nauvoo earlier in the month to present JS's petition to Congress, and arrived in Washington on 23 Apr. 1844. WC recorded: "O. Hyde, O. Pratt & J[ohn]. E. Page now at Washington were appointed delegates to the Baltimore Convention. Also D. L. Hollister who expects to start tomorrow morning" (WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 23 Apr. 1844; DMQP, 18). Later, at the Illinois state convention held at Nauvoo on 17 May 1844, it was decided that "Orson Hyde, H[eber]. C. Kimball, David S. Hollister, Orson Pratt, and Lyman Wight, represent this Convention at the Convention to be held in Baltimore on the 13th of July next" (DHC 6:392; chap. 18).

<sup>197.</sup> Cf. NN 1 (24 Apr. 1844): [206].

<sup>198.</sup> Source: From deleted portion of JSj [1844], 97 (WR) (APR, 472). Bolded words appear canceled in RDft 8:35.

<sup>199.</sup> *Source*: Possibly based on Jedediah M. Grant's reminiscence, who was present when this section of Book E-1 was reviewed. Book E-1, 2028: adds a penciled note: "Aug 11 1856[.] B.Y. H.C.K. J.M.G. L.H. W.P. Rockwood also" (LH).

<sup>200.</sup> Book E-1, 2023 (darker ink): "<Elder J. M Grant who introduced to me>" (RLC)

<sup>201.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 97 (WR) (APR, 472-73).

<sup>202.</sup> Source: Undetermined. Possibly restricted portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3.

<sup>203</sup>Thursday, 25.—Emma returned from St. Louis.

A brother who works in the *St. Louis Gazette* office came up at the same time, and wanted to know by what principle I got so much power?—how many inhabitants and armed men we had? &c. I told him I obtained power on the principles of truth and virtue, which would last when I was dead and gone, &c.

In general council from 10 till 12, and from 2 to 5, when they adjourned *sine die*, after appointing a State convention to meet in Nauvoo, on 17th May. The council then dispersed to go abroad in the nations.

Thursday, 25.<sup>204</sup>—Instructed Dr. Richards to make out a writ of habeas corpus, for Mr. Jeremiah<sup>205</sup> Smith of Iowa, who was expecting to be arrested by the U.S. marshal, for getting money which was due him, as he says, at Washington.

A play on rational amusement was to commence this evening, but a most tremendous shower of rain and large hail from the S[outh]. W[est]. commenced about 6 p.m., which prevented it. The small creeks rose over four feet high, overflowed their banks, sweeping away fences and doing considerable damage.

The Mississippi river is higher at this place than ever known by the oldest inhabitant.

<sup>206</sup>Friday, 26.—At home. At 10 a.m. the marshal went up on the hill to arrest Augustine Spencer for an assault on his brother, Orson Spencer, in his own house. Robert D. Foster, Charles Foster and Chauncey L. Higbee came down. Charles Foster drew a pistol, pointed towards me and threatened to shoot while standing on the steps of my office. I ordered him to be arrested and the pistol taken from him, when a struggle ensued, in which Charles Foster, Robert D. Foster and Chauncey L. Higbee resisted, and I ordered them to be arrested also, and I as the mayor ordered the policemen to be called; then went on to try Augustine Spencer, he was fined \$100 and required to give bonds in \$100 to keep the peace for six months. He appealed the case at once to the municipal court. <sup>207</sup>

Robert D. Foster, Chauncey L. Higbee, and Charles Foster were also tried for resisting the authorities of the city.

O. P. Rockwell sworn. Marshal John P. Greene sworn: Said Dr. Foster swore by God that he would not assist the marshal, and swore by God they would see the mayor in hell before they would go; and that Charles Foster drew a pistol and presented at the mayor, which was being wrested from him when Dr. R[obert]. D. Foster interfered. Charles Foster and Chauncey L. Higbee said they would be God damned<sup>208</sup> if they would not shoot the mayor; they breathed out many hard threatenings and menacing sayings. They said they would consider themselves the favored of God for the privilege of shooting, or ridding the world of such a tyrant (referring to the mayor).

Joseph W. Coolidge sworn, and confirmed the marshal's testimony.

Elbridge Tufts sworn, and confirmed the foregoing statements.

<sup>203.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1844], 98 (WR) (APR, 473), with light editing. Sentence about damage to fences from CHOj 1:8, 25 Apr. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>204.</sup> DHC 6:343: omits date

<sup>205.</sup> JSj [1844], 98: omits "Jeremiah"

<sup>206.</sup> Source: This day's entry from JSj [1844], 99-100 (WR) (APR, 473-74), with light editing. Cf. NN 2 (1 May 1844): [210].

<sup>207.</sup> Cf. Notice of appeal for Augustine Spencer, 29 Apr. 1844, in NCRc, Bx 5, fd 29; and Augustine Spencer vs. Nauvoo, Appeal from Mayor's Court, 2 May 1844, NMCDB, 103.

<sup>208.</sup> DHC 6:344: "G-d-d"

Rob[er]t. D. Foster, Charles Foster, and Chauncey L. Higbee were each fined \$100. They immediately took an appeal to the municipal court. <sup>209</sup>

I issued a warrant for R[obert]. D. Foster on complaint of Willard Richards, for a breach of ordinance, in that Foster said to Richards—"You," shaking his fists<sup>210</sup> in the doctor's face, "are another damned<sup>211</sup> black-hearted villain, you tried to seduce MY wife on the boat, when she was going to New York, and I can prove it, and the oath is out against you."<sup>212</sup>

<sup>213</sup>Saturday, 27.—A large company of gentlemen from St. Louis, and other places on the river, called at the mansion; after spending some time, they returned to the boat, but it was gone, when they again returned to the mansion.

At 9 a.m. the case of <sup>214</sup>Robert D. Foster came up for trial before the municipal court. I had a conversation with Foster, in which he charged me with many crimes and said that Daniteism was in Nauvoo, and he used a great variety of vile and false epithets and charges.

The court adjourned to Monday the 29th, at 9 a.m.

Foster agreed to meet me on the second Monday in May, at the stand, and have a settlement, and he would publish the result of it in the Warsaw papers. I told him if he did not agree to be quiet, and not attempt to raise a mob, I would not meet him; if he would agree to be quiet, I would be willing to publish the settlement in the *Neighbor*, but Foster would not agree to be quiet. I then told him I had done my duty, the skirts of my garments<sup>215</sup> were free from his (Foster's) blood, I had made the last overtures of peace to him, and then delivered him into the hands of God and shook my garments against him as a testimony thereof <sup>216</sup>.

I continued in office some time afterwards in conversation, and then went into the big room and read in the *Warsaw Signal* a vile article against the Saints<sup>217</sup>.

**Elder L[ucien]. R. Foster arrived from N[ew] York.** Elder Hiram Clark<sup>218</sup> arrived from Liverpool accompanied by 150 immigrating Saints.

There was a meeting at the stand at one o'clock to give instructions to the Elders going out electioneering. They<sup>219</sup> were addressed by Pres[iden]t. Rigdon and William Smith.

<sup>220</sup>Dr. Richards prosecuted Robert D. Foster for slander, &c.

<sup>221</sup>Sunday, 28.—At home; a beautiful clear day.

<sup>209.</sup> Cf. the following cases in NMCDB: Robert D. Foster vs. Nauvoo, Appeal from Mayor's Court, 2 May 1844 (106); Charles A. Foster vs. Nauvoo, Appeal from Mayor's Court, 2 May 1844 (105); Chauncey L. Higbee vs. Nauvoo, Appeal from Mayor's Court, 2 May 1844, and 6 May 1844 (104, 107).

<sup>210.</sup> DHC 6:345: "fist"

<sup>211.</sup> DHC 6:345: "d-ned"

<sup>212.</sup> Cf. WRj 10:10 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13). JSj [1844], 100: adds "(Harding gave a writing to Kimball-concerning Fosters statement about Joseph &c. charging him with crime)."

<sup>213.</sup> Source: This day's entry (except last paragraph) from JSj [1844], 101 (WR) (APR, 474-75), with light editing, elaboration, and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>214.</sup> DHC 6:345: adds "Dr."

<sup>215.</sup> JSj [1844], 101: omits "had done my duty, the skirts of my garments"

<sup>216.</sup> JSj [1844], 101: omits "as a testimony thereof"

<sup>217.</sup> JSj [1844], 101: replaces "a vile article against the Saints" with "about Mormonism"

<sup>218.</sup> DHC 6:346: mistakenly replaces "Clark" with "Smith"

<sup>219.</sup> Book E-1, 2025 (pencil): "who < They>" (US)

<sup>220.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:10 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>221.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 102 (WR) (APR, 475), with weather from CHOj 1:11, 28 Apr. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.12).

<sup>222</sup>My brother Hyrum preached at the stand in the morning, and among other things said the time will shortly come, that when one man makes another an offender for a word, he shall be cut off from the Church of Jesus Christ. There were prophets before Adam<sup>223</sup>, and<sup>224</sup> Joseph has the spirit and power of all the Prophets.

Pres[iden]t. B[righam]. Young also spoke very pointedly and <sup>225</sup>truly about Dr. Foster and others. Dr. Foster was cursed and the people cried ["]amen.["]

<sup>226</sup>Several persons were baptized in the river, at the foot of Main street.

<sup>227</sup>There was a meeting of the Twelve Apostles, Seventies and others, in the Seventies' Hall, in the afternoon.

<sup>228</sup>Prayer meeting in the evening; the brethren prayed for the sick, a deliverance from our enemies, a favorable termination to lawsuits, &c., &c. I had been suddenly taken sick and was therefore unable to attend.

<sup>229</sup>A conference of Elders assembled at Yelrome, or Morley Settlement, Lima, Isaac Morley presiding; when a quorum of High Priests was organized, consisting of 31 members<sup>230</sup>. Horace Rawson president, Philip Gardner and Joseph S. Allen his counselors, and James C. Snow, clerk.

<sup>231</sup>There was a meeting at **Gen[eral]. W[illia]m and** Wilson Law's, near the sawmill, of those who had been cut off from the church, and their dupes. Several affidavits which they had taken against me and others were read. William Law, Wilson Law, Austin A. Cowles, John Scott, sen., Francis M. Higbee, Robert D. Foster and Robert Pierce were appointed a committee to visit the different families in the city, and see who would join the new church, (i.e.) as they had decided that I was a fallen prophet, &c., and they appointed William Law in my place, who chose Austin Cowles and Wilson Law as his counselors. Robert D. Foster and Francis M. Higbee to be two of the twelve apostles, &c., &c., as report says.

Elder James Blackeslee preached <sup>232</sup>in the forenoon, bearing a faithful testimony of the truth of the work and my being a true Prophet, <sup>233</sup> and in the afternoon joined the ["]anties["]: they chose Charles Ivins bishop.

<sup>234</sup>A conference was held in Sheffield, England, representing 215 members, 7 elders, 19 priests, 5 teachers and 3 deacons.

<sup>235</sup>Monday, 29.—At home; received a visit from L. R. Foster of New York, who gave me a gold

<sup>222.</sup> Source: First part of first sentence ("My brother ... morning") from JSj [1844], 102 (WR) (APR, 475); remainder of this and next paragraph from CHOj 1:11, 28 Apr. 1844 (TB), with light editing.

<sup>223.</sup> DHC 6:346: omits "Adam"

<sup>224.</sup> DHC 6:346: replaces "and" with "but"

<sup>225.</sup> DHC 6:346: adds "very"

<sup>226.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 102 (WR) (APR, 475).

<sup>227.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:10 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13). Cf. WWj, vol. 4, 28 Apr. 1844 (WWj 2:393).

<sup>228.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 103 (WR) (APR, 475), with light editing and elaboration.

<sup>229.</sup> Source: Undetermined. WR made a notation concerning this meeting on a slip of paper (JSHP, Bx 1, fd 20), which TB copied into RDft 8:37, but the source of the information has not been determined.

<sup>230.</sup> WR note: "<consisting of 31 members>"

<sup>231.</sup> *Source*: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 102 (WR) (APR, 475), with light editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>232.</sup> JSj [1844], 102: adds "up Joseph"; Book E-1, 2026: "up Joseph"

<sup>233.</sup> JSj [1844], 102: omits "bearing ... prophet"; Book E-1, 2026 (darker ink): "<br/>bearing ... prophet;>" (LH)

<sup>234.</sup> This paragraph added interlinearly in darker ink in Book E-1, 2026 (LH). *Source*: "Reports of Conferences," *MSt* 5 (July 1844): 27.

<sup>235.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 104 (WR) (APR, 475), with light editing, elaboration, and change to first person.

pencil case, sent me by brother<sup>236</sup> Theodore Curtis, who is now in New York, and the first words I wrote with it, were "God bless the man."

At 11 a.m., Robert D. Foster came up for trial. I transferred the case to Alderman William Marks. Foster objected to the jurisdiction of the court, also to an informality in the writ, &c.

The court decided he had not jurisdiction. Esq[uire]. Noble, from Rock river, assisted the city attorney. Esq[uire]. Patrick was present.

<sup>237</sup>I called a special session of the city council at 3½ p.m., when it was voted that W. W. Phelps take the place of John Taylor during his absence this season; also Aaron Johnson in place of Orson Hyde; Phinehas<sup>238</sup> Richards in place of Heber C. Kimball; Edward Hunter in place of Daniel Spencer; Levi Richards in place of Brigham Young as councilors in the city council, and Elias Smith as alderman in place of George A. Smith.

<sup>239</sup>Lieut[enant]. Williams filed his affidavit versus Major-General Wilson Law, and he was suspended from office to await his trial before a court-martial of the Nauvoo Legion, for ungentlemanly conduct, &c., and he was notified of his command in the Legion being suspended, and Charles C. Rich was notified to take command,<sup>240</sup> and also notified seven officers to sit as a court-martial.

William Law was suspended for trial about the same time.

Steamer *Mermaid* touched at Nauvoo House landing at 5 p.m., for a short time when going down. John P. Greene published the following in the *Neighbor*:<sup>241</sup>

<sup>242</sup>All is peace at Nauvoo, among the Saints:

But, Mr. Taylor, I wish you to give the following outrage an insertion in the *Neighbor*, that the public mind may be disabused and the disgrace and shame fall on those who have justly deserved it and *merited* the people's rebuke!

On Friday morning the 26th inst. I was informed by Mr. O[rrin]. P. Rockwell that one Mr. Augustine Spencer had committed an assault on the person of Alderman Orson Spencer, and the mayor of the city had sent for A[ugustine]. Spencer and found him in Mr. Marr's law office; made him a prisoner and informed him he must go with me to the mayor's office, when he said he would not go.

I then called upon R [obert]. D. Foster, C[hauncey]. L. Higbee and C[harles]. A. Foster, to assist me in taking said Spencer to the mayor's office; but they swore they would not, and used many threatening oaths and aspersions, saying they would see the mayor and the city damned and then they would not, but soon followed me and Mr. A[ugustine]. <sup>243</sup> Spencer to the office door, when the mayor ordered me to arrest those three men for refusing to assist me in the discharge of my duty, and when attempting to arrest them they all resisted and with horrid imprecations threatened to shoot.

I called for help, and there not being sufficient, the mayor laid hold on the two Fosters at the same time. At that instant C[harles]. A. Foster drew a double-barrel pistol on Mr. Smith, but it

<sup>236.</sup> JSj [1844], 104: "<Br[other]>"

<sup>237.</sup> Source: Based on NCCM, Rough Book [1844], 10-11 (WR) (NCHCM, 236-37). Cf. NN 2 (1 May 1844): [210].

<sup>238.</sup> DHC 6:347: "Pheneas"

<sup>239.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 104 (WR) (APR, 475), with last part of first paragraph ("and he was notified ... court-martial") from CHOj 1:11, 29 Apr. 1844 (TB).

<sup>240.</sup> See Joseph Smith to Charles C. Rich, 29 Apr. 1844, JSLS, Bx 2, fd 7, 15-18 (TB).

<sup>241.</sup> DHC 6:348: adds "(Impression of May 1st)"

<sup>242.</sup> Source: NN 2 (1 May 1844): [211].

<sup>243.</sup> Book E-1, 2027: "\A./" (prob. RLC)

was instantly wrenched from his hand, and afterwards he declared he would have shot the mayor if we had let his pistol alone, and also he would thank God for the privilege of ridding the world of a tyrant! C[hauncey]. L. Higbee responded to Foster's threats and swore that he would do it.

However, the three were arrested and brought before the mayor, whereupon O[rrin]. P. Rockwell, Joseph Coolidge, J[ohn]. P. Greene and C.<sup>244</sup> Tufts testified to the amount of the above statements, upon which evidence the court assessed a fine of one hundred dollars to each of the above-named aggressors, who appealed to the municipal court.

I wish the public to know who it is that makes insurrections and disturbs the peace and quiet of the people of the city of Nauvoo, and in order to do this I need only to tell the world that this R[obert]. D. Foster is a county magistrate, and the same R[obert]. D. Foster that was fined for gambling a few weeks since, and that this C[hauncey]. L. Higbee is a lawyer and notary public of Hancock county, and the same C[hauncey]. L. Higbee that was fined for insulting the city officers (the marshal and a constable) when in the discharge of their official duties, a few weeks since.

"When the wicked rule the people mourn, but righteousness exalteth any nation." —(Solomon).

J. P. GREENE, City Marshal.

## Nauvoo, April 29th 1844.<sup>245</sup>

N.B. We wish it to be distinctly understood that neither of the three above-named individuals are members of the Church of Latter Day Saints, but we believe C[harles]. A. Foster is a Methodist.

J. P. G.

<sup>246</sup>Tuesday, 30.—At home counseling the brethren about many things; received much company, &c. <sup>247</sup>In the afternoon<sup>248</sup> in council with Hiram Clark and B[righam]. Young at B[righam]. Young's house, on the affairs of the church in England.

<sup>249</sup>A complaint was commenced against William and Wilson Law in the Masonic Lodge, &c.

 $^{250}$ Sent notification to two more officers to sit in the court-martial on the trial of William and Wilson Law.

<sup>251</sup>The Osprey steamer touched at the Nauvoo House landing in the evening.

# [DN 7 (5 August 1857): 169]

<sup>252</sup>/<sup>253</sup>May 1.—Wednesday, 1.<sup>254</sup>—Heavy rain and wind last night<sup>255</sup>.

<sup>244.</sup> DHC 6:349:"E."

<sup>245.</sup> Dateline appears only in NN.

<sup>246.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 105 (WR) (APR, 476).

<sup>247.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:10, which does not mention topic of conversation (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>248.</sup> Book E-1, 2028 (darker ink): "{\In the afternoon/}" (LH)

<sup>249.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 105 (WR) (APR, 476).

<sup>250.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:11, 30 Apr. 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>251.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 105 (WR) (APR, 476).

<sup>252.</sup> The remainder of p. 2028 of Book E-1, containing the entry for 1 May and part of 2 May, is canceled with a note: "See Book F." (LH). The text is repeated in Book F-1, 1. *DN* has been proofed against both versions. *Source*: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 106 (WR) (*APR*, 476), with detail about "gentleman from Quincy" added from an undetermined source.

<sup>253.</sup> Handwriting of RLC ends in Book E-1, 2028; JG's begins in Book F-1, 1, and continues to p. 146 (chap. 28).

<sup>254.</sup> Book E-1, 2028: omits date; "May 1" in margin; DHC 6:349: "Wednesday, May 1."

<sup>255.</sup> JSj [1844], 106: "<Heavy rain ... night>"

At home <sup>256</sup>counseling the brethren, and rode out a short time in the afternoon with a gentleman from Quincy.

Elder Lyman Wight and Bishop George Miller arrived from the Pine country.

<sup>257</sup>Mr. Thomas<sup>258</sup> A. Lyne, a tragedian <sup>259</sup>from New York, assisted by G[eorge]. J. Adams and others, got up a theatrical exhibition in the lower room of the Masonic Hall, which was fitted up with very tasteful scenery. They performed ["]Pizarro,["] ["]the Orphan of Geneva,["] <sup>260</sup>["]Douglas,["] ["]the Idiot Witness,["] ["]Damon and Pythias,["] and other plays, with marked success; the hall was well attended each evening, and the audience expressed their entire satisfaction and approbation.

<sup>261</sup>Thursday, 2.—Very windy all night, breaking<sup>262</sup> down large trees; a thunder storm also<sup>263</sup>.

<sup>264</sup>At home, and counseling the brethren.

<sup>265</sup>Sent William<sup>266</sup> Clayton to Wilson Law to find out why he refused paying his note, when he brought in some claims as a set-off, which Clayton knew were paid, leaving me no remedy but the glorious uncertainty of the law.

 $^{267}$ At 10 a.m., the *Maid of Iowa* steamer started for Rock river for a load of wheat and corn to feed the laborers on the Temple.

William Clayton and Col[onel]. Stephen Markham started to attend court at Dixon on the case of "Joseph Smith vs. Harmon T. Wilson and Joseph H. Reynolds."

In the afternoon I rode to the prairie to sell some land, and during my absence Lucien Woodworth returned from Texas.

Lieut. Aaron Johnson made the following affidavit:

<sup>268</sup>Nauvoo, May 2d, 1844.

```
State of Illinois, Hancock co., City of Nauvoo.
```

Personally appeared before me, John Taylor, judge-advocate of the Nauvoo Legion, Aaron Johnson; and being duly sworn deposes and says, that on or about the 28th day of April, 1844, at

<sup>256.</sup> Book E-1, 2028: adds "and spent a considerable time"

<sup>257.</sup> Source: Based on "Nauvoo Theatre," NN 2 (1 May 1844): [210].

<sup>258.</sup> Book E-1, 2028: "T."

<sup>259.</sup> Book E-1, 2028: adds "of note"

<sup>260.</sup> Book E-1, 2028: adds ellipses over erasure of about three words

<sup>261.</sup> Source: Based on CHOj 1:11, 2 May 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI. 12).

<sup>262.</sup> Book E-1, 2028: replaces "breaking" with "which broke"

<sup>263.</sup> Book E-1, 2028: adds "during the night"

<sup>264.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 107 (WR) (APR, 476), which reads: "at home. Many called for counsel".

<sup>265.</sup> Source: Based on WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 2 May 1844 (*IC*, 131-32; *NTNLF*, 410-11; DMQP, 18), which reads: "went to Pres[iden]t J[oseph]'s and he desired me to go to Mr Laws to find out why they refused to pay their note. I went with Moore and asked Wilson [Law] what he meant by saying he had got accounts to balance the note. He seemed to tremble with anger & replied that he had demands for his services when he was ordered to call out the Legion to go and meet Smith besides money which he expended at that time. I told him that was a new idea & that Gen[era] l Smith had had no intimation of any such thing. Wm Law came in and mentioned \$400 which was borrowed of Baily \$300 of which I am satisfied was paid, and the other \$100 Wm. Law said he would pay and give it to help defray the expense of the persecution but he now demands the \$100 and some more of the \$300.—On the whole this is to me a certain evidence of the meanness of the men and a proof that they also are disposed to oppress & persecute those who have invariably befriended them & saved them from the public indignation. I returned & told J[oseph]. what had passed & he ordered Dr Richards to sue the notes & also gave Moore his own note for \$200. payable 6 months after date."

<sup>266.</sup> Book E-1, 2028: omits "William"

<sup>267.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 107 (WR) (APR, 476), with light editing and elaboration.

<sup>268.</sup> Source: NLc, fd 6, images 34-35 (WR).

the dwelling house of Wilson Law in Nauvoo aforesaid, Colonel R. D. Foster, surgeon-in-chief, and brevet Brigadier-General of said Nauvoo Legion, while talking about General Joseph Smith, said that General Smith kept a gang of robbers and plunderers about his house for the purpose of robbing and plundering, and he (Smith)<sup>269</sup> received half the spoils; also that said General Joseph Smith tried to get him (Foster) to go and kill Boggs; with many other ungentlemanly and unofficer-like observations concerning said<sup>270</sup> General Smith and others.

#### AARON JOHNSON,

2d Lieut. 1st Comp[any]. 1st Regiment, 2d Cohort, Nauvoo Legion.

Personally appeared, Aaron Johnson, the signer of the above complaint, and made oath the same was true according to the best of his knowledge and belief the day and year above written<sup>271</sup> before me,

JOHN TAYLOR,

Judge-Advocate of the Nauvoo Legion.

<sup>272</sup>Friday, 3.—At home giving advice to brethren who were constantly calling to ask for counsel. Several thunder showers during the day.

In general council from 2 to 6, and from 8 to 10 p.m. Lucien Woodworth gave an account of his mission.

 $[...]^{273}$ 

Wrote a letter to uncle John Smith, and requested him to attend general council next Monday. The following letter was written:

<sup>274</sup>Nauvoo, May 3d, 1844.

Elder Reuben Hedlock,

Dear Brother:—Your long communication by Elder Kay was received two weeks last Saturday; also the one by Elder Clark last Saturday, and we feel to thank<sup>275</sup> you for the care you have taken to write us so particularly. We are glad to receive such communications, and wish you to continue the same course as opportunities present. The brethren have all had good passages (four ships.) Elder Clark was only five weeks and three days to New Orleans; all things safe.

All things are going on gloriously at Nauvoo. We shall make a great wake in the nation; Joseph for President. Your family is well, and friends generally. We have already received several hundred volunteers to go out electioneering and preaching, and more offering. We go for storming the nation. But we must proceed to realities.

The whisperings of the Spirit to us are that you do well to content yourself awhile longer in old England, and let your wife remain where she is. We hope the Temple may be completed say one year from this spring, when in many respects changes will take place; until then who can do better in England than yourself? But we will not leave you comfortless; we will

<sup>269.</sup> MS affidavit, 1:"<(Smith)>"

<sup>270.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: "<said>"

<sup>271.</sup> MS affidavit, 1:"<the day and year above written>"

<sup>272.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs based on JSj [1844], 108 (WR) (APR, 476), with editing and elaboration. Part about weather taken from CHOj 1:11, 3 May 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>273.</sup> Following instructions in RDft 8:38, Book F-1, 2, has ten blank lines with penciled note: "(Blank for Lucien Woodworth's account.)" (JG), which was not supplied.

<sup>274.</sup> Source: BYOF, Bx 16, fd 1, item 5. Insertions and cancellations probably the work of those preparing MSHiJS.

<sup>275.</sup> Book F-1, 2: "<to> thank {\you/}"; "you" apparently w.o. "{ful}" (JG)

send Elders to your assistance. For three or four months we want all the help we can get in the United States; after which *you* may expect help.

In the meantime you are at liberty to print as many "Stars," pamphlets, hymn books, tracts, cards<sup>276</sup>, &c., as you can sell; and make all the money you can in righteousness. *Don't reprint everything* you get from Nauvoo; many things are printed here not best to circulate in England. Select and write doctrine, and *matter* (*new*), such as will be useful to the Saints in England and new to us, so that when we exchange papers all will be edified. God shall give you wisdom if you will seek to him, and you shall prosper in your printing.

We also wish you to unfurl your flag on your shipping office, and send all the Saints you can to New York, or Boston, or Philadelphia, or any other port in the United States<sup>277</sup>, but not at our expense any longer. We have need of something to sustain us in our labors, and we want you to go ahead with printing and shipping, and make enough to support yourself and help us a bit. You will doubtless find it necessary to employ br[other]. Ward. Keep your books straight, so that we in the end can know every particular.

Ship everybody to America you can get the money for—Saint and sinner—a general ship-ping-office. And we would like to have our shipping-agent in Liverpool sleep on as good a bed, eat at as respectable a house, keep as genteel an office, and have his boots shine as bright and blacked as often as any other office-keeper. Yes, sir; make you money enough to wear a good broad-cloth, and show the world that you represent gentlemen of worth, character and respectability.

We will by-and-by have offices from the rivers to the ends of the earth, and we will begin at Liverpool from this time and increase, and *increase*, and INCREASE<sup>278</sup> the business of the office as fast as it can be done in safety and circumstances will permit. Employ a runner if necessary, and show the world you can do a better and more honorable business than anybody else, and more of it. Don't be afraid to blow your trumpet.

We need not say deal with everybody so that they will want to deal with you again, and make all the money you honestly can. Send no more emigrants on emigration, books, or Star money. Temple orders for emigrants may be filled on Temple funds. Keep account of all moneys in their separate departments, and favor us with a report occasionally.

Sell the Books of Mormon the first opportunity if it be at a reduced price, and forward the money by the first safe conveyance to Brigham Young.

We will pay your wife as you requested in your letter as soon as possible. We wish you to take care of yourself and family, and withal help us beside<sup>279</sup>; and we have now put you in possession of means to do it.

Let nobody know your business but the underwriters; our wives know not all our business, neither does any wise man's wife know all things, for the secret of the Lord is with those that fear him, and do his business: a hint to the wise is sufficient. But we will add, if you want us to do anything for your wife, write us, and we will do it, but keep our business from your wife and from everybody else<sup>280</sup>.

We are glad to hear a door is open in France, and sure we have no objections to your going over and preaching, &c.; but we think perhaps you will now find as much to do in England as you can find time to do it in<sup>281</sup>; if not, go by all means. We are in hopes of sending

<sup>276.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<cards>"

<sup>277.</sup> MS letter, 1: "<or any [other] port in the U[nited]. States>"

<sup>278.</sup> DHC 6:352: omits third "and increase"

<sup>279.</sup> DHC 6:352: "besides"

<sup>280.</sup> MS letter, 2: "<any thing for your wife ... every body else>"

<sup>281.</sup> MS letter, 3: "<it in>"

a special messenger to France in a few days; if so, very likely he may call on you, and you pass over and give him an introduction; this would be pleasant for you all.

<sup>282</sup>Br[other]. Hedlock, a word with you privately. Joseph said last conference that Zion included all North and South America; and after the Temple was done, and the Elders endowed, they would spread abroad and build up cities all over the United States; but at present we are not to teach this doctrine; nay, *hold your tongue*; but by this you can see why it is wisdom for the Saints to get into the United States, anywhere—rather than stay in England to starve.

The prophet has a charter for a dam from the lower line of the city to the island opposite Montrose, and from thence to the sand-bar above in the Mississippi. Could five, six, or seven thousand dollars be raised to commence the dam at the lower extremity, and erect a building, any machinery might be propelled by water. The value of a steam-engine would nearly build the dam sufficient for a cotton-factory, which we much need. Start some capitalists if you can; 'tis the greatest speculation in the world; a world of cotton and woollen goods are wanted here.

We have proposed to br[other]. Clark to return to your assistance in the shipping business soon; also to enter into exchanges of goods and produce; which he will do he has not decided. What will hinder your doing a good business in shipping this season? Good? *Yes*; in competing with the first offices in the city, and by *next season* taking the lead, if not this! When the Saints get to New York, Boston, &c., let them go to work, spread abroad in the land, or come to Nauvoo, as they find convenient and have means; and when the season arrives start again for New Orleans. Write soon after the receipt of this, and let us know the prospect.

Tell the Saints when they arrive in America to make themselves as comfortable as they can, and be diligent in business, and not be over anxious if they cannot come to Nauvoo. They will find Elders in<sup>283</sup> all the States who will be ready to give them instruction, <sup>284</sup> and if they can gather something by the way by their industry<sup>285</sup> to assist themselves with when they arrive here, it will be well for them.

<sup>286</sup>In explanation of your letter in reference to Bro[ther] Young refusing to fulfil his contracts when the ½ acre is paid for—and the building of the house, and the engagement to the Temple are settled all of which are going forward as fast as circumstances will permit—all the demands you refer to will have been canceled, and something more.—Bro[ther] Young has not refused to do anything agreed upon—but expect to fulfil the whole.—

We have dropped the Nauvoo House until the Temple can be completed, and the Temple is going on finely. We have had an open winter and <sup>287</sup> forward spring. The Twelve are holding general conferences all over the United States; they will go east soon, and br[other]. Young will write to you as soon as he gets the information to tell what house you can remit the book money to in New York.

We shall have a State Convention at Nauvoo on the 17th inst.,—an election. A great many are believing the doctrine. If any of the brethren wish to go to Texas we have no particular objection; you may send a hundred thousand there if you can in eighteen months, though we expect before that<sup>288</sup> you will return to receive your endowment, and then we will consult your interest, with others who may be going abroad, about taking their families with them.

<sup>282.</sup> In MS letter, 3, this and next paragraph are written in tightly spaced lines, part interlinearly.

<sup>283.</sup> MS letter, 3: "through <in>"

<sup>284.</sup> MS letter, 3: adds "which we have not time now to communicate, [illegible]"

<sup>285.</sup> MS letter, 3: "<by their industry>"

<sup>286.</sup> This paragraph canceled in MS letter, 3, probably by those preparing MSHiJS, and omitted in Book F-1, 4, and DHC 6:353.

<sup>287.</sup> DHC 6:353: adds "a"

<sup>288.</sup> MS letter, 3: "<before that>"

The kingdom is organized; and although as yet no bigger than a grain of mustard seed, the little plant is in a flourishing condition, and our prospects brighter than ever. Cousin Lemuel is very friendly, and cultivating the Spirit of peace and union in his family very extensively.

William and Wilson Law, R [obert]. D. Foster, C [hauncey]. L. and F [rancis]. Higbee, father Cowles, &c., have organized a new church. (Laws and Fosters were first cut off.) William Law is prophet, James Blakesley and Cowles, counselors; Higbee and Foster of the twelve. Cannot learn all particulars: Charles Ivins, bishop; old Dr. Green and old John Scott, his counselors. They are talking of sending a mission to England, but it will probably be after this when they come among you. 'Tis the same old story over again, "The doctrine is right, but Joseph is a fallen prophet."—Your brethren in the new covenant,

BRIGHAM YOUNG, WILLARD RICHARDS.

<sup>289</sup>P.S. In explanation of your letter in reference to my not "fulfilling my contracts" [and] ["]refusing to let Sister Hedlock have money," &c. I can say that when the ½ acre is paid for, and the building of the house, (for which Bro[ther] Whitesides has agreed to take land) and the engagement to the Temple are settled,—all of which are going forward as fast as circumstances will permit—all the demands you refer to will have be[en] canceled—and something more. If you will keep the Land and will settle with Bro[ther] Whitesides[,] I am perfectly willing you should, and am ready to received the money. I have done all I agreed trust this explanation will be satisfactory.

P.S. You will please forward without delay the Book money you may have on hand to Brigham Young—per. Hamden & Co. forwarding agents, No. 3 Wall St N[ew]. York—and write B[righam]. Young—care of Richard Burdge, No. 1, McDougall St—New York corner of Spring St.—informing Bro[ther] Young concerning the money &c.—we expect the twelve will start east this week, and hope you will get this seasonably [in order] to get the money in N[ew]. York in time [before] Bro[ther] Young arrives there. [...]<sup>290</sup>

W[illard] R[ichar]ds

Elder Parley P. Pratt wrote from Richmond, Mass., as follows:

<sup>291</sup>Dear Br[other]. Joseph and Br[other]. Orson Spencer, or whom it may concern:

This is to forewarn you that you have a snake in the grass—a base traitor and hypocrite in your midst—of whom perhaps you may not be fully<sup>292</sup> aware. You may think<sup>293</sup> these harsh terms, but I speak from good evidence and speak the truth.

Mr. Augustine Spencer, brother to Elder<sup>294</sup> Orson Spencer, has written a letter from Nauvoo, which is now going the rounds in this neighborhood, and is fraught with the most

<sup>289.</sup> Postscript omitted in MSHiJS provided here from MS letter, 4.

<sup>290.</sup> Last part of postscript difficult to read: "the first opportunity I wish you to send me some 3-4 or [illegible] Day—boxes of [illegible] steel [illegible] [medium?] [illegible] Im [illegible] without [illegible]."

<sup>291.</sup> Source: P. P. Pratt, Richmond, MA, to JS and O. Spencer, Nauvoo, IL, 3 May 1844, JSLR, Bx 3, fd 7, 39-40 (PPP). The letter was attached to one PPP sent to his wife Mary Ann and included the following instruction to her: "Dear wife the subject I am about to write upon this page I wish you to share to Br Joseph Smith and afterwards to Br Orson Spencer without delay, you can tear off this half of the sheet and hand it to them." Letter ends with date "May 3d", but filed under 30 May. TB's file notation has penciled correction: "May 3\0,/ 1844". Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>292.</sup> Book F-1, 5: "<fully>" (JG)

<sup>293.</sup> Book F-1, 5: "<think>" (JG)

<sup>294.</sup> MS letter, 1: replaces "Elder" with "Br."

infamous slander and lies concerning Joseph Smith and others, and which is calculated to embitter the minds of the people who read or hear it. It affirms that Joseph Smith is in the habit of drinking, swearing, carousing, dancing all night, &c., &c. <sup>295</sup>; and that he keeps six or seven young females as wives, &c., and many other such like insinuations.

At the same time he cautions the people to whom he writes, to keep the letter in such a way that a knowledge of its contents may not reach Nauvoo, as he says he is on intimate terms and confidential friendship with the "Prophet Jo[e]" and the Mormons, and that he hopes to get into office by their means: this is his own acknowledgment of his own baseness, imposition and hypocrisy. I have not seen the letter myself, but have carefully examined the testimony of those who have, and I have also seen and witnessed its baneful effect upon the people here.

Now, I say to the Saints, let such a man alone severely; shun him as they would the pestilence; be not deceived by a smooth tongue nor flattering words. Neither accept of any excuse nor<sup>296</sup> apology until he boldly contradicts and counteracts his lying words abroad, but rather expose and unmask him in your midst, that he may be known and consequently become powerless, if he is not already so.

Dear Br[other] Joseph, and Dear Br[other] Spencer, and Dear Brethren are and All I remember with Deep sensations and sweet communion while together in the peaceful and welcomed Nauvoo, and I long for the time when it may be again renewed. To be abroad is to be Banished from that which is most precious and Dear to my heart, and I long for the time when I may again, and forever enjoy the society of those of whom the world is not worthy. Do not, Dear Brethren, Doom me forever to the service of the Base and Corrupt Gentiles, But Grant me the privilege of enjoying the society of those I love Lest I Die of a Gloomy and sorrowful heart. I will Do the best I can now while abroad, but I purpose if the Lord will to return as soon as I can fulfil my Duties here. Lies, Bitterness and prejudice are increasing and the veil of Darkness is thickening in every Direction, as if the last cheering Ray of Light, <sup>297</sup> and Love was receding from the heart of man. I shudder while in their midst and I long to be away where the wicked cease from traveling and the weary are at Rest, or at least where the righteous rule, and where Intelligence and affection swells the Bosom of man. To be elsewhere is hell enough for me, and I believe it is punishment sufficient for all my sins.

Please accept my very least Respects and present them to All my friends who may enquire after me.

I am well and expect to be in Boston tomorrow.

I remain as ever your friend and brother in the love of the<sup>298</sup> truth,

P. P. PRATT.

Richmond, Mass., May 3rd, 1844.

Gen. Joseph Smith and Others.

<sup>299</sup>Saturday, 4.—Rode out on the prairie to sell some land<sup>300</sup>. The Stone work for four circular windows finished cutting for the middle story of the Temple. **Very pleasant day.** Elder W[ilford]. Woodruff moved into his new brick house.

<sup>295.</sup> DHC 6:353: omits second "&c."

<sup>296.</sup> DHC 6:355: "or"

<sup>297.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "was"

<sup>298.</sup> DHC 6:355: omits "the"

<sup>299.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 109 (WR) (APR, 476), with editing and elaboration. Last sentence based on WWj, vol. 4, 4 May 1844 (WWj 2:393). Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type.

<sup>300.</sup> JSj [1844], 109:"... to see some land, & sell to—." Possibly relates to JS to James Goff, 20 May 1844 (NLB&D, No. 548).

A court-martial was detailed as follows:

<sup>301</sup>Headquarters, Nauvoo Legion, May 4th, 1844.

To Alanson Ripley, sergeant-major, 2nd Cohort, Nauvoo Legion:

You are hereby<sup>302</sup> forthwith commanded to notify the following named officers of the Nauvoo Legion to assemble at the office of Lieut.-Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith on Friday the 10th inst., at nine o'clock a.m., as members of a court-martial detailed for the trial of R[obert]. D. Foster, surgeon-in-chief, and brevet Brigadier-General of the Nauvoo Legion, on the complaint of Lieut. Aaron Johnson, for unofficer-like and unbecoming conduct; and hereof fail not and make returns of your proceeding<sup>303</sup> to the president of the court on the first day of its sitting, viz:

Brig.-Gen. George Miller as president,

Brevet Brig.-Gen. Hugh McFall,

- " Daniel H. Wells,
- " John S. Ful[l]mer,

Colonel Jonathan Dunham, 304

- ' Stephen Markham, 305
- " Hosea Stout,
- " John Scott,

Lieut.-Col[onel]. John D. Parker,

- " Jonathan H. Hale,
- " Theodore Turley,

as members<sup>306</sup>, and Colonel John Taylor as judge-advocate; also to summons Willard Richards and Aaron Johnson to appear at the same time and place as witnesses.

Given under my hand the day and year above written,

CHARLES C. RICH, Major-General N. L., Commanding.

<sup>307</sup>Dr. Richards wrote a letter at Pres[iden]t. B[righam]. Young's request<sup>308</sup> to Reuben Hedlock.
<sup>309</sup>Sunday, 5.—At home. Instructed Dr. [Willard] Richards, my clerk, to go to Quincy and pay Walsh 100 dollars due on my farm. Rainy day. Messenger did not go.

Elder Jedediah M. Grant preached at the Mansion at 2 p.m. A large company of friends **in bar room** at my house afternoon and evening, whom I addressed on the true policy of this people in our intercourse with the national government<sup>310</sup>.

<sup>301.</sup> Source: NLc, fd 6, images 36-37 (CCR). On back is the following endorsement: "This is to certify that I have subpoen[a]ed the the within named persons and made returns according to orders. \Except J Dun=ham & S Markum who are Absent/ this 9th day of May 1844[.] A Riply Serg[eant] Major." Insertion in darker ink.

<sup>302.</sup> Book F-1, 5 (different ink): "<hereby>" (JG)

<sup>303.</sup> DHC 6:355: "proceedings"

<sup>304.</sup> MS letter, 1 (darker ink): inserts "\Absent/" at eoln (AR); cancellation in pencil.

<sup>305.</sup> MS letter, 1 (darker ink): inserts "\Absent/" at eoln (AR); cancellation in pencil.

<sup>306.</sup> DHC 6:355: adds "of said court"

<sup>307.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:11 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>308.</sup> Book F-1, 6: "<request>" (JG)

<sup>309.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 110 (WR) (APR, 476). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>310.</sup> JSj [1844], 110: replaces "the true policy ... national government" with "petitions[,] read [Col. John] Friersons letter, Clays letter, &c." Possibly refers to Frierson's letter, dated Quincy, IL, 12 Oct. 1843, published in NN 2

# J[ohn] P. Green attended Conference at Quincy Saturday and today.

<sup>311</sup>A conference was held at Marsh Hill, (formerly Froom's Hill,) England, comprising 681 members, 22 Elders, 43 Priests, 15 Teachers, 7 Deacons.

<sup>312</sup>Monday, 6.—Attended general council all day; <sup>313</sup> Elder J. M. Grant was added to <sup>314</sup> the council. <sup>315</sup> Voted to send Almon W. Babbitt on a mission to France and Lucien Woodworth to Texas. Sidney Rigdon was nominated as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States.

I had a warrant served on me by John D. Parker<sup>316</sup>, issued by the clerk of the circuit court at Carthage on the complaint of Francis M. Higbee, who had laid his damages at \$5,000, but for *what* the writ does not state!!<sup>317</sup>

I petitioned the municipal court for a writ of habeas corpus, which I obtained. Writ issued by clerk of Municipal Court [Willard Richards].<sup>318</sup>

At 6 p.m., I was in conversation with Jeremiah Smith and a number of gentlemen in my office on the subject of Emma's correspondence with Governor Carlin.

<sup>319</sup>Beautiful day. West wind.

<sup>320</sup>Tuesday 7.—**At home. Pleasant morning.** Rode out on the prairie at 9 a.m. with some gentlemen to sell them some land. A tremendous thunder shower in the afternoon with a strong wind and rain, which abated about sunset, and I stayed at my farm all night.

#### 10 [a.m.] Municipal Court met. Adjourned till tomorrow 10 A.M.

Esquire Daniel H. Wells issued a writ of ejectment against all persons who had bought land of Dr.<sup>321</sup> R[obert]. D. Foster on the block east of the Temple, Foster having given them warranty deeds, but not having paid for the land himself.

An opposition printing press arrived at Dr. Foster's from Columbus, Ohio as reports says. The following notice was issued by the recorder:

<sup>322</sup> State of Illinois,	)
City of Nauvoo.	}
To the Marshal of th	ne said city, greeting

<sup>(5</sup> June 1844): [230]-[31], defending the Mormons. For Henry Clay's letter, dated Ashland, KY, 15 Nov. 1843, and JS's reply, see DHC 6:376-77 (chap. 17).

<sup>311.</sup> This paragraph added interlinearly in Book F-1, 6 (LH). *Source*: Based on "Reports of Conferences," *MSt* 5 (July 1844): 27-28.

<sup>312.</sup> Source: This day's entry (except last paragraph) from JSj [1844], 111 (WR) (APR, 476-77), with editing and elaboration. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>313.</sup> JSj [1844], 111, reads: "at home[.] 10 [A.M.] to 12 in council.—2 to 4½ PM in council."

<sup>314.</sup> Book F-1, 6 (pencil): "<to>"

<sup>315.</sup> Book F-1, 6: "<Elder J. M. Grant ... council.>" (LH); this detail not in JSj [1844], 111. Possibly added under direction of JMG, who was present when the revision committee reviewed this section of Book F-1. See p. 21, where a penciled note in margin reads: "Aug 11, 1856[.] B.Y., H.C.K., J.M.G., L.H."

<sup>316.</sup> Detail about John D. Parker not in JSj [1844], 111.

<sup>317.</sup> Elaboration about the lack of substance in the warrant not in JSj [1844], 111.

<sup>318.</sup> See below in this chapter: JS, Petition to Nauvoo Municipal Court, 6 May 1844, JSLP, Bx 4, fd 14, 5-8 (WR); also NCRc, Bx 5, fd 26, images 1-4 (WR). Probably the source for details in this entry not mentioned in JSj.

<sup>319.</sup> Source: Based on CHOj 1:12, 6 May 1844 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.12). JSj [1844], 111, reads: "very pleasant".

<sup>320.</sup> Source: Following four paragraphs from JSj [1844], 112 (WR) (APR, 477), with editing and rearrangement. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>321.</sup> DHC 6:356: omits "Dr."

<sup>322.</sup> Source: NCRc, Bx 2, fd 9, 17-18 (WR). Cf. DHC 6:347, under 29 Apr. 1844 (chap. 16).

You are hereby required to notify Phinehas<sup>323</sup> Richards, Edward Hunter, and Levi Richards, that they have been elected members of the city council of said city; and Elias Smith that he has been elected alderman of said city by said city council; and the said councilors and alderman, and Gustavus Hills,<sup>324</sup> are required to appear, receive<sup>325</sup> their oath of office, and take seats in said council on Saturday the 8th <sup>326</sup>June, 1844, at 10 o'clock a.m., at the council chamber.—By order of the council.

Witness my hand and 327 corporation seal this 7th May, 1844,

[L. S.]

W. RICHARDS. Recorder.

# [DN 7 (12 August 1857): 177-79]

<sup>328</sup>Thursday, 8.—Returned home. At 10 a.m. went before the municipal court on the case<sup>329</sup> "Francis M. Higbee v[ersu]s. Joseph Smith." <sup>330</sup>I insert the report of the trial as published by direction of the court:

#### <sup>331</sup>MUNICIPAL COURT.

[Joseph Smith's Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus.]

City of Nauvoo, Illinois.

Third Day, Regular Term, May 8, 1844.

Before Alderman N. K. Whitney, acting chief justice, and Aldermen Daniel H. Wells, William Marks, Orson Spencer, George W. Harris, Gustavus Hills, George A. Smith, and Samuel Bennett, associate justices, presiding.

```
EX-PARTE,

JOSEPH SMITH, SEN.
ON HABEAS CORPUS

Messrs. Stiles & Rigdon,
Counsel for Smith.
```

This case came before the court upon a return to a writ of *habeas corpus* which was issued by this court on the 6th of May instant, upon <sup>332</sup>petition of Joseph Smith, sen., as follows:

```
Sct.^{333}STATE OF ILLINOIS, CITY OF NAUVOO.
```

To the Honorable Municipal Court in 335 and for the City of Nauvoo:

<sup>323.</sup> DHC 6:357: "Phineas"

<sup>324.</sup> MS notice, 1: "<& Gustavus Hills,>"

<sup>325.</sup> MS notice, 1: "before said take < receive>"

<sup>326.</sup> DHC 6:357: adds "of"

<sup>327.</sup> MS notice, 1: adds "seal of"

<sup>328.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 113 (WR) (APR, 477).

<sup>329.</sup> JSj [1844], 113: replaces "case" with "complaint"

<sup>330.</sup> DHC 6:357: omits next sentence

<sup>331.</sup> Source: JS applied for a writ of Habeas Corpus on 6 May, but his case was deferred by the Municipal Court to 8 May. The several documents involving JS's application on these dates were simultaneously published in NN 2 (15 May 1844): [219]; and T&S 5 (15 May 1844): 536-37. RDft 8:40 directs scribe to copy NN. For MS sources behind these publications, see notations below. Cf. NCRc, Bx 5, fd 26; NMCDB, 95-96.

<sup>332.</sup> DHC 6:357: adds "the"

<sup>333.</sup> Source: Original petition to Nauvoo Municipal Court, 6 May 1844, located in JSLP, Bx 4, fd 14, 5-8 (WR); also NCRc, Bx 5, fd 26, image numbers 1-4 (WR).

<sup>334.</sup> MS original, 1: omits "Sct."

<sup>335.</sup> DHC 6:357: omits "in"

The undersigned, your petitioner, most respectfully represents that he is an inhabitant of said city; your petitioner further represents that he is under arrest in said city, and is now in the custody of one John D. Parker, deputy sheriff of the county of Hancock, and State of Illinois; <sup>336</sup>that the said Parker holds your petitioner by <sup>337</sup>a writ of "capias ad respondendum," issued by the clerk of the circuit court of the county of Hancock, and State of Illinois, at the instance of one Francis M. Higbee of said county, requiring your petitioner to answer the said Francis M. Higbee, "of a plea of the case," damage five thousand dollars; your petitioner further represents that the proceedings against <sup>338</sup>him are illegal; that the said warrant of arrest is informal, and not of that character which the law recognizes as valid; that the said writ is wanting and deficient in the plea therein contained; that the charge or complaint which your petitioner is therein <sup>339</sup>required to answer is not <sup>340</sup>known to the law.

Your petitioner further avers that the said writ does not disclose in any way or manner <sup>341</sup>whatever any<sup>342</sup> cause of action; which matter your petitioner most respectfully submits for your consideration, <sup>343</sup>together with a copy of the said warrant of arrest which is hereunto attached.

Your petitioner further states that this proceeding has been instituted against him without any just or legal cause; and further that the said Francis M. Higbee is actuated by no other motive than a desire to persecute and harass your petitioner for the base purpose of gratifying feelings of revenge, which, without any cause, the said Francis M. Higbee has for a long time been fostering and cherishing.

Your petitioner further states that he is not guilty of the charge preferred against him, or of any act against him, by which the said Francis M. Higbee could have any charge, claim, or demand whatever against your petitioner.

Your petitioner further states that he verily believes that another object the said F. M. Higbee had in instituting the proceeding was, and is, to throw your petitioner into the hands of his enemies, that he might the better carry out <sup>344</sup>a conspiracy which has for some time been brewing against the life of your petitioner.

Your petitioner further states that the suit which has been instituted against him has been instituted 345 through malice, private pique and corruption.

Your petitioner would therefore most respectfully ask your honorable body to grant him the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus, that the whole matter may be thoroughly investigated, and such order made as the law and justice demands<sup>346</sup> in the premises; and your petitioner will ever pray.

JOSEPH SMITH, Sen.

Nauvoo, May 6th, 1844.347

<sup>336.</sup> DHC 6:358: adds "and"

<sup>337.</sup> MS original, 1, NN 2:[219]: add "virtue of"

<sup>338.</sup> MS original, 1: adds "your Petitioner"

<sup>339.</sup> MS original, 1: adds "contained"

<sup>340.</sup> MS original, 1: adds "of that of"

<sup>341.</sup> MS original, 2: adds "any"

<sup>342.</sup> MS original, 2: "the <any>"

<sup>343.</sup> MS original, 2: adds "that said"

<sup>344.</sup> MS original, 2: adds "the"

<sup>345.</sup> MS original, 3: "done <Instituted>"

<sup>346.</sup> DHC 6:358: "demand"

<sup>347.</sup> DHC 6:358 incorrectly attaches this line to the next document.

#### [Order of the Municipal Court.]

 $S_{city}^{348}$ STATE OF ILLINOIS,  $S_{city}$  of Nauvoo,

The people of the State of Illinois, to the Marshal of said city, greeting:

Whereas, application has been made before the municipal court of said city that the body of one Joseph Smith, senior, of the said city of Nauvoo, is in the custody of John D. Parker, deputy sheriff of Hancock county, and State aforesaid<sup>349</sup>:

These are therefore to command the said John D. Parker, of the county aforesaid, to safely have the body of said Joseph Smith, senior, of the city aforesaid, in his custody detained, as it is said, together with the day and cause of his caption and detention, by whatsoever name the said Joseph Smith, senior, may be known or called, before the municipal court of said city forthwith, to abide such order as the said court shall make in this behalf; and further, if the said John D. Parker, or other person or persons, having said Joseph Smith, senior, of said city of Nauvoo, in custody, shall refuse or neglect<sup>350</sup> to comply with the provisions of this writ, you, the marshal of said city, or other person authorized<sup>351</sup> to serve the same, are hereby required to arrest the person or persons so refusing or<sup>352</sup> neglecting to comply as aforesaid, and bring him or them, together with the person<sup>353</sup> or persons in his or their custody, forthwith before the municipal court aforesaid, to be dealt with according to law; and herein fail not and bring this writ with you.

Witness, Willard Richards, clerk of the municipal court at Nauvoo, this 6th<sup>354</sup> day of May<sup>355</sup>, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-four<sup>356</sup>.

WILLARD RICHARDS, Clerk, M.C.C.N.<sup>357</sup>

<sup>358</sup>I hold the within-named Joseph Smith, senior, under arrest, by virtue of a *capias ad respondendum*.

<sup>348.</sup> Source: Original order of the Nauvoo Municipal Court, 6 May 1844, located in NCRc, Bx 5, fd 26, images 7-8 (WR), as well as a certified copy in NCRc, Bx 5, fd 26, images 9-10 (WR). Both documents appear to have been pre-written forms adapted to the present circumstances, with names and places filled in blank spaces (not indicated in notations). The original includes the following itemization: "Lorenzo D. Wasson is authorized | to serve the within | Fees, | For serving Writ .50 | Travel, one mile .05 | [total] 55 [cents]." And the following report: "I have served the within writ, by havving the said John D. Parker, and Joseph Smith seign. now before the court[.] Nauvoo, May 8th 1844[.] Lorenzo D. Wasson." The copy includes the following certification written by WR and signed by Wasson: "May 6th 1844—I hereby certify that the within is a true copy of the original writ of Habeas Corpus now in my possession.— Lorenzo D. Wasson."

<sup>349.</sup> MS copy, 1: "<aforesaid>"

<sup>350.</sup> MS copy, 1:"<or neglect>"

<sup>351.</sup> MS copy, 1: "Authorized" w.o. illegible

<sup>352.</sup> MS copy, 1: "or" overwrites "to"

<sup>353.</sup> MS copy, 1: "person" overwrites illegible

<sup>354.</sup> MS original, 2: "6" overwrites "2{8}"

<sup>355.</sup> MS original, 2: "May" overwrites "Nove{mber}"

<sup>356.</sup> MS original, 2: "four" overwrites "three"

<sup>357.</sup> MS copy, 2: "M.C.C.N." overwrites "{of the Municipal Court of City of Nauvoo}"

<sup>358.</sup> Remainder of this document written upside down in different handwriting at bottom of p. 2 of the certified copy in NCRc, Bx 5, fd 26, image 10.

Hancock Circuit Court. To May Term, A.D. 1844.

Francis M. Higbee
vs.

Joseph Smith.
The day of his caption, May 6th, 1844.
To damage, five thousand dollars.

WM. BACKENSTOS, S.H.C.
By J. D. PARKER, D.S.

[Arrest Warrant for Joseph Smith.]

359STATE OF ILLINOIS, Hancock county.

The people of the state of Illinois, to the Sheriff of said county greeting:

We command you that you take Joseph Smith, if to be found within your county, and him safely keep, so that you have his body before the circuit court of said county of Hancock on the first day of the next term thereof, to be holden at the courthouse in Carthage, on the third Monday in the month of May instant, to answer Francis M. Higbee, of a plea of the case; damage, the sum of five thousand dollars as he says; and you have then there this writ, and make due<sup>360</sup> return thereon in what manner you execute the same.

Witness, J. B. Backenstos, clerk of said circuit court at Carthage, this first day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-four.

[Seal] J. B. BACKENSTOS, Clerk, By D. E. HEAD, Deputy.

 $^{361}$ The sheriff is directed to hold the within named defendant to bail in the sum of five thousand dollars.

J. B. BACKENSTOS, Clerk, By D. E. HEAD, Deputy.

This is a true copy of the original now in the possession of  $^{362}$ William B. Backenstos, sheriff of Hancock county.

By J. D. PARKER, Deputy.

[Highee Notified of Decision.]

363STATE OF ILLINOIS, Hancock county,
City of Nauvoo.

To Mr. Francis M. Higbee:

Sir,—You will please to take notice that Joseph Smith, senior, has petitioned for a writ

<sup>359.</sup> Source: Copy of the arrest warrant for JS, 1 May 1844, located in JScSup, fd 9, 15-16 (TB); also in NCRc, Bx 5, fd 26, images 5-6 (TB).

<sup>360.</sup> MS copy, 1: omits "due"; Book F-1, 9: "<due>" (prob. JG)

<sup>361.</sup> DHC 6:360 omits following paragraph and signatures. While it did not appear in NN 2:[219], the compilers of MSHiJS added it from MS copy, 2.

<sup>362.</sup> MS copy, 2: adds "J. D. Parker"

<sup>363.</sup> Source: Original notice, 6 May 1844, located in NCRc, Bx 5, fd 26, images 11-12 (WR). Itemization on p. 2 of notice reads: "Con[stable] Fees .25 | 1 Miles travel 5 | [total] .30."

of *habeas corpus* from the municipal court of said city, praying that he may be liberated from the custody of John D. Parker, deputy sheriff of Hancock county, by whom he is held in custody on a *capias ad respondendum*, issued by the circuit court of Hancock county on the first day of May instant, to answer Francis M. Higbee on a plea of the case, &c.; which writ is granted<sup>364</sup>, and you will have the opportunity to appear before the municipal court, at 10 o'clock a.m., on<sup>365</sup> the 7th of May instant, at the <sup>366</sup>council chamber in said city, and show cause why said Joseph Smith, senior, should not be liberated on said *habeas corpus*.

Witness my hand and seal of court this 6th<sup>367</sup> day of May, 1844.

[Seal]<sup>368</sup>

WILLARD RICHARDS, Clerk, M.C.C.N.

<sup>369</sup>The above trial is deferred until Wednesday, the 8th instant, 10 o'clock a.m. WILLARD RICHARDS, Clerk.

 $^{370}\mathbf{I}$  have served the within by reading to the within named Francis M. Higbee. [May 8th 1844.]  $^{371}$ 

JOHN<sup>372</sup> D. PARKER, Constable.

<sup>373</sup>[Transcript of Trial.]

<sup>374</sup>Municipal Court Wednesday May 8th 1844.

Alderman Whitney was elected President of the court.

W. Richards, clerk, said that this was an adjourned session of May Term, and then read the writ of Habeas Corpus for the body of Joseph Smith, who was then in the custody of John D. Parker at the instance of Francis M. Higbee, and also the other papers in the matter.

<sup>375</sup>Mr. Higbee did not appear either by himself or counsel.

Mr. George<sup>376</sup> P. Stiles then said: The petition and papers have been read in your

<sup>364.</sup> MS notice, 1:"<which writ is granted>"

<sup>365.</sup> MS notice, 1: "on" overwrites "of"

<sup>366.</sup> MS notice, 1, NN 2:[219]: add "Mayor's"

<sup>367.</sup> DHC 6:360: "5th"

<sup>368.</sup> MS notice, 1: omits seal

<sup>369.</sup> DHC 6:360 omits the following addenda by W. Richards and J. D. Parker.

<sup>370.</sup> This report appears in MS notice, 2, apparently in handwriting of J. D. Parker.

<sup>371.</sup> MS notice, 2: adds date

<sup>372.</sup> MS notice, 2:"I."

<sup>373.</sup> The following transcript of the trial appears in MSHiJS and *DN*, but BHR deleted most of it and inserted the following summary: "The case was argued at length by Messrs. George P. Styles and Sidney Rigdon. After which the court allowed the petitioner and his counsel to proceed with the case. Whereupon President Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith, Orrin Porter Rockwell, Cyrus H. Wheelock, Joel S. Miles, Henry G. Sherwood, Heber C. Kimball, were permitted to testify proving (1) the very bad and immoral character of Francis M. Higbee; and (2) the maliciousness of his prosecution of Joseph Smith" (DHC 6:360). *Source: NN* 2 (15 May 1844): [219]; and *T&S* 5 (15 May 1844): 537-41. The published transcript was taken from TB's 10-page draft (NCRc, Bx 5, fd 26, images 25-38), which was prepared from his 13-page minutes (NCRc, Bx 5, fd 26, images 39-48). TB recorded that on 8 May he was "acting as Secretary at municipal court" (CHOj 1:12). On the following day, TB record: "copied the minutes of J. Smith's trial for publication" (Ibid.). WR, as clerk, also wrote 8-pages of minutes (NCRc, Bx 5, fd 26, images 17-24). Unless otherwise indicated, bolded text represents portion deleted in DHC.

<sup>374.</sup> From this point to end of second paragraph not in MSHiJS, DN, NN, T&S, or DHC, but added here from TB draft, 1.

<sup>375.</sup> This paragraph appears in MSHiJS, NN, and T&S, but not in TB minutes, 1, or TB draft, 1.

<sup>376.</sup> TB draft, 1, NN 2:[219]: "G."

hearing; it is a petition for a writ of <sup>377</sup> habeas corpus on the grounds—1st, the insufficiency of the writ, and other causes <sup>378</sup>assigned. The insufficiency of the <sup>379</sup> writ is sufficient to discharge the prisoner; it is the privilege and option of this court if the writ is invalid. It is the privilege of the prisoner to have all the matters investigated, in order to prove that the prosecutor is joined in with other persons in a conspiracy to take away Mr. Smith's life. Although it is competent for the court to discharge on account of the insufficiency of the writ, yet we want an examination into the matters, in order that all may be understood.

All warrants should disclose the crimes known to the court, so that the prisoner might know what answer to make; the prisoner might have had to lay in jail six months because he knows nothing what he is charged with in the writ; it might be that he is charged with debt; that he had to pay to Francis M. Higbee the sum of five thousand dollars <sup>380</sup>, or anything. There is no action specified; is it meant for trespass, for maltreating, beating, or slander, or what other crime?—so that the damage of five thousand dollars might be known for what it is.

The writ is void for want of substance and form; all who are familiar with law, common sense, or justice, must know that it is indefinite—no charge defined. If we are not released here we shall be released in the circuit court on account of the insufficiency, <sup>381</sup>but we <sup>382</sup>are now willing to investigate the merits of the case. We know nothing but from information from other sources, and we want this court to determine whether we are held to any charge to Francis M. Higbee; we have given him notice to attend here, if he has any cause to keep us<sup>383</sup> here.

I propose to bring in the testimony of the prisoner; he has averred certain facts; he is ready to make oath of them if your honors require it. There is no ordinance against the prisoner taking his oath; it is within the province of the court to allow him<sup>384</sup> to do so; it is the privilege of the court in any case to hear the plaintiff<sup>385</sup>; law is founded on justice.<sup>386</sup>

Sidney Rigdon said: It has been truly stated that this court has nothing before it on which it<sup>387</sup> can act. There is a prisoner brought into court who is in custody within the province of your honors<sup>388</sup>; those papers have been read but they disclose no crime—no guilt; there are no merits to try; they present no meritorious cause of action; they do not present the prisoner's guilt in any form whatever; what are the merits? Shall we try him for horse stealing, burglary, arson, <sup>389</sup> or what? <sup>390</sup>You shall hear the merits if you can find

<sup>377.</sup> TB draft, 1, NN 2:[219]: replace "a writ of" with "an"

<sup>378.</sup> TB draft, 1: adds "are"

<sup>379.</sup> TB draft, 1:"<of the>"

<sup>380.</sup> TB draft, 1: "\$500". Probably a mistake since TB minutes, 1, reads "5,000".

<sup>381.</sup> TB minutes, 1: adds "of the writ"; TB draft, 1: adds "of the writ, but we do not want it on account of the insufficiency"

<sup>382.</sup> TB draft, 1: adds "want"

<sup>383.</sup> TB minutes, 1, TB draft, 1, NN 2:[219]: replace "us" with "him"

<sup>384.</sup> TB draft, 2: omits "to allow him"

<sup>385.</sup> TB minutes, 1, TB draft, 2, NN 2:[219]: add "in any case"

<sup>386.</sup> TB minutes, 1, TB draft, 2, NN 2:[219]: add "there can no iniquity rise [NN: "arise"] from any thing in this matter."

<sup>387.</sup> TB draft, 2: replaces "it" with "they"

<sup>388.</sup> NN 2:[219]: "honor"

<sup>389.</sup> TB minutes, 2: omit "burglary, arson"

<sup>390.</sup> TB minutes, 2: add "the pris[one]r. was arr[este]d. for some cause"; TB draft, 2: adds "the prisoner was arrested for some cause, but for what?"

them out; then the court has power to try. Is it burglary, <sup>391</sup>arson, or something else? What is the point to try? Those papers know no crime; this court knows no crime; there are no merits, no existence of anything<sup>392</sup>; it is an *ignis fatuus*—a Will-o'-the-wisp<sup>393</sup>, to arrest somebody for doing nothing—to have the privilege of trying a law suit about nothing. The court never says Francis M. Higbee ever preferred anything; if there can be<sup>394</sup> any merits hatched up, we will try them<sup>395</sup>.

Joseph<sup>396</sup> Smith<sup>397</sup> said: I am<sup>398</sup> satisfied that this thing can be brought to trial; it appears I am a prisoner, and by the authority of the circuit court. I petitioned this court for a hearing; I am a prisoner, and aver that it is a malicious prosecution, and a wicked conspiracy, got up by men for the purpose of harassing me, and decoying me into their hands. I want to show that this man has joined a set of men who have entered into a conspiracy to take away my life.

After hearing the case<sup>399</sup> you have power to punish, imprison, or fine, or anything you please; you have a right to punish the offender; if I am a criminal you have a right<sup>400</sup> to punish me, and send me to the circuit court; but if I am as innocent as the angels of heaven, you have power to send the prosecutor to trial if crime is proved against him<sup>401</sup>. They have no merit in their cause; I want to show up their<sup>402</sup> conspiracy—that these men are working the<sup>403</sup> basest corruption; they have lifted up their hands against innocence. You have power to hear the petitioner on his oath; I will show you a precedent.<sup>404</sup> Look at the federal court of this district; the case was made out by affidavit which I swore to before the court<sup>405</sup>.

The *habeas corpus* is granted on the testimony of the petitioner. It is the law in Blackstone, that where no other matter is in existence, and the prisoner swears he is innocent, and his character for truth is supported by good testimony, he must be discharged<sup>406</sup>; and he<sup>407</sup> then goes away as free as the proud eagle. If I have the privilege of testimony under oath to the facts that they make slander of, then they cannot do anything with it.

Suppose that I am an eye witness to the crime of adultery, or any other<sup>408</sup> crime, and know verily for myself that the man is guilty of adultery, or other<sup>409</sup> crime, and I speak

```
391. TB minutes, 2: add "horse stealing"
```

<sup>392.</sup> TB minutes, 2: replace "of anything" with "this court has no existence"

<sup>393.</sup> TB minutes, 2: omit "a Will-o'-the-wisp"

<sup>394.</sup> TB minutes, 2, TB draft, 2, NN 2:[219]: move "be" to follow "merits"

<sup>395.</sup> TB minutes, 2, TB draft, 2, NN 2:[219]: replace "them" with "it"

<sup>396.</sup> TB draft, 2, NN 2:[219]: "J."

<sup>397.</sup> TB minutes, 2: replace name with "Pro[phet]"

<sup>398.</sup> TB draft, 2, NN 2:[219]: replace "said: I am" with "was"

<sup>399.</sup> TB minutes, 2: omit "After hearing the case"

<sup>400.</sup> TB minutes, 2, TB draft, 2: replace "a right" with "power"

<sup>401.</sup> TB minutes, 2: omit "if crime is proved against him"

<sup>402.</sup> TB minutes, 2, TB draft, 2: replace "their" with "this"

<sup>403.</sup> TB minutes, 2, TB draft, 2: replace "the" with "their"

<sup>404.</sup> TB minutes, 2: omits "I will show you a precedent."

<sup>405.</sup> TB minutes, 2, TB draft, 2: replace "which I swore to before the court" with "when the court decided it just as well as giving [minutes: "givg."] oral testimony [minutes: "test."]"

<sup>406.</sup> TB minutes, 2, TB draft, 2: replace "and his character ... discharged" with "the court must set him free, a man must give his testimony and [minutes: "testy. &"] swear to [minutes: omit "to"] it"

<sup>407.</sup> TB minutes, 2, TB draft, 2, NN 2:[219]: omit "he"

<sup>408.</sup> TB minutes, 3: replace "the crime of adultery, or any other" with "a"

<sup>409.</sup> TB minutes, 3: replace "adultery, or other" with "a"

of it<sup>410</sup>, the man may sue me for damages, although I know him<sup>411</sup> to be guilty<sup>412</sup>; but if I swear to<sup>413</sup> it in a court<sup>414</sup> he cannot hurt me<sup>415</sup>.

If I have the privilege of giving testimony under oath, they can never do anything with me; but if you discharge me on the insufficiency of the writ, they can prosecute me again and again<sup>416</sup>; but if you give me a fair hearing they cannot prosecute me again. I want the oath to go to the world; I must make statements of facts in order to defend myself. I must tell the story in its true light under oath<sup>417</sup>; then I can be for ever set free. May I not have the privilege of being protected by law? The peace of myself, my family, my happiness and the happiness of this city depend upon it.

The court allowed him to proceed with the case 418.

Mr. Stiles said<sup>419</sup>: This is a malicious prosecution, and we have averred that it is malicious, and have a right to prove it. There is an insufficiency in the writ; the writ did not show any crime had been committed,<sup>420</sup> and we can show that we are not guilty of any plea in the case. There is no charge or case against us, and the whole matter is corrupt, and malicious, and wicked<sup>421</sup>.

[...]<sup>422</sup>

JOSEPH SMITH sworn—said: [...]<sup>423</sup> I must commence when Francis M. Higbee was foaming against me and the municipal court in my house<sup>424</sup>. Francis M. Higbee said he was grieved at me, and I was grieved at him. I was willing on my part to settle all difficulties, and he promised<sup>425</sup> if I would go before the city council and tell them, he would drop everything against me for ever.

I have never mentioned the name of Francis M. Higbee disrespectfully from that time to this, but have been entirely silent about him; <sup>426</sup>if any one has said that I have spoken disrespectfully since then, they have lied; and he cannot have any cause whatever. I want to testify to this court of what occurred a long time before John C. Bennett left this city. I was called on to visit Francis M. Higbee; I went and found <sup>427</sup> him on a bed on the floor. [...]

<sup>428</sup>(Here follows testimony which is too indelicate for the public eye or ear; and we

<sup>410.</sup> TB minutes, 3: omit "and I speak of it"

<sup>411.</sup> TB minutes, 3, TB draft, 3, NN 2:[219]: replace "him" with "the man"

<sup>412.</sup> TB minutes, 3: add "of a crime"; TB draft, 3: adds "of adultery or crime"

<sup>413.</sup> Book F-1, 11: "<to>" (US)

<sup>414.</sup> TB minutes, 3: omit "but if I swear to it in a court"

<sup>415.</sup> TB minutes, 3, TB draft, 3: add "at all"

<sup>416.</sup> TB minutes, 3: omit "and again"

<sup>417.</sup> TB minutes, 3, TB draft, 3: replace "under oath" with "and [minutes: "&"] then I am ready to swear to it [minutes: omit "it"]"

<sup>418.</sup> TB minutes, 3: omits "with the case"

<sup>419.</sup> TB draft, 3: "<said>"

<sup>420.</sup> TB minutes, 3: omit "there is an insufficiency ... committed"

<sup>421.</sup> TB minutes, 3: omit "and wicked"

<sup>422.</sup> TB draft, 3: adds "Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Brigham Young then solemnly swore to tell the truth-&c:"TB minutes, 3, has same sentence without cancellation.

<sup>423.</sup> TB minutes, 3: add "J.S. Shall I inter into all the diff[iculties] bet[wee]n. me & FMH [F. M. Higbee]. Court[:] in order to do that you must [answer?]."

<sup>424.</sup> TB minutes, 3: replace "house" with "room"

<sup>425.</sup> TB minutes, 3: omit "and he promised"

<sup>426.</sup> TB minutes, 3: add "but it is nec[essar]y. to show what he wants to get up a slander ..."

<sup>427.</sup> TB minutes, 3: replace "went and found" with "saw"

<sup>428.</sup> This paragraph appears in TB draft, 4, inserted between six lines of withheld text. It is in the handwriting of JT, who at the time was editor of both NN and T&S. The deleted portion reads: "he stunk very bad. I took Dr. Bennett

would here remark that so revolting, corrupt and disgusting has been the conduct of most of this clique, that we feel to dread having anything to do with the publication of their trials. We will not however offend the public eye or ear with a repetition of the foulness of their crimes any more.)

Bennett said Higbee pointed out the spot where he had seduced a girl, and that he had seduced another. I did not believe it; I felt hurt <sup>429</sup>and labored with Higbee about it; he swore with uplifted hands that he had lied about the matter. I went and told the girl's parents<sup>430</sup>; when Higbee and <sup>431</sup>Bennett made affidavits<sup>432</sup>, and both perjured themselves; they swore false about me<sup>433</sup> so as to blind the family<sup>434</sup>. <sup>435</sup>I brought Francis M. <sup>436</sup> Higbee before Brigham Young, Hyrum Smith and others<sup>437</sup>; Bennett was present, when they both acknowledged that they had done these things, and asked us to forgive them. I got vexed, <sup>438</sup>my feelings had been hurt; Higbee has been guilty of adulterous communication <sup>439</sup>, perjury, &c.; <sup>440</sup>which I am able to prove by men who heard them confess it.

I also preferred charges against Bennett—the same charges which I am now telling; and he got up and told them it was the truth, when he pleaded for his life, and begged to be forgiven 441. This was his own statement before sixty or seventy men; he said the charges were true against him and Higbee.

I have been endeavoring to throw out shafts to defend myself, because they were corrupt, and I knew they were determined to ruin me. He has told the public that he was<sup>442</sup> determined to prosecute me because I slandered him, although I tell nothing but the truth.

Since the settlement of our difficulties I have not mentioned his name disrespectfully<sup>443</sup>; he wants to bind up my hands in the circuit court, and make me pay heavy damages for telling the truth.

In relation to the conspiracy<sup>444</sup>, I have not heard Francis M. Higbee say he would take away my life, but Chauncey Higbee, Charles A. Foster, and Dr. Foster, said they would shoot me; and the only offence against me is telling the truth. I did say that Dr. Foster stole<sup>445</sup> a raw

out of doors and asked him what was the matter with Francis, when he told me that he was nearly dead with the Pox [syphilis]. he said he had caught it on the 4th July, or it might be a day or two after. it was before Dr. Bennett left. a French lady came up from Warsaw. a very pretty lady. Francis M Higbee got in company with this woman and so got this disease. I afterwards talked with him, when he acknowledged that he had got the Pox. he got better. but shortly after was down again, Dr. Bennett said he could not keep him away from the women, until he could get him well, and if he would not keep away from them, he would die of it." Cf. similarly worded statement in TB minutes, 3-4; see also WR minutes, 2.

```
429. TB minutes, 4: add "about it"; TB draft, 4: "about it"
```

<sup>430.</sup> TB minutes, 4: omit "parents"; TB draft, 4: replaces "parents" with "mothers"

<sup>431.</sup> TB draft, 4: "Dr."

<sup>432.</sup> TB minutes, 4: omit "made affidavits"; TB draft, 4: "afterwards <affidavits>"

<sup>433.</sup> TB minutes, 4, TB draft, 4: omit "about me"

<sup>434.</sup> TB minutes, 4, TB draft, 4: add "and me"

<sup>435.</sup> TB minutes, 4: add "& if the facts had been know there wo[ul]d. be none"; TB draft, 4: adds "and if the facts had been known, there would have been no hard feelings."

<sup>436.</sup> TB draft, 4: omits "M."

<sup>437.</sup> TB minutes, 4: omit "and others"

<sup>438.</sup> TB minutes, 4: add "after"; TB draft, 4: "after"

<sup>439.</sup> TB minutes, 4: omit "communication"

<sup>440.</sup> TB draft, 4: adds "and"

<sup>441.</sup> TB minutes, 4: omit "and begged to be forgiven"

<sup>442.</sup> Book F-1, 12 (pencil): "has" and inserts "<was>" in margin (US)

<sup>443.</sup> TB minutes, 4: replace "disrespectfully" with "since"

<sup>444.</sup> TB draft, 5: "<In relation to the conspiracy>"

<sup>445.</sup> TB draft, 5, NN 2:[219]: "did steal"

hide. 446These are the things 447 that they now want to ruin me for—for 448 telling the truth.

<sup>449</sup>When riding in the stage<sup>450</sup>, I have seen him put his hand in a woman's bosom, and he also lifted up her clothes.<sup>451</sup> I know that they are wicked, malicious, adulterous, bad characters. I say it under oath; I can tell all the particulars from first to last.

BRIGHAM YOUNG sworn: With regard to Francis M. Higbee, at the time that is spoken of I stopped opposite Mr. Law's store; we had been conversing with Dr. Bennett. When I came into the room<sup>452</sup> Francis Higbee rather recoiled and wished to withdraw; he went out and sat upon a pile of wood. He said, it is all true; I am sorry for it; I wish it had never happened. I understood Bennett who related some of the circumstances, he cried and begged of us to forgive him, and said if he could be permitted to stay in the city as a private individual he should be happy; that was about what he said. "It is true<sup>453</sup>, I am sorry for it, and I wish it had never been so<sup>454</sup>," as we came up. Dr. Bennett, Mr. Higbee, and Mr. Smith had been talking about it. I have not mentioned it before. I knew of the whole affair; it was on the 4th of July, or a few days after; it was shortly after I came from England. I was in the city council when Mr. Higbee said all was settled.

Cross-examined: I have heard Dr. Bennett say all these things were facts; he acknowledged that Higbee had the ——455, and that he 456 doctored him; he acknowledged that, and a great deal more.

 $^{457}$ I will make one statement. In our conversation with Dr. Bennett, I told him  $^{458}$  that one charge was seducing young women, and leading young men into difficulty, and  $^{459}$  he admitted it; he said  $^{460}$  if he had let young men and women alone it would have been better for him.  $^{461}$ 

SIDNEY RIGDON sworn: In relation to the matters before the court 462I am unacquainted with; I was sick at the time, but I have heard them talked of back and fro.

Cross-examined: I recollect Joseph Smith came to me with a complaint against Higbee and Bennett, and made affidavit that it was true; I have the affidavit in my house. I went to see Higbee on last Saturday<sup>463</sup>, and<sup>464</sup> found him at Mr. Morrison's, where<sup>465</sup> he was

```
446. TB minutes, 4, TB draft, 5, NN 2:[219]: add "I have seen him steal a number of times."
```

<sup>447.</sup> TB draft, 5: "truths <things>" (JT)

<sup>448.</sup> TB draft, 5:"<for>" (JT)

<sup>449.</sup> TB minutes, 5: add: "I have seen Dr. F[oster] steal a many times"

<sup>450.</sup> TB minutes, 5: omit "When riding in the stage"

<sup>451.</sup> TB minutes, 5:"I have seen him feel a womans bosom & lift up her clothes."

<sup>452.</sup> TB minutes, 5: omit "When I came into the room"

<sup>453.</sup> TB minutes, 5: "<it is true>"

<sup>454.</sup> TB minutes, 5: add "I am sorry"

<sup>455.</sup> TB minutes, 5: "pox"; TB draft, 6: "pox"

<sup>456.</sup> TB minutes, 5, TB draft, 6, NN 2:[219]: add "had"

<sup>457.</sup> This paragraph does not appear in this location in TB minutes, 5, but appears on an unnumbered sheet with O. P. Rockwell's testimony following p. 6 (designated here as 6a).

<sup>458.</sup> TB minutes, 6a, TB draft, 6: "I told Dr. Bennett [minutes: "B."]"; NN 2:[219]: replaces "him" with "Dr. Bennet"

<sup>459.</sup> TB draft, 6, NN 2:[219]: omit "and"

<sup>460.</sup> TB draft, 6, NN 2:[219]: omit "he said"

<sup>461.</sup> TB minutes, 6a: add "this was either the day before]. or the day after."

<sup>462.</sup> Book F-1, 12: adds "which"

<sup>463.</sup> TB minutes, 5: "on a Friday or Sat[urda]y. last week"

<sup>464.</sup> TB minutes, 5, TB draft, 6, NN 2:[219]: replace "and" with "I"

<sup>465.</sup> TB minutes, 5, TB draft, 6, NN 2:[219]: omit "where"

waiting for a steam boat. I endeavored to prevail on him to relinquish his undertaking<sup>466</sup>; he said he had<sup>467</sup> no character in Nauvoo, and therefore he had<sup>468</sup> none to lose. I tried to convince him that he had a character, and might be looked upon with respect<sup>469</sup>; but he flatly contradicted me and said he had none, and that was the reason why he persecuted Joseph Smith; as he had no character he did not care what he did; he had nothing to lose by it. That was the substance of our conversation.

HYRUM SMITH sworn: <sup>470</sup>I recollect a settlement of difficulties between Francis M. Higbee and my brother Joseph, about which some of the court may recollect. I recollect Dr. <sup>471</sup> Bennett asking forgiveness of the lodge when there were about sixty present <sup>472</sup>. Francis M. Higbee acknowledged that it was the truth, and that he was sorry, and had been a thousand times; he acknowledged his connection with the woman on the hill; <sup>473</sup>I did think he was with Dr. Bennett at the time.

The statement of Dr. <sup>474</sup> Bennett was, that he was guilty; he was sorry and asked forgiveness; he said he had seduced six or seven; he acknowledged it, and said if he was forgiven <sup>475</sup> he would not be guilty any more. Francis said he knew it was true; he was sorry and had been a hundred times. The very things that we had challenged him with he acknowledged. I told Francis that it had better be settled; he said Joseph had accused him, and if his character was gone all was gone; he said he would settle it, and they went into the room. He did not deny any charge; he said he was sorry, that he wanted it buried, and it was agreed to do so. Francis did not say anything about his sickness, but Dr. <sup>476</sup> Bennett made those observations to him—that he had doctored him in the time of his sickness.

Cross-examined: I asked Francis if he did not tell Dr. Bennett<sup>477</sup> that he <sup>478</sup>had seduced a girl<sup>479</sup>? He replied, "I told Dr. Bennett that I did seduce her<sup>480</sup>, but I tell you I never did it; I told him so for my own notion of things<sup>481</sup>." I do not recollect of him saying that he<sup>482</sup> had got a bad<sup>483</sup> disorder with the French girl<sup>484</sup>; he said he should not have been seduced if it had not been for<sup>485</sup> Dr. Bennett. <sup>486</sup>When charged with them<sup>487</sup>, Francis

```
466. TB minutes, 5: omit "his undertaking"
```

<sup>467.</sup> TB minutes, 5, TB draft, 6, NN 2:[219]: replace "he had" with "I have"

<sup>468.</sup> TB minutes, 5, TB draft, 6, NN 2:[219]: replace "and therefore he had" with "for I have"

<sup>469.</sup> TB minutes, 5: replace "to convince him ... respect" with "&c."

<sup>470.</sup> TB minutes, 6: add "swore as to the matters being fully exp[resse]d"

<sup>471.</sup> TB minutes, 6: omit "Dr."; TB draft, 7: "<Dr>."

<sup>472.</sup> TB minutes, 6: replace "present" with "in the small room"

<sup>473.</sup> TB minutes, 6: add "I have never s[ai]d. a word ab[ou]t. F[rancis]. H[igbee]"

<sup>474.</sup> TB minutes, 6, TB draft, 7, NN 2:[219]: omit "Dr."

<sup>475.</sup> TB minutes, 6: omit "if he was forgiven"

<sup>476.</sup> TB minutes, 6: omit "Dr."

<sup>477.</sup> TB draft, 7: "B."

<sup>478.</sup> TB minutes, 6: add "never"

<sup>479.</sup> TB minutes, 6: replace "a girl" with "them"

<sup>480.</sup> TB minutes, 6: omit "her"

<sup>481.</sup> TB minutes, 6: move "I told him so ... things" below; TB draft, 7: "<I told him so ... things>"

<sup>482.</sup> TB draft, 7: omits "he"

<sup>483.</sup> TB minutes, 6: omit "bad"

<sup>484.</sup> NN 2:[219]: adds brackets thus: "[that he had got ... French Girl]"

<sup>485.</sup> TB minutes, 6, NN 2:[219]: replace "for" with "by"; Book F-1, 13 (pencil): "by <for>" (US)

<sup>486.</sup> TB minutes, 6: add "I did tell B[ennett]. that I did it[.] I told him so for my own notion of things. all [particulars?] I did not [illegible] very [illegible]. I alledge those trans[gressions?] to B[ennett?]— he ack[nowledge]d. them."

<sup>487.</sup> TB minutes, 6: omit "When charged with them"

said they were true, that they were alleged a hundred times; he said 488, "I will alter, I will save my character." I have never heard from br[other]. Joseph anything about his character; Joseph did not accuse him of anything before the police; he said Francis had better take care. Francis was a little dissatisfied, but that difference was settled 489; I was present. He said he would not receive anything again from abroad; he would not take any steps by hearsay; he would come to him and tell him. There were several present when this 490 took place. 491

PORTER ROCKWELL sworn: He recollected the conversation, but not very distinctly; but he did recollect that Francis M. Higbee acknowledged to Joseph Smith that he was guilty of the charges preferred against him.

Court adjourned for one hour and a half.

Court met. 492

<sup>493</sup>Mr. Stiles said it was adjourned to have the testimony of Mr. Miles but he is not yet found. I expect him here soon.

MR. WHEELOCK sworn: With regard to this case I know nothing, but through a circumstance which occurred<sup>494</sup> at Nashville. Elder James<sup>495</sup> Blakeslee came to my house to preach<sup>496</sup>; he preached and was upholding the authorities of the church very much; he came over here and apostatized the same<sup>497</sup> day. I then came over and went to see<sup>498</sup>; I asked him why he had<sup>499</sup> changed his mind so quick? He said he had seen affidavits of the guilt of Mr. Smith; he told me Mr. Higbee was going about to the different conferences. I told him I thought<sup>500</sup> he had better send some one else; his conduct was not the best, and I know of circumstances that were not right. Once<sup>501</sup> I was a mate on a steam boat, and Higbee was clerk; we had not much cabin; we had some females on board. <sup>502</sup>I and another had given up our room to some ladies for the night; <sup>503</sup> it was my watch, and <sup>504</sup> I went into the cabin for my buffalo robe<sup>505</sup> about one o'clock<sup>506</sup> in the night, when I saw him leaning over the berth where one of the ladies slept. This was in the night, and he had no business there; no gentleman had any right there. I gave up my berth to the ladies, and I felt indignant at such conduct<sup>507</sup>; his conduct towards the lady passengers was unbecoming, and particularity in one who professes so much virtue as he does now<sup>508</sup>.

```
488. TB minutes, 6: omit "he said"
```

<sup>489.</sup> TB minutes, 6: add "again"

<sup>490.</sup> TB minutes, 6: replace "this" with "a many things"

<sup>491.</sup> TB minutes, 6: add "I do not recollect. I wanted to bring all things forward."

<sup>492.</sup> TB minutes, 7, TB draft, 8: omit this line.

<sup>493.</sup> This paragraph not in TB draft, 9, MSHiJS, DN, NN, T&S, or DHC, but supplied here from TB minutes, 7.

<sup>494.</sup> TB draft, 9, NN 2:[219]: replace "which occurred" with "occurring"

<sup>495.</sup> TB minutes, 7, TB draft, 9, NN 2:[219]: omit "James"

<sup>496.</sup> TB minutes, 7: add "a week last Sat[urda]y"

<sup>497.</sup> TB minutes, 7: replace "same" with "next"

<sup>498.</sup> TB minutes, 7, TB draft, 9, NN 2:[219], Book F-1, 13: add "him"

<sup>499.</sup> TB minutes, 7: replace "why" with "how" and omit "had"; TB draft, 9: "how <why> he <had>" (JT)

<sup>500.</sup> Book F-1, 13: "<I thought>" (JG)

<sup>501.</sup> TB minutes, 7: omit "Once"

<sup>502.</sup> TB minutes, 7: add "his cond[uc]t. with the lady pass[enge]rs"

<sup>503.</sup> TB minutes, 7: "one night we had given up our room to some ladies"

<sup>504.</sup> TB minutes, 7: "<it was my watch &>"

<sup>505.</sup> TB minutes, 7: omit "for my buffalo robe"

<sup>506.</sup> TB minutes, 7: "<oclock>"

<sup>507.</sup> TB minutes, 7: add "& tho[ugh]t. he was a poor <not a proper one > one to send out"

<sup>508.</sup> TB minutes, 7, TB draft, 9, NN 2:[219]: "now does"

JOEL S. MILES sworn: <sup>509</sup>I have seen Francis M. Higbee go into rooms with females, but what their intentions were I did not know. I might have seen him two or three times <sup>510</sup>; I think he has done that which is not right. I should judge <sup>511</sup>from conversations with him that that was the case; I presume he has a good many times; <sup>512</sup> I might recollect twenty times <sup>513</sup>; he has frequently told me things of that kind <sup>514</sup>. It is a private case, to be sure. <sup>515</sup> He has told me that he had commenced an action against Joseph Smith for slander. I met Francis today, I asked him about the fuss, when he said he had got Mr. Smith up for slander; he said he should not come here, but did not say why. <sup>516</sup>I recollect the time that he was sick, when Dr. Bennett attended him; I went to see him nearly every day. I understood Mr. Higbee to say that he was prosecuting Mr. Smith for slander, and that he was up before the municipal court. He told me he supposed I was <sup>517</sup> wanted to prove that he was a thief, whore-master, and everything else.

HENRY<sup>518</sup> G. SHERWOOD sworn<sup>519</sup>: I have several times had conversations<sup>520</sup> with Higbee; I recollect that<sup>521</sup> near two years ago there was a fuss about John C. Bennett's spiritual wife system<sup>522</sup> before the high council. I recollect a French woman coming up from Warsaw, and that Francis M. Higbee had medical assistance. \* \*  $\star$ <sup>523</sup> Dr. Bennett attended him. Joseph Smith administered unto him, but it was irksome. Higbee assented that it was so; he did not contradict it; <sup>524</sup>he promised to reform; he would do better; he would do so no more.

HEBER C. KIMBALL sworn: I think it is near two years since<sup>525</sup> <sup>526</sup>I had a<sup>527</sup> conversation with Francis M.<sup>528</sup> Higbee<sup>529</sup>. He expressed himself indignant at some things; he expressed himself <sup>530</sup> that he was sorry; he would live a new life. He never would say<sup>531</sup> a word against President Joseph Smith; he had an inclination to write that what he had published was false. I exhorted him to go and recall what he had said. I afterwards<sup>532</sup> saw

```
509. TB minutes, 7: add "I do not"
```

<sup>510.</sup> TB minutes, 7: add "go into rooms with females"

<sup>511.</sup> TB minutes, 7: add "that wa[s]"

<sup>512.</sup> Book F-1, 14: "<I presume ... times;>" (JG)

<sup>513.</sup> TB minutes, 7: add "but I cannot recollect now"

<sup>514.</sup> TB minutes, 7: replace "kind" with "sort having taken place"

<sup>515.</sup> TB minutes, 7: omit preceding sentence

<sup>516.</sup> TB minutes, 7: add "he did give some reason but I do not now recollect. he had been to Mr. Iving's."

<sup>517.</sup> TB minutes, 7: "<supposed I was>"

<sup>518.</sup> TB draft, 10, NN 2:[219]: "H."

<sup>519.</sup> TB draft, 10: "<sworn>"

<sup>520.</sup> TB minutes, 8: replace "conversation" with "talk"

<sup>521.</sup> TB minutes, 8: replace "I recollect that" with "It is"

<sup>522.</sup> TB minutes, 8, TB draft, 10: replace "spiritual wife system" with "wife[']s sister"

<sup>523.</sup> Ellipses in NN 2:[219]. TB minutes, 8, TB draft, 10: "for the clap. there had been some circ[umstances] when he smelt bad."

<sup>524.</sup> TB minutes, 8: add "it was expressive to me that he assented to it. signs speak a deal to me."

<sup>525.</sup> TB minutes, 8, TB draft, 10, NN 2:[219]: omit "since"

<sup>526.</sup> TB minutes, 8: add "it was the time of the B[ennet]t. aff[air]"; Book F-1, 14: adds "that"

<sup>527.</sup> TB minutes, 8, TB draft, 10, NN 2:[219]: replace "a" with "some"

<sup>528.</sup> TB minutes, 8, TB draft, 10: omit "M."

<sup>529.</sup> TB minutes, 8: add "[re[gardin]g.?] Mr. Ivins. I had a conv[ersatio]n. with him"

<sup>530.</sup> TB minutes, 8: replace "himself" with "his feelings"

<sup>531.</sup> TB minutes, 8: replace "say" with "lift"

<sup>532.</sup> TB minutes, 8: omit "afterwards"

him in Cincinnati, when he promised <sup>533</sup>by every thing sacred that he would come home, reform, and then go and publish this doctrine, for it was true.

He said he had taken a course that was wrong towards President Smith, and was sorry for it. He said he would <sup>534</sup>study at Cincinnati, for his character was ruined here. When we were in Quincy, I<sup>535</sup> went over to Missouri<sup>536</sup>, and exhorted him to alter his conduct<sup>537</sup>. The last time I conversed with him, he said, "If I had taken your counsel, I should now have been a man looked on with respect"; he said he was not connected with the people that opposed President Smith and never would; he much<sup>538</sup> regretted the course he had taken.

[...]<sup>539</sup>

<sup>540</sup>JOSEPH SMITH: The statement I made out against Francis M. Higbee I have proved to be facts, and therefore it is not slander. I have testified boldly, and have brought witnesses to prove him to be an adulterer and a vicious man. I did not do it until he began to use his evil<sup>541</sup> influence against me. If I had been to blame, and he had got the least chance, he would have been here; he knows I am<sup>542</sup> here, and all know that they have nothing against me. I have proved all that I ever testified; the court would be bound to discharge me on account of having proved it.

There are very<sup>543</sup> few lawyers who know the great principle of the habeas corpus act; ask a lawyer, and he does not know but that he has got to go to some judge. The U.S. district<sup>544</sup> judge (Pope) has been one of the supreme judges of the State<sup>545</sup>; his decision is that it should be<sup>546</sup> as much in the power of the simple magistrate as of the greatest judge: hence governors and supreme judges all know that I am correct.

A simple magistrate should<sup>547</sup> have the right; "the right of <sup>548</sup> habeas corpus <sup>549</sup> shall not be denied," it does not say by a governor or judge, who then<sup>550</sup> does it mean? All the authorities. All judges know that it is a fact. If you hold the office of a magistrate, and you are sworn to keep inviolate the Constitution of the United States, you are sworn to fulfil that part which says that you shall not refuse the privilege<sup>551</sup> of the habeas corpus to any one. I have only to open Blackstone, or the Bible, and then I know where powers are. I

```
533. TB minutes, 8: add "me"
```

<sup>534.</sup> TB minutes, 8: add "go and"

<sup>535.</sup> TB draft, 10, NN 2:[219]: replace "I" with "we"

<sup>536.</sup> TB minutes, 8: "we went over from Quincy to Mo."

<sup>537.</sup> TB minutes, 8: omit "to alter his conduct"

<sup>538.</sup> TB minutes, 8: omit "much"

<sup>539.</sup> TB minutes, 8-12, include a long speech by SR justifying Nauvoo's use of Habeas Corpus to protect JS against persecution, followed by George P. Stiles saying "the court can exercise their right."

<sup>540.</sup> Source: Following four paragraphs are not in TB draft, 10, which ends at this point, and were not published in NN 2 (15 May 1844): [219] and T&S 5 (15 May 1844): 537-41. Instead, these paragraphs were inserted in RDft as page 40a (JG). RDft 8:40 instructs scribe to "include page 40a in the body of the minutes" (JG). They were likely composed by JG based on TB minutes, 12-13, which were based on a very sketchy passage in WR minutes, 5.

<sup>541.</sup> Book F-1, 14: "<evil>"

<sup>542.</sup> TB minutes, 12: omit "I am"; RDft 8:40a: "<I am>"

<sup>543.</sup> RDft 8:40a:"<very>"

<sup>544.</sup> TB minutes, 12: omit "The U.S. district"; RDft 8:40a: "<The US. District>"

<sup>545.</sup> TB minutes, 12: omit "of the State"; RDft 8:40a: "<of the State>"

<sup>546.</sup> TB minutes, 12: replace "should be" with "is"; RDft 8:40a (pencil): "is <should be>"

<sup>547.</sup> TB minutes, 12: omit "should"; RDft 8:40a: "<should>"

<sup>548.</sup> RDft 8:40a: "of <the right of>"

<sup>549.</sup> RDft 8:40a : adds "which"

<sup>550.</sup> TB minutes, 12: omit "then"; RDft 8:40a: "<then>"

<sup>551.</sup> RDft 8:40a: "principle <privilege> <benefit>"

never said anything about the Higbees, or the Laws, or the Fosters, <sup>552</sup> but what is strictly true. I have been placed in peculiar circumstances <sup>553</sup>.

<sup>554</sup>The only sin I ever committed was in exercising sympathy, and<sup>555</sup> covering up their <sup>556</sup>iniquities, on their solemn promises<sup>557</sup> to reform<sup>558</sup>; and of *this*<sup>559</sup> I am ashamed<sup>560</sup>, and never will<sup>561</sup> do so<sup>562</sup> again.

<sup>563</sup>After hearing the foregoing evidence in support of said petition<sup>564</sup>, it is considered and ordained by the court:

1st, That the said Joseph Smith, senior, be discharged from the said arrest and imprisonment complained of in said petition, on the illegality of the writ upon which he was arrested, as well as upon the writ of the case, and that he go hence without day.

2nd<sup>565</sup>, Francis M. Higbee's character having been so fully shown as infamous, the court is convinced that this suit was instituted through malice, private pique, and corruption, and ought not to be countenanced; and it is ordained by the court that said Francis M. Higbee pay the costs.

<sup>566</sup>In testimony whereof I hereunto set my hand and affix the seal of said court at the city of Nauvoo, this 8th day of May, 1844.

[Seal]

WILLARD RICHARDS, Clerk.

I copy the following from the Neighbor of this date:

<sup>567</sup>Hurrah for the General!!—The following, which we extract from the St. Louis Organ, shows how the public mind is turning, and what their feelings are in regard to the Prophet, his views, and theirs also in regard to the Presidency.

Forebear awhile—we'll hear a little more. The matter is now settled with Mr. Clay, Tyler, and Van Buren. Let Mr. Clay return at once from his political perambulation<sup>568</sup> in the South, Mr. Tyler abandon his hopes of re-election by aid of the "immediate annexation" of Texas, and let Mr. Van Buren be quiet at Kinderhook that he may watch the operations of <sup>569</sup> the "sober second thought" of the people!

<sup>552.</sup> TB minutes, 13: "F Law <&c &c>"; RDft 8:40a: "F.M. <the> Higbee\s/ &e &e <or the Laws, or the Fosters>"

<sup>553.</sup> TB minutes, 13: omit "particular circumstances"

<sup>554.</sup> DHC 6:360: adds "In the course of his testimony the Prophet said"

<sup>555.</sup> TB minutes, 13: omit "exercising sympathy, and"; RDft 8:40a: "<exercising sympathy &>"

<sup>556.</sup> DHC 6:360: adds "[the Higbees', Fosters', Laws' and Dr. Bennett's]"

<sup>557.</sup> DHC 6:360: "promise"

<sup>558.</sup> TB minutes, 13: omit "on their solemn promise to reform"; RDft 8:40a: "<on their <solemn> promises to reform>"

<sup>559.</sup> TB minutes, 13: replace "of this" with "that"; RDft 8:40a: "that <of this>"

<sup>560.</sup> TB minutes, 13: add "of"; RDft 8:40a: "of"

<sup>561.</sup> TB minutes, 13, DHC 6:361: "will never"

<sup>562.</sup> TB minutes, 13: replace "so" with "it"; RDft 8:40a: "it <so>"

<sup>563.</sup> *Source*: Remainder of this document taken from *NN* 2 (15 May 1844): [219]. Cf. *T&S* 5 (15 May 1844): 541. It is not found in TB draft, 10, although a brief paragraph outlining the two reasons for dismissal concludes TB minutes, 13.

<sup>564.</sup> DHC 6:361: replaces "After hearing ... petition" with "After hearing these witnesses the Judge said"

<sup>565.</sup> NN 2:[219]: "Secondly"; Book F-1, 15: "Secondly"

<sup>566.</sup> There is apparently no extant MS source for remainder of this document.

<sup>567.</sup> Source: NN 2 (8 May 1844): [214].

<sup>568.</sup> DHC 6:361: "perambulations"

<sup>569.</sup> Book F-1, 15: "<the operations of>" (JG)

General Joseph Smith, the acknowledged modern Prophet, has got them all in the rear; and from the common mode of testing the success of candidates for the Presidency, to wit, by steamboat elections—he, Smith, will beat all the other aspirants to that office, two to one. We learn from the polls of the steamboat *Osprey*, on her last trip to this city, that the votes<sup>570</sup> stood for

General Joseph Smith	$29^{571}$	gents <sup>572</sup> ,	and	5	ladies.
Henry Clay	16	"	"	4	"
Martin <sup>573</sup> Van Buren	7	"	"	0	"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>574</sup>Attended theater in the evening.

<sup>570.</sup> DHC 6:361: "vote"

<sup>571.</sup> DHC 6:361:"20"

<sup>572.</sup> NN 2:[214], Book F-1, 15: "gentlemen"

<sup>573.</sup> DHC 6:361: omits "Martin"

<sup>574.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 113 (WR) (APR, 477).

# 17.

# JOSEPH SMITH ON THE RESURRECTION

# May 1844

### [DN 7 (12 August 1857): 177-79 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>Thursday, [May] 9 [1844].—A court-martial was held in my office for the trial of Major-General Wilson Law, on a charge of ungentlemanly and unofficer-like conduct. Present: <sup>2</sup>Generals Hyrum Smith, Charles C. Rich, Lyman Wight, George Miller, and Albert P. Rockwood; Colonels John Scott and Hosea Stout; Judge-Advocate John Taylor; and Secretary Thomas Bullock. The charge was sustained, and Wilson Law cashiered.

Evening attended theater and saw "Damon and Pythias," and the "Idiot Witness," performed.

<sup>3</sup>Elders Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith called upon me this morning, and said they were ready to start on their mission to attend the conferences appointed throughout the north of Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan. I blessed them in the name of the Lord, and told them to go, and they should prosper and always prosper. They left in company with Elders Jedediah M. Grant and Ezra Thayer.

<sup>4</sup>Friday, 10—**At home.** Rode out after breakfast to the prairie to sell some land to some brethren.

**9 A.M.** The court-martial was held in the mayor's office on the charge against Robert D. Foster, surgeon-general, for unbecoming and unofficer-like<sup>5</sup> conduct, &c. Brigadier-General George Miller, presiding. The charges were sustained.

<sup>6</sup>A prospectus of the *Nauvoo Expositor* was distributed among the people by the apostates.

<sup>7</sup>The jury of Lee county, Illinois, awarded \$40 damages and the costs against Joseph H. Reynolds

<sup>1.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph based on JSj [1844], 114 (WR) (APR, 477), with details of Wilson Law's trial from NLc, fd 6, 38-45 (TB) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.15).

<sup>2.</sup> Book F-1, 16 (pencil): adds "Prevet Majors"

<sup>3.</sup> Source: Possibly based on WWj, vol. 4, 9 May 1844 (WWj 2:394), and GASj [1841-45], 59 [image 69] (transcription in vol. 8,VI.17), with details about meeting with JS added by GAS and/or WW.

<sup>4.</sup> *Source*: This and next paragraph based on JSj [1844], 115 (WR) (*APR*, 477-78), with details of Robert D. Foster's trial from NLc, fd 6, 46-53 (JT) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.16). Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type.

<sup>5.</sup> JSj [1844], 115: replaces "unbecoming and unofficer-like" with "ungentlemanly"

<sup>6.</sup> Source: Prospectus, dated 10 May 1844 (see DHC 6:443-44; chap. 21).

<sup>7.</sup> Source: W. Clayton, Nauvoo, IL, to Editor, 16 May 1844, in *T&S* 5 (1 June 1844): 554-55. Rept. *NN* 2 (22 May 1844): [223]. Cf. photographs of documents relevant to this case in JSLP, Bx 4, fd 13, 55-57.

and Harmon T. Wilson for illegal imprisonment and abuse which I suffered from them last June in that county.

<sup>8</sup>Saturday, 11.—At home. At 10 a.m. I attended city council, and stayed till half-past 11, but there not being a quorum, adjourned until next regular session. At one p.m. at my office, and had a conversation with Mr. Lyne on the theater<sup>9</sup>; and at 6 p.m. attended prayer meeting; John P. Greene and Sidney Rigdon present<sup>10</sup>. J[ohn]. P. Green complained of James Blakesl[e]y and F[rancis] M. Higbee for abusing Joseph and the Twelve [Apostles] at Quincy in [the] court House.<sup>11</sup> Several showers of rain during the day.

<sup>12</sup>The Nauvoo Legion had a company muster.

<sup>13</sup>Sunday, 12.—**At home.** At 10 a.m. I preached at the stand **touching many things**. The following brief synopsis<sup>14</sup> of my discourse was reported<sup>15</sup> by my clerk, Thomas Bullock:

<sup>16</sup>The Savior has the words of eternal life, nothing else can profit us; there is no salvation in believing an evil report<sup>17</sup> against our neighbor. I advise all to go on to perfection, and search deeper and deeper<sup>18</sup> into the mysteries of godliness. A man can do nothing for himself unless God direct him in the right way, and the priesthood is revealed for that purpose.<sup>19</sup>

The last time I spoke on this stand<sup>20</sup> it was on the resurrection of the dead, when I promised to continue my remarks upon that subject<sup>21</sup>; I still feel a desire to say something on this subject. Let us this very day begin anew, and now say, with all our hearts,<sup>22</sup> we will forsake our

<sup>8.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 116 (WR) (APR, 478), with editing and elaboration. Weather from CHOj 1:12, 11 May 1844 (TB) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.12). Cf. NCCM [1844], 11 (NCHCM, 237–38). Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type.

<sup>9.</sup> In JSj [1844], 116, part about JS's conversation with Mr. Lines added interlinearly between lines dealing with city council: "<During this time had conversation with Lines on Theatre>".

<sup>10.</sup> JSj [1844], 116: replaces "present" with "admitted"; that is, to the Quorum of the Anointed.

<sup>11.</sup> On the event alluded to by Green, see *Quincy Whig* quoted in *Nauvoo Expositor*, 7 June 1844 (Anderson and Bergera 2005, 75-76n37), which reports that Blakesley and Higbee accused JS of teaching the "spiritual wife" doctrine and being "corrupt in his morals and religion".

<sup>12.</sup> Source: CHOj 1:12, 11 May 1844 (TB) (transcription in vol. 8,VI.12). NLM [1843-44], 21, mentions Capt. O. M. Allen's company being fined for "non=attendance at the Company, Battalion, and Regimental parades on the 4th 11th and 18 of May 1844" (HSt).

<sup>13.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 117 (WR) (APR, 478). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>14.</sup> Book F-1, 16 (pencil): "minutes <bri> synopsis>" (US)

<sup>15.</sup> Book F-1, 16 (pencil): "were taken <was reported>" (US)

<sup>16.</sup> The text of JS's sermon, which appears in Book F-1, 16-21 (JG), is written on every other line from page edge to page edge. *Source*: JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, 69-72 (TB) (*WJS*, 365-69), which includes a penciled notation by TB: "copy in the book <open lines across the page>, but it has not been revised by President Young." Numerous interlinear insertions by TB and JG suggest that following TB's notation and prior to JG's copying into Book F-1, BY had reviewed the sermon. Another notation in ink by TB indicates that the sermon had been copied into NSB, 30-34 (LH), which evidently occurred prior to emending the text and copying into Book F-1. TB's draft possibly relies on his notes taken at the time, which have not been located. He mentions going to the temple and hearing JS's sermon, but does not mention keeping notes (CHOj 1:12, 12 May 1844). Revisions possibly added about 27 Feb. 1856, when BY approved a draft for JS's 26 May 1844 sermon (see JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, 91), but certainly before being copied into Book F-1 between 9 Apr.-11 Aug. 1856 (see MSHi Chronology). For transcription of TB's draft, see vol. 7, I.8, under date.

<sup>17.</sup> TB draft, 1: "<report>"

<sup>18.</sup> TB draft, 1: "<and deeper>"

<sup>19.</sup> TB draft, 1:"<unless God direct ... purpose.>"

<sup>20.</sup> TB draft, 1: "<on this stand>"

<sup>21.</sup> TB draft, 1: "<my remarks upon that subject>"

<sup>22.</sup> TB draft, 1: "<with all our hearts,>"

sins and<sup>23</sup> be righteous. I shall read the 24th chap[ter]. of Matthew, and give it a literal rendering and reading; and when it is<sup>24</sup> rightly understood it<sup>25</sup> will be edifying. <sup>26</sup>[He then read and<sup>27</sup> translated it from the German.]

I thought the very oddity of its rendering would be edifying anyhow." And it will preached be, the gospel of the kingdom in the whole world, to a witness over all people, and then will the end come." I will now read it in German (which he did, and many Germans who were present<sup>28</sup> said he translated it correctly.)

The Savior said when these tribulations should take place, it should be committed to a man, who should be a witness over the whole world; the keys of knowledge, power, and revelations should be revealed to a witness who should hold the testimony to the world. It has always been my province to dig up hidden mysteries—new things—for my hearers. Just at the time when some men think that I have no right to the keys of the Priesthood<sup>29</sup>, just at that time I have the greatest right. The Germans are an exalted people; the old German translators are the most correct, most honest of any of the translators,<sup>30</sup> and therefore I get testimony to bear me out in the revelations that I have preached for the last fourteen years. The old German, Latin, Greek and Hebrew translations<sup>31</sup> all say it is true; they cannot be impeached, and therefore<sup>32</sup> I am in good company.

All the testimony is, that the Lord in the last days would commit the keys of the priest-hood<sup>33</sup> to a witness over all people. Has the gospel of the kingdom commenced in the last days? And will God take it from the man until he takes him himself? I have read it precisely as the words flowed from the lips of Jesus Christ. John the revelator saw an angel flying through the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth.

The Scripture is ready to be fulfilled when great wars, famines, pestilence, great distress,<sup>34</sup> judgments, &c., are ready to be poured out on the inhabitants of the earth. John saw the angel *having* the holy<sup>35</sup> priesthood who should preach the everlasting gospel to all nations<sup>36</sup>. God had an angel—a special messenger<sup>37</sup>—ordained and prepared for that purpose in the last days. Woe! woe! be to that man or set of men who lift up their hands against God and his witness in these last days, for they shall deceive almost the very chosen ones.

My <sup>38</sup>enemies say that I *have* been a true prophet; why<sup>39</sup>, I had rather be a fallen true prophet than a false prophet. When a man goes about prophesying, and commands men to obey his teachings<sup>40</sup>, he must be either<sup>41</sup> a true or false prophet; false prophets always arise to oppose

```
23. TB draft, 1:"<forsake our sins &>"
24. TB draft, 1: "<it is>"
25. TB draft, 1: "<it>"
26. DN and DHC 6:361 bracket next sentence; TB draft, 1, and Book F-1, 17, use parentheses.
27. TB draft, 1:"<then read &>"
28. TB draft, 1: "several persons < which he did, and many Germans who were present; >"
29. TB draft, 1:"<of the Priesthood>"
30. TB draft, 1: "<of any of the translators,>"
31. TB draft, 1: "<translations>"
32. TB draft, 1: "<therefore>"
33. TB draft, 1: "<of the Priesthood>"
34. TB draft, 1: "<great distress,>"
35. TB draft, 1: "<holy>"
36. TB draft, 1:"<the everlasting gospel to all nations>"
37. TB draft, 1: "<a special messenger,>"
38. TB draft, 1: adds "<apostate>"
39. TB draft, 1: replaces "why" with "&"
40. TB draft, 1: "hi\s/ ["s" w.o. "m"] <teachings>"
41. DHC 6:364: "either be"
```

the true prophets, and they will prophesy so very near the truth that they<sup>42</sup> will deceive almost the very chosen ones.

The doctrine of eternal judgments belongs to the first principles of the gospel in the last days. In relation to the kingdom of God, the devil always sets up his kingdom at the very same time in opposition to God<sup>43</sup>. Every man who has a calling to minister to the inhabitants of<sup>44</sup> the world, was ordained to that very purpose in the Grand Council of Heaven before this world was<sup>45</sup>. I suppose that I was ordained to this very office in that Grand Council. It is the testimony that I want that I am God's servant and this people his people. The Ancient Prophets declared that<sup>46</sup> in the last days the God of Heaven should<sup>47</sup> set up a kingdom which should never be destroyed, nor left to other people,<sup>48</sup> and the very time that was calculated on, this people were struggling to bring it out. He that arms himself with gun, sword, or pistol, except in the defense of truth<sup>49</sup>, will sometime be sorry for it. I never carry any weapon with me<sup>50</sup> bigger than my penknife; when I was dragged before the cannon and muskets in Missouri I was unarmed. God will always protect me until my mission is fulfilled<sup>51</sup>.

I calculate to be one of the instruments of setting up the kingdom of Daniel by the word of the Lord, and I intend to lay a foundation that will<sup>52</sup> revolutionize the whole world. I once offered my life to the Missouri mob as a sacrifice for my people, and here I am. It will not be by sword or gun that this kingdom will roll on; the power of truth is such that<sup>53</sup> all nations will be under the necessity of obeying the gospel. The prediction is that army will be against army; it may be that the Saints will have to beat their ploughs into swords<sup>54</sup>, for<sup>55</sup> it will not do for men to sit down and see their women and<sup>56</sup> children<sup>57</sup> destroyed patiently<sup>58</sup>.

My text is on the resurrection of the dead, which you will find in<sup>59</sup> the 14th chap[ter]. of <sup>60</sup> John, "In my Father's house are many mansions." It should be <sup>61</sup>—"In my Father's kingdom are many kingdoms," in order that ye may be heirs of God and joint-heirs with me. I do not believe the Methodist doctrine of sending honest men and noble-minded men to hell, along with the murderer and <sup>62</sup>adulterer; they may hurl all their hell and fiery billows upon me, for they will roll off me as fast as they come on. But I have an order of things to save the poor fellows at any rate, and get them saved; for I will send men to preach to them in prison, and save them if I can.

```
42. TB draft, 1: "<they will prophesy ... they>"
43. TB draft, 1:"<in opposition to God>"
44. TB draft, 1:"to <to minister to the Inhabitants of>"
45. TB draft, 1:"<before this world was>"
46. TB draft, 1:"<the ancient Prophets declared [that]>"
47. TB draft, 1: replaces "should" with "shall"; Book F-1, 18 (pencil): "shall<ould>" (US)
48. TB draft, 1: "<which should never ... people;>"
49. TB draft, 1, NSB, 31: "<except in the [NSB: omits "the"] defense of truth>"
50. TB draft, 1:"thing < weapon with me,>"
51. TB draft, 1:"<until my mission is fulfilled>"
52. TB draft, 1: inserts "\lay a/ <foundation that will>" at eoln
53. TB draft, 1: "<the power of truth is such that>"
54. TB draft, 1:"/Swords\"
55. TB draft, 2: "<for>"
56. DHC 6:365: omits "women and"
57. TB draft, 2: "<& children>"
58. DHC 6:365: moves "patiently" to follow "down"
59. TB draft, 2: "<on the resurrection ... find in>" (JG)
60. TB draft, 2: "<ch[apter]. of>"
61. TB draft, 2: "<it should be>"; NSB, 32: "<should be>"
```

62. DHC 6:365: adds "the"

There are mansions for those who obey a celestial law<sup>63</sup>, and there are other mansions for those who come short of that law; every man in his own order<sup>64</sup>. There is baptism, &c., for those to exercise<sup>65</sup> who are alive, and baptism for the dead <sup>66</sup>who died without the knowledge of the gospel.

I am going on in my progress for eternal life. It is not only necessary that you should be baptized for your dead, but you will have to go through all the ordinances for them, <sup>67</sup>same as you have gone through <sup>68</sup> to save yourselves. There will be 144,000 saviors on Mount Zion, <sup>69</sup> and with them<sup>70</sup> an innumerable host that no man can number. Oh! I beseech you to<sup>71</sup> go forward, go forward, and make your calling and your election sure; and if any man preach any other gospel than that which I have preached, he shall be cursed, and some of you who now hear me shall see it and know that I testify the truth concerning them.<sup>72</sup>

In regard to the law of the priesthood, there should be a place where all nations shall come up from time to time to receive their endowments; and the Lord has said this shall be the place for the baptisms for the dead. Every man that has been baptized and belongs to the kingdom, has a right to be baptized for those who are gone before; and, as soon as the law of the gospel<sup>73</sup> is obeyed here by their friends who act as proxy for them,<sup>74</sup> the Lord has administrators there to set them free.

A man may act as proxy for his own relatives; the ordinances of the gospel which were<sup>75</sup> laid out before the foundation of the world have been thus<sup>76</sup> fulfilled by them, and we may be baptized for<sup>77</sup> those whom we have much friendship for, but<sup>78</sup> it must be first<sup>79</sup> revealed to the man of <sup>80</sup> God lest we<sup>81</sup> should run too far. "As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive"; all shall be raised from the dead. The Lamb of God hath brought to pass the resurrection, so that all shall rise from the dead.

God Almighty himself dwells in eternal fire; flesh and blood cannot go there, for<sup>82</sup> all corruption is devoured by the fire. ["]Our God is a consuming fire. ["] When our flesh is quickened by the Spirit, there will be no blood in the<sup>83</sup> tabernacle<sup>84</sup>. Some dwell in higher glory than others.

```
63. TB draft, 2: "<There \are' ["are" w.o. "is"] one mansion\s/ for those who obey a celestial law>" ([G)
64. TB draft, 2: "<& there are other mansions ... order>"
65. TB draft, 2: "<to exercise>"
66. TB draft, 2: adds "all"
67. DHC 6:365: adds "the"
68. TB draft, 2: "<gone through>"
69. TB draft, 2: "<Saviors on Mouth Zion,>"
70. TB draft, 2: inserts "\with them/" at eoln
71. TB draft, 2: "<I beseech you to>"
72. TB draft, 2: "<& know that I testify ... them;>"
73. TB draft, 2: "<of the gospel>"
74. TB draft, 2: "<by their friends ... for them,>"
75. TB draft, 2: "ordination <ordinances of the gospel> <which> \were/"; "were" w.o. "was"
76. DHC 6:366: "thus been"
77. TB draft, 2: "<ha\ve/ ["v" w.o. "s"] been <thus> fulfilled <by them, > and we may be baptized for>" (JG)
78. TB draft, 2: "<but>"
79. DHC 6:366: "first be"
80. TB draft, 2: "to <the> man from <of> God"
81. TB draft, 2: "he <we>"
82. TB draft, 2: "<for>"
83. DHC 6:366: "this"
84. TB draft, 2: "<in the tabernacle>"
```

Those who have done wrong always have that wrong gnawing them. Immortality dwells in everlasting burnings. I will from time to time reveal to you<sup>85</sup> the subjects that are revealed by the Holy Ghost<sup>86</sup> to me. All the lies that are now<sup>87</sup> hatched up against me<sup>88</sup> are of the devil, and all the influence of the devil and his servants<sup>89</sup> will be used against the kingdom of God. The servants of God teach nothing but the<sup>90</sup> principles of <sup>91</sup> eternal life; by their works ye shall know them. A good man will speak good things and holy principles and an evil man evil things.<sup>92</sup> I feel in the name of the Lord to rebuke all such bad principles, liars, &c., and I warn all of you to<sup>93</sup> look out who<sup>94</sup> you are going after. I exhort you to give heed to all the virtue and the teachings which I have given you. All men who are immortal dwell in everlasting burnings.<sup>95</sup> You cannot go anywhere, but where God can find you out. All men are born to<sup>96</sup> die and<sup>97</sup> all men must rise; all must enter eternity.

In order for you to receive your children to yourself you must have a promise—some ordinance—some blessing—in order to ascend above principalities<sup>98</sup>, or else it may be an angel. They must rise just as they died; we can there<sup>99</sup> hail our lovely infants with the same glory, the same loveliness in the celestial glory where they all enjoy alike; they differ in stature, in size; the same glorious spirit gives them the likeness of glory and bloom; the old man with his silvery hairs will glory in bloom and beauty; no man can describe it to you; no man can write it.

When did I ever teach anything wrong from this stand? When was I ever confounded? I want to triumph in Israel before I depart hence and am no more seen. I never told you I was perfect; but there is no error in the revelations which I have taught, must I then be thrown away as a thing of naught?

I enjoin for your consideration, add to your faith virtue, love, &c.

I say in the name of the Lord, if these things are in you, you shall be fruitful. <sup>100</sup> I testify that no man has power to reveal it but myself—things in heaven, in earth and hell; and all shut your mouths for the future. I commend you all to God, that you may inherit all things; and may God add his blessing: Amen.

#### [DN 7 (19 August 1857): 185]

<sup>101</sup>My brother Hyrum and Elder Lyman Wight also addressed the Saints.

<sup>102</sup>My brother Hyrum received an anonymous letter supposed to have been written by Joseph

```
85. TB draft, 2: "<to you>"
```

<sup>86.</sup> TB draft, 2: "<by the Holy Ghost>"

<sup>87.</sup> Book F-1, 20: "<now>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>88.</sup> TB draft, 2: "<against me>"

<sup>89.</sup> TB draft, 2: "<& his servants>"

<sup>90.</sup> DHC 6:366: omits "the"

<sup>91.</sup> TB draft, 2: "<the principles of>"

<sup>92.</sup> TB draft, 2: "<& holy principles> <and an evil man, evil things;>"; second insertion added first.

<sup>93.</sup> TB draft, 2:"<I warn all of you to>"

<sup>94.</sup> DHC 6:366: "whom"

<sup>95.</sup> TB draft, 2: "<all men who are immortal, dwell in everlasting burnings;>" (JG)

<sup>96.</sup> Book F-1, 20 (darker ink): "{\are born to/}" (pos. RLC)

<sup>97.</sup> TB draft, 2:"<all men are born to die &>"

<sup>98.</sup> TB draft, 2: "<in order to ascend above principalities>"

<sup>99.</sup> Book F-1, 20: "<there>" (pos. JG)

<sup>100.</sup> TB draft, 2: "<I say in the name of the Lord ... fruitful.>" (JG)

<sup>101.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 117 (WR) (APR, 478), with light editing and change to first person. Cf. CHOj 1:12, 12 May 1844 (TB).

<sup>102.</sup> Source: Based on JLH (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.35).

H. Jackson, threatening his life and calling upon him to make his peace with God, for he would soon have to die.

<sup>103</sup>At 3 p.m., I attended prayer meeting in the council room; William Smith and Almon W. Babbitt were present; the room was full, and we all prayed for deliverance from our enemies, and exaltation to such offices as will enable the servants of God to execute righteousness in the earth.

I copy the following from the Times and Seasons:

#### <sup>104</sup>FOR THE NEIGHBOR.

#### Mr. EDITOR: 105

Before taking my farewell of your beautiful and growing city, I avail myself of a few leisure moments in expressing some of my views and conclusions of the Prophet *Joe* and the Mormons. In the first place allow me to say that the Mormons as a people have been most woefully misrepresented and abused, and in ninety-nine instances out of a hundred by persons who know nothing of their principles and doctrines.

Before visiting the place my mind was very much prejudiced against the Mormons from reports which I had listened to in traveling through the different States; and I presume if I had never taken occasion to inform myself of their religion and views, my mind would have 106 still 107 remained in the same condition. There is not a city within my knowledge that can boast of a more enterprising and industrious people than 108 Nauvoo; her citizens are enlightened and possess many advantages in the arts and sciences of the day, which other cities of longer standing cannot boast; in a word, Nauvoo bids fair to soon out rival any city in the west.

General Smith is a man who understands the political history of his country, as well as the religious history of the world, as perfectly as any politician or religionist I have ever met with. He advances ideas, which, if carried into effect would greatly benefit the nation in point of commerce and finance, and while he maintains, and philosophically shows, that our country is approaching a fearful crisis, which if not arrested, will end in disgrace to the country, and cause our national banner to hug its mast in disgust and shame, clearly points out the remedy.

Shall the liberty which our fathers purchased at so dear a price be wrenched from the hands of their children? Shall our national banner, which floated so proudly in the breeze at the Declaration of Independence, be disgraced and refuse to show its motto? Shall we, as American citizens, fold our arms and look quietly on, while the shackles of slavery are being fastened upon our hands, and while men only seek office for the purpose of exalting themselves into power? I say, shall we still rush blindly on and hasten on our own destruction by placing men in power who neither regard the interests of the people, nor the prayers of the oppressed? Every American citizen will shout at the top of his voice, NO!

Mr. Smith's "Views of the powers and policy of the Government" manifest a republican spirit, and if carried out would soon place the nation in a prosperous condition and brighten the prospects of those who now have to toil so incessantly to support the profligate expenditures and luxurious equipage of the present rulers and representatives of our nation.

Joseph Smith is a man who is in every way calculated to make a free people happy; he is liberal in his sentiments, and allows every man the free expression of his feeling on all subjects;

<sup>103.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 117 (WR) (APR, 478), with light editing and change to first person.

<sup>104.</sup> Source: T&S 5 (15 May 1844): 534-35; NN 2 (15 May 1844): [218]-[19].

<sup>105.</sup> DHC 6:367: omits this line

<sup>106.</sup> Book F-1, 21: "<have>" (JG)

<sup>107.</sup> DHC 6:367: omits "still"

<sup>108.</sup> T&S 5:534: adds "can"

he is sociable and easy in his manners, is conversant and familiar on all exciting topics, expresses himself freely and plainly, on the different methods of administering the government; while he is not ashamed to let the world know his views and criticize upon his opinions.

I am, sir, in no way connected with the Mormon church, but am disposed to listen to reason in all cases. I have heretofore been a warm advocate of the measures of the Whig party; but considering General Smith's views and sentiments to be worthy the applause of every citizen of the United States, and especially the yeomanry of the country, I shall in every instance advocate his principles and use my utmost influence in his favor.—I am, sir, yours, in haste,

AN AMERICAN.

Nauvoo Mansion, May 12th, 1844.

At 10 a.m. went to my office and conversed with several of the brethren. Sold Ellis M. Sanders one hundred acres of land, received \$300 in cash, and his note for \$1,000, and \$20 for the Temple. Paid Sisson Chase \$298, and took up a note of Young, Kimball & Taylor's, given for money they had borrowed for me, and gave \$10 to Heber C. Kimball.

At 2 p.m. attended meeting of the general council<sup>111</sup> at which the following letter from Elder Orson Hyde was read:

<sup>112</sup>Washington, April 25th, 1844.

Hon[ored]. Sir:

I take the liberty to transmit through you to the council of our church the result of my labors thus far. I arrived in this place on the 23d inst[ant]., by way of Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and New Jersey.

I found Elder Orson<sup>113</sup> Pratt here, Elder Page having been called home to Pittsburgh on account of his wife's ill health. Elder O[rson].<sup>114</sup> Pratt has been indefatigable in his exertions in prosecuting the business entrusted to his charge. His business has been before the senate and referred to the committee on the judiciary, and the report of said committee is not yet rendered, which is the cause of his delay in writing to you.

Yesterday we conversed with Messrs. Hoge, Hardin, Douglas, and Wentworth, and last evening we spent several hours with the Hon. Mr. <sup>115</sup>Semple. They all appear deeply interested in the Oregon question, and received us with every demonstration of respect that we could desire. Mr. Hoge thought the bill would not pass, from the fact that there already exists between England and America a treaty for the joint occupancy of Oregon, and that any act of our government authorizing an armed force to be raised, and destined for that country, would be regarded by England as an infraction of that treaty, and a cause of her commencing hostilities against us.

But my reply was, these volunteers are not to be considered any part or portion of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup>Monday 13.—Heavy thunder showers during the night.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup>At home. At 9 A.M. called a meeting of the Kingdom [of God].

<sup>109.</sup> Source: Based on CHOj 1:12, 13 May 1844 (TB) (transcription in vol. 8,VI.12). Cf. JSj [1844], 118 (WR) (APR, 478), which reads: "<rain this morning>".

<sup>110.</sup> *Source*: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 118 (WR) (APR, 478). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>111.</sup> JSj [1844], 118: replaces "general council" with "Lyceum"

<sup>112.</sup> Source: Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 6, 90-97 (OH).

<sup>113.</sup> MS letter, 1 (pencil): "<Orson>"

<sup>114.</sup> MS letter, 1: inserts "\O/" at boln

<sup>115.</sup> DHC 6:369: adds "[James]"

army of the United States, neither acting under the direction or authority of the United States; and, said I, for men to go there and settle in the character of emigrants cannot be regarded by our government as deviating in the least degree from her plighted faith, unless she intends to tamely submit to British monopoly in that country.

Mr. H[oge]. said he would present the memorial if we desired it; I thanked him for his kind offer, but observed that I was not yet prepared for the bill to be submitted, but wished to elicit all the facts relative to the condition of Oregon, and also advise with many other members relative to the matter; and we could better determine then how the bill should be introduced. We do not want it presented and referred to a standing<sup>116</sup> committee, and stuck away with five or ten cords of petitions, and that be the last of it; but we want the memorial read, a move made to suspend the rules of the house, and the bill printed, &c.

Mr. Wentworth said, "I am for Oregon any how; you may set me down on your list, and I will go for you if you will go for Oregon."

Judge Douglas has been quite ill, but is just recovered; he will help all he can; Mr. Hardin likewise. But Major Semple says that he does not believe anything will be done about Texas or Oregon this session; for it might have a very important effect upon the Presidential election, and politicians are slow to move when such doubtful and important matters are likely to be effected by it. He says that there are already two bills before the house for establishing a territorial government in Oregon, and to protect the emigrants there; and now he says, ["]were your bill to be introduced it might be looked upon that you claimed the sole right of emigrating to 117 and settling that 118 new country to the exclusion of others. He was in favor of the Oregon being settled, and he thought the bills already before the house would extend equal protection to us; and equal protection to every class of citizens was what the government could rightly do, but particular privileges to any one class they could not rightly do.["]

I observed that the bill asked<sup>119</sup> for no exclusive rights; it asks not for exclusive rights in Oregon, neither do we wish it. Other people might make a move to Oregon, and no prejudices bar their way, and their motives would not be misinterpreted.

But said I, Missouri knows her guilt, and should we attempt to march to Oregon <sup>120</sup>without the government throwing a protective shield over us, Missouri's crimes <sup>121</sup> would lead her first to misinterpret our intentions, to fan the flame of popular excitement against us, and scatter the firebrands of a misguided zeal among the combustible materials of other places, creating a flame too hot for us to encounter, too desolating for us to indulge the hope of successfully <sup>122</sup>prosecuting the grand and benevolent enterprise which <sup>123</sup> we have conceived. We have been compelled to relinquish our rights in Missouri; we have been forcibly driven from our homes, leaving our property and inheritances as spoil to the oppressor; and more or less in Illinois we have been subject to the whims and chimeras of illiberal men, and to threats, to vexatious prosecutions and lawsuits.

Our government professes to have no power to help us, or to redress the wrongs which we have suffered, and we now ask the government to protect us while raising our volunteers; and when we get into Oregon we will protect ourselves, and all others who wish our protection.

<sup>116.</sup> MS letter, 2: "special <standing>"

<sup>117.</sup> MS letter, 3:"<to>"

<sup>118.</sup> DHC 6:370: replaces "that" with "the"

<sup>119.</sup> DHC 6:370: "asks"

<sup>120.</sup> MS letter, 3: adds "Missouri would"

<sup>121.</sup> MS letter, 3: "guilt <crimes>"

<sup>122.</sup> MS letter, 3: adds "controverting"

<sup>123.</sup> DHC 6:370: omits "which"

And after subduing a new country, encountering all its difficulties and hardships, and sustaining the just claims of our nation to its soil, we believe that the generosity of our government towards us will be equal to our enterprise and patriotism; and that 124 they will allow us a grant or territory of land, which will be both honorable in 125 them and satisfactory to us.

This, he says, is all very just and reasonable. But still he thinks that Congress will take no step in relation to Oregon, from the fact that his resolution requesting the President of the United States to give notice to the British government for the abolition of the treaty of joint occupation, was voted down; and while that treaty is in force, our government <sup>126</sup> dare do nothing in relation to that country. This resolution was introduced by Mr. Semple to pave the way for the passage of those bills in relation to a territorial government in Oregon.

All our members <sup>127</sup>join in the acknowledgment that you now have an undoubted right to go to Oregon with all the emigrants you can raise. They say the existing laws protect you as much as law can protect you; and should Congress pass an additional law it would not prevent wicked men from shooting you down as they did in Missouri. All the Oregon men in Congress would be glad we<sup>128</sup> would go to that country and settle it.

I will now give you my opinion in relation to this matter; it is made up from the spirit of the times in a hasty manner; nevertheless I think time will prove it to be correct:—That Congress will pass no act in relation to Texas or Oregon at present. She is afraid of England, afraid of Mexico, and 129 afraid the Presidential election will be twisted by it. The members all appear like unskillful players at checkers—afraid to move, for they see not which way to move advantageously. All are figuring and playing 130 round the grand and important questions. In the days of our Lord the people neglected the weightier matters of the law, but tithed mint, rue, anise, and cumin; but I think here in Washington they do 131 little else than tithe the *mint*.

A member of Congress is in no enviable situation; if he will boldly advocate true principles, he loses his influence and becomes unpopular; and whoever<sup>132</sup> is committed, and has<sup>133</sup> lost his influence, has no power to benefit his constituents; so that all go to figuring and playing round the great points.

Mr. Semple said that Mr. Smith could not constitutionally be constituted a member of the army by law; and this, if nothing else, would prevent its passage. I observed that I would in that case strike out that clause. Perhaps I took an unwarrantable responsibility upon myself; but where I get into a straight place, I can do no 134 better than act according to what appears most correct.

I do not intend the opinion that I have hastily given shall abate my zeal to drive the matter through, but I have given the opinion for your benefit, that your indulgence of the hope that Congress will do something for us may not cause you to delay any important action.

There is already a government established in Oregon to some extent; magistrates have been chosen by the people, &c. This  $^{135}$ on the south of the Columbia; north of that river the

```
124. Book F-1, 24: "<that>" (pos. JG)
```

<sup>125.</sup> DHC 6:371: replaces "in" with "to"

<sup>126.</sup> MS letter, 4: "the <our government>"

<sup>127.</sup> DHC 6:371: adds "[Illinois delegation]"

<sup>128.</sup> MS letter, 4: "you <we>"

<sup>129.</sup> DHC 6:371: omits "and"

<sup>130.</sup> DHC 6:371: "play"

<sup>131.</sup> MS letter, 5: "<do>"

<sup>132.</sup> MS letter, 5: "who/ever\"

<sup>133.</sup> MS letter, 5: "<has>"

<sup>134.</sup> Book F-1, 24: "<no>" (pos. JG)

<sup>135.</sup> DHC 6:372: adds "is"

Hudson Bay Company occupy. There is some good country in Oregon, but a great deal of sandy, barren desert. I have seen a gentleman who has been there, and also in California.

The most of the settlers in Oregon and Texas are our old enemies the mobocrats of Missouri. If, however, the settlement of Oregon or Texas be determined upon, the sooner the move is made the better; and I would not advise any delay for the action of our government, for there is such a<sup>136</sup> jealousy of our rising power already, that government will do nothing to favor us. If the Saints possess the kingdom, I think they will have to take it; and the sooner it is done, the more easily it <sup>137</sup> is accomplished.

Your superior wisdom must determine whether to go to Oregon, to Texas, or to remain within these United States, and send forth the most efficient men to 138 build up churches, and let them remain for 139 the time being; and in the meantime send some *wise* men among the Indians, and teach them civilization and religion, to cultivate the soil, to live in peace with one another and with all men. But whatever you do, don't be deluded with the hope that government will foster us, and thus delay an action 140 which the present perhaps is the most proper time that ever will be.

Oregon is becoming a popular question; the fever of emigration begins to rage; if the Mormons become the early majority, others will not come; if the Mormons do not become an<sup>141</sup> early majority, the others will not allow us to come.

Elder Pratt is faithful, useful, and true; he has got the run of matters here very well, and is with me in all my deliberations, visitings, &c.

Major Semple goes with us this evening to introduce us to the President, and to view the White House.

My heart and hand are with you. May heaven bless you and me.—As ever, I am ORSON HYDE.

To the Council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Also the following letter:

<sup>142</sup>Washington, April 26, 1844.

Dear Sir:

Today I trouble you with another communication which you will please have the goodness to lay before our council.

We were last evening introduced to the President at the White House by the politeness of Major Semple, where we spent an hour very agreeably. The President is a very plain, homespun, familiar, farmer-like man. He spoke of our troubles in Missouri, and regretted that we had met with such treatment; he asked us how we were getting along in Illinois. I told him that we were contending with the difficulties of a new country, and laboring under the disadvantageous consequences<sup>143</sup> of being driven from our property and homes in Missouri.

We have this day had a long conversation with Judge Douglas. He is ripe for Oregon and

<sup>136.</sup> DHC 6:372: omits "a"

<sup>137.</sup> MS letter, 6: adds "will"

<sup>138.</sup> MS letter, 6: "<men to>"

<sup>139.</sup> DHC 6:372: omits "for"

<sup>140.</sup> DHC 6:372: adds "for"

<sup>141.</sup> DHC 6:372: replaces "an" with "the"

<sup>142.</sup> Source: Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 6, 98-105 (OH).

<sup>143.</sup> MS letter, 1:"circumstances <consequences>"

the California. He said he would resign his seat in Congress if he could command the force that Mr. Smith could, and would be on the march to that 144 country in a month.

I learn that the eyes of many aspiring politicians in this place are upon that country; and that there is so much jealousy between them that they will probably pass no bill in relation to it. Now all these politicians rely upon the arm of our government to protect them there; and if government were to pass an act establishing a territorial government west of the Rocky Mountains, there would be at once a tremendous rush of emigration; but if government pass no act in relation to it, these men have not stamina or sufficient confidence in themselves and their own resources to hazard the enterprise.

The northern<sup>145</sup> Whig members are almost to a man against Texas and Oregon; but should the present administration succeed in annexing Texas, then all the Whigs would turn round in favor of Oregon; for if Texas be admitted, slavery is extended to the south; then free states must be added to the west to keep up a balance of power between the slave and the free states.

Should Texas be admitted war with Mexico is looked upon as inevitable. The senate have been in secret session on the ratification of the treaty of annexation, but what they did we cannot say. General Gaines, who was boarding at the same house with Judge Douglas, was secretly ordered to repair to the Texan frontier four days ago, and left immediately. I asked Judge D[ouglas]. if that did not speak loud for annexation. He says, no! Santa Anna being a jealous hot-headed pate, might be suspicious the treaty would be ratified by the senate, and upon mere suspicion might attempt some hostilities, and Gaines has been ordered there to be on the alert and ready for action if necessary. Probably our navy will in a few days be mostly in the Gulf of Mexico.

There are many powerful checks upon our government, preventing her from moving in any of these important matters; and for aught I know these checks are permitted to prevent our government from extending her jurisdiction over the territory which God designs to give to 146 his Saints. Judge Douglas says he would equally as soon go to that country without an act of Congress as with; "and that in five years a noble State might be formed, and then if they would not receive us into the Union we would have a government of our own." He is decidedly of the opinion that Congress will pass no act in favor of any particular man going there; but he says if any man will go, and desires that privilege, and has confidence in his own ability to perform it, he already has the right, and the sooner he is off the better for his scheme.

It is the opinion here among politicians, that it will be extremely difficult to have any bill pass in relation to the encouragement of emigration to Oregon; but much more difficult to get a bill passed designating any particular man to go; but all concur in the opinion that we are authorized already.

In case of a removal to that country, Nauvoo is the place of general rendezvous; our course from thence would be westward through Iowa, bearing a little north until we come 147 to the Missouri river, leaving the State of Missouri on the left, thence onward till 148 we come 149 to the Platte, thence up the north fork of the Platte to the mouth of 150 Sweetwater river in longitude 107° 45" W., and thence up said Sweetwater river to the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains about eleven hundred miles from Nauvoo, and from said South Pass in latitude 42° 28" north to the Umpqua and Klamet valleys in Oregon, bordering on California is about 600

<sup>144.</sup> DHC 6:373: replaces "that" with "the"

<sup>145.</sup> MS letter, 2: "<northern>"

<sup>146.</sup> Book F-1, 26: "<to>" (pos. JG)

<sup>147.</sup> DHC 6:374: "came"

<sup>148.</sup> DHC 6:374: "until"

<sup>149.</sup> DHC 6:374: "came"

<sup>150.</sup> DHC 6:374: adds "the"

miles, making the distance from Nauvoo to the best portions of Oregon 1700 miles.

There is no government established here, and it is so near California that when a government shall<sup>151</sup> be established there, it may readily embrace that country likewise. There is much barren country, rocks and mountains, in Oregon, but the valleys are very fertile. I am persuaded that Congress will pass no act in relation to that country, from the fact that the resolution requesting the President to give notice to the British government for the discontinuance of the treaty of joint occupation of Oregon, was voted down with a rush; and this notice must be given before any action can be had unless Congress violates the treaty; at least so say the politicians here.

#### [DN 7 (26 August 1857): 193-94]

Judge Douglas has given me a map of Oregon, and also a Report on an exploration of the country lying between the Missouri river and the Rocky Mountains on the line of the Kansas and great Platte Rivers, by Lieut. J. C. Fremont, of the corps of Topographical Engineers. On receiving it, I expressed a wish that Mr. Smith could see it; Judge D[ouglas]. says ["]it is a public document, and I will frank it to him.["] I accepted his offer, and the book will be forthcoming to him<sup>152</sup>. The people are so eager for it here, that they have even stolen it out of the library. The author is Mr. Benton's son-in-law; Judge D[ouglas]. borrowed it of Mr. B[enton]. I was not to tell any one in this city<sup>153</sup> where I got it. The book is a most valuable document to any one contemplating a journey to Oregon. The directions which I have given may not be exactly correct, but the book will tell correctly. Judge D[ouglas]. says he can direct Mr. Smith to several gentlemen in California who will be able to give him any information on the state of affairs in that country; and when he returns to Illinois, he will visit Mr. Smith.

Bro[ther]. Pratt and myself drafted a bill this morning, and handed it into the committee on the judiciary from the Senate, asking an appropriation of two million <sup>154</sup>dollars for the relief of the sufferers among our people in Missouri in 1838-9<sup>155</sup>, to be deposited in the hands of the city council of Nauvoo, and by them dealt out to the sufferers in proportion to their loss. We intend to tease them until we either provoke them, or get them to do something for us. I have learned this much, that if we want Congress to do anything for us, in drawing up our memorial, we must not ask what is right in the matter, but we must ask what kind of a thing will Congress pass? Will it suit the politics of the majority? Will it be popular or unpopular? For you might as well drive a musket ball through a cotton bag, or the gospel of Christ through the heart of a priest, case-hardened by sectarianism, bigotry, and superstition, or a camel through the eye of a needle, as to drive anything through Congress that will operate against the popularity of politicians.

I shall probably leave here in a few days, and bro[ther]. Pratt will remain. I go to get money to sustain ourselves with.

I shall write again soon, and let you know what restrictions, if any, are laid upon our citizens in relation to passing through the Indian territories. I shall communicate everything that <sup>156</sup> I think will benefit. In the meantime, if the council have any instructions to give us, we shall be happy to receive them here or at Philadelphia.

<sup>151.</sup> MS letter, 4: "should <shall>"

<sup>152.</sup> DHC 6:375: replaces "him" with "you"

<sup>153.</sup> Book F-1, 27: "<in this city>" (JG)

<sup>154.</sup> Book F-1, 27: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>155.</sup> MS letter, 5, Book F-1, 27: "1838 & 9"; DHC 6:375: "1836-9"

<sup>156.</sup> DHC 6:375: omits "that"

John Ross is here; we intend to see him. It is uncertain when Congress rises; it will be a long pull in my opinion. As ever, I am yours sincerely,

ORSON HYDE.

[P.S.]<sup>157</sup> Elder Pratt's best respects to the brethren.

<sup>158</sup>[P.S.S.] These letters, of course, will not be published. They are written in great haste, for our time is so much occupied in visiting and talking with the members, that we have but little time<sup>159</sup> to write, and we stand not for style, but matter. Some things should not be published. You of course will know.

<sup>160</sup>Willard Richards was instructed to answer the above letters, and Elders Lyman Wight and Heber C. Kimball were instructed to carry the answers.

Council adjourned at  $5^{161}$  p.m.  $[\dots]^{162}$ 

**6 P.M.** The steamer *Maid of Iowa* returned from Rock River with 400 bushels of corn, and 200 bushels of wheat, which had been purchased for the Temple. At 8 p.m., I went on board with Dr. Willard Richards, and visited Captain Dan Jones<sup>163</sup>. **Pleasant weather.** 

I insert a letter which I received from Henry Clay, and my answer<sup>164</sup>:—

<sup>165</sup>Ashland, [KY] Nov[ember]. 15, 1843.

Dear Sir.—I have received your letter in behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, stating that you understand that I am a candidate for the Presidency, and inquiring what will be my rule of action relative to you as a people, should I be elected.

I am profoundly grateful for the numerous and strong expressions of the people in my behalf, as a candidate for President of the United States; but I do not so consider myself. That must depend upon future events, and upon my sense of duty.

Should I be a candidate, I can enter into no engagements, make no promises, give no pledges, to any particular portion of the people of the United States. If I ever enter into that high office, I must go into it free and unfettered, with no guarantees but such as are to be drawn from my whole life, character and conduct.

It is not inconsistent with this declaration to say, that I have viewed with lively interest, the progress of the Latter Day Saints; that I have sympathized in their sufferings under injustice,

<sup>157.</sup> DHC 6:376: adds "P.S."

<sup>158.</sup> This paragraph appears only in MS letter, [7].

<sup>159.</sup> MS letter, [7]: "<time>"

<sup>160.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 118 (WR) (APR, 478-79). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>161.</sup> DHC 6:376: "6"

<sup>162.</sup> At this point, JSj [1844], 118 (WR) (APR, 478), reads: "see minutes of the meeting ... & letter of W[illard] Richards Sec[retary of the Council] to O[rson] Hyde & O[rson] Pratt, May 13[th] 1844." RDft 8:42 has following penciled note: "(See minutes—where are they?) (Leave five lines)" (JG). Book F-1, 28, has several blank lines with note in pencil: "(Blank for minutes if found)" (JG). Neither the minutes (see CFM), now restricted, nor WR's letter, not located, were included in the history.

<sup>163.</sup> JSj [1844], 118: omits "and visited Captain Dan Jones"

<sup>164.</sup> DHC 6:376: omits "and my answer"

<sup>165.</sup> Source: RDft 8:42 directs scribe to copy T&S 5 (1 June 1844): 544. Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 5, 89. Cf. NN 2 (29 May 1844): [226]; VOT, 52.

as it appeared to me, which has 166 been inflicted upon them; and that 167 I think, in common with all other religious communities, they ought to enjoy the security and protection of the constitution and the laws.

I am, with great respect, your friend and obedient servant,

H. CLAY.

To<sup>168</sup> Joseph Smith, Esq.

<sup>169</sup>Nauvoo, Ill., May 13th, 1844.

Sir:-Your answer to my inquiry, "What would be your rule of action towards the Latter Day Saints, should you be elected President of the United States," has been under consideration since last November, in the fond expectation that you would give (for every honest citizen has a right to demand it,) to the country, a manifesto of your views of the best method and means which would secure to the people, the whole people, the most freedom, the most happiness, the most union, the most wealth, the most fame, the most glory at home, and the most honor abroad, at the least expense; but I have waited in vain. So far as you have made public declarations, they have been made, like your answer to the above, soft to flatter, rather than solid to feed the people. You seem to abandon all former policy which may have actuated you in the discharge of a statesman's duty, when the vigor of intellect and the force of virtue should have sought out an everlasting habituation for liberty; when, as a wise man, a true patriot, and a friend to mankind, you should have resolved to ameliorate the awful condition of our bleeding country by a mighty plan of wisdom, righteousness, justice, goodness, and mercy, that would have brought back the golden days of our nation's youth, vigor, and vivacity, when prosperity crowned the efforts of a youthful Republic, when the gentle aspirations of the sons of liberty were, "we are one."

In your<sup>170</sup> answer to my questions last fall, that peculiar tact of modern politicians declaring "if you ever enter into that high office, you must go into it free and unfettered, with no guarantees but such as are to be drawn from your whole life, character, and conduct," so much resembles a lottery vendor's sign, with the goddess of good luck sitting on the car of fortune, a-straddle of the horn of plenty, and driving the merry steeds of beatitude, without reins or bridle, that I cannot help exclaiming; O frail man, what have you done that will exalt you? Can any thing be drawn from your *life*, *character*, or *conduct* that is worthy of being held up to the gaze of this nation as a model of *virtue*, charity, and wisdom? Are you not a lottery picture with more than two blanks to a prize? Leaving many things prior to your Ghent treaty, let the world look at that, and see where is the wisdom, honor, and patriotism, which ought to have characterized the plenipotentiary of the only free nation upon the earth? A quarter of a century's negotiation to obtain our rights on the north eastern boundary, and the motley manner in which Oregon tries to shine as American territory, coupled with your presidential race, and come-by-chance secretary

<sup>166.</sup> DHC 6:376: "have"

<sup>167.</sup> DHC 6:376: omits "that"

<sup>168.</sup> MS letter, 1: omits "To"

<sup>169.</sup> DHC 6:376-77 replaces following letter with following note: "Under the date of the Journal's entry here being followed, May 13, 1844, President Smith sent a reply to the above eminent statesman's letter, taking him severely to task for his evident desire to be noncommittal with reference to the problem presented by the wrongs which had been inflicted upon the Latter-day Saints by Missouri. Vexed by remembrance of the cruelty and injustice endured by the Saints in Missouri and the general indifference to their suffering among public men, the letter was written in a caustic and, at times, vehement vein." *Source*: RDft 8:42 directs scribe to copy *T&S* 5 (1 June 1844): 544-48. Cf. *NN* 2 (29 May 1844): [226]; *VOT*, 52-59.

<sup>170.</sup> Book F-1, 29: "<your>" (JG)

ship, in 1825, all go to convince the friends of freedom, the golden patriots of Jeffersonian democracy, free trade and sailor's rights, and the protectors of person and property, that an honorable war is better than a dishonorable peace.

But had you really wanted to have exhibited the wisdom, clemency, benevolence, and dignity, of a great man in this boasted Republic, when fifteen thousand free citizens were exiled from their own homes, lands and property, in the wonderful patriotic State of Missouri, and you then upon your oath and honor, occupying the exalted station of a senator of Congress from the noble hearted State of Kentucky; why did you not show the world your loyalty to law and order, by using all honorable means to restore the innocent to their rights and property? Why, sir, the more we search into your character and conduct, the more we must exclaim from holy writ, "the tree is known by its fruit."

Again, this is not all; rather than show yourself an honest man, by guaranteeing to the people what you will do in case you should be elected president, "you can enter into no engagement, make no promises, and give no pledges," as to what you will do. Well, it may be that some hot headed partisan would take such nothingarianism upon trust, but sensible men and even *ladies* would think themselves insulted by such an evasion of coming events! If a tempest is expected, why not prepare to meet it, and in the language of the poet, exclaim:—

"Then let the trial come; and witness thou, If terror be upon me; if I shrink
Or falter in my strength to meet the storm
When hardest it besets me."

True greatness never wavers, but when the Missouri compromise was entered into by you for the benefit of slavery, there was a mighty shrinkage of western honor; and from that day, Sir, the sterling Yankee, the struggling Abolitionist, and the staunch Democrat, with a large number of the liberal minded Whigs, have marked you as a black-leg in politics, begging for a chance to shuffle yourself into the Presidential chair, where you might deal cut the destinies of our beloved country for a game of brag that would end in: "Hark from the tombs a doleful sound." Start not at this picture; for your "whole life, character, and conduct" have been spotted with deeds that causes a blush upon the face of a virtuous patriot. So you must be contented in your lot, while crime, cowardice, cupidity, or low cunning, have handed you down from the high tower of a statesman to the black hole of a gambler. A man that accepts a challenge or fights a duel is nothing more nor less than a murderer; for holy writ declares that "whoso sheds man's blood by man shall his blood be shed"; and when in the renowned city of Washington the notorious Henry Clay dropped from the summit of a senator to the sink of a scoundrel to shoot at that chalk line of a Randolph, he not only disgraced his own fame, family, and friends, but he polluted the sanctum sanctorum of American glory; and the kingly blackguards throughout the whole world are pointing the finger of scorn at the boasted "asylum of the oppressed," and hissing at American statesmen as gentlemen vagabonds and murderers, holding the olive branch of peace in one hand and a pistol for death in the other! Well might the Savior rebuke the heads of this nation with woe unto you scribes, Pharisees, hypocrites, for the United States government and Congress, with a few honorable exceptions, have gone the way of Cain, and must perish in their gainsayings like Korah and his wicked host. And honest men of every clime, and the innocent, poor, and oppressed, as well as heathens, pagans, and Indians, everywhere, who could but hope that the tree of liberty would yield some precious fruit for the hungry human race, and shed some balmy leaves for the healing of nations, have long since given up all hopes

of equal rights, of justice and judgment, and of truth and virtue, when such polluted, vain, heaven daring, bogus patriots, are forced or flung into the front rank of government to guide the destinies of millions. Crape the heavens with weeds of woe, gird the earth with sackcloth, and let hell mutter one melody in commemoration of fallen splendor! for the glory of America has departed, and God will set a flaming sword to guard the tree of liberty, while such mint-tithing Herods as Van Buren, Boggs, Benton, Calhoun, and Clay, are thrust out of the realms of virtue as fit subjects for the kingdom of fallen greatness; vox reprobi, vox Diaboli!

In your late addresses to the people of South Carolina, where rebellion budded <sup>171</sup>but could not blossom, you "renounced ultraism," "high tariff," and almost banished your "banking systems" for the more certain standard of "public opinion." This is all very well, and marks the intention of a politician, the calculations of a demagogue, and the allowance for leeings of a shrewd manager, just as truly as the weather cock does the wind when it turns upon the spire. Hustings for the south, barbecues for the west, confidential letters for the north, and "American system" for the east:—

"Lull a-by baby upon the tree top,
And when the wind blows the cradle will rock."

Suppose you should also, taking your "whole life, character, and conduct" into consideration, and, as many hands make light work, stir up the old "Clay party," the "National Republican party," the "High Protective Tariff party," and the late coon skin party, with all their paraphernalia, ultraism, ne plus ultraism,—sine qua non, which have grown with your growth, strengthened with your strength, and shrunk with your shrinkage, and ask the people of this enlightened Republic what they think of your powers and policy as a statesman; for verily it would seem, from all past remains of parties, politics, projects, and pictures, that you are the Clay and the people the potter; and as some vessels are marred in the hands of the potter, the natural conclusion is, that you are a vessel of dishonor.

You may complain that a close examination of your "whole life, character, and conduct," places you as a Kentuckian would pleasantly term it "in a bad fix"; but, sir, when the nation has sunk deeper and deeper in the mud at every turn of the great wheels of the Union, while you have acted as one of the principle drivers, it becomes the bounden duty of the whole community, as one man, to whisper you on every point of government to uncover every act of your life, and enquire what mighty acts you have done to benefit the nation, how much you have tithed the mint to gratify your lust; and why the fragments of your raiment hang upon the thorns by the path as signals to beware!

But your shrinkage is truly wonderful! Not only your banking system, and high tariff project, have vanished from your mind "like the baseless fabric of a vision," but the "annexation of Texas" has touched your pathetic sensibilities of national pride so acutely, that the poor Texans, your own brethren, may fall back into the ferocity of Mexico, or be sold at auction to British stock jobbers, and all is well, for "I," the old senator from Kentucky, am fearful it would militate against my interest in the north to enlarge the borders of the union in the south. Truly "a poor wise child is better than an old foolish king who will be no longer admonished." Who ever heard of a nation that had too much territory? Was it ever bad policy to make friends? Has any people ever become too good to do good? No, never; but the ambition and vanity of some men have flown away with their wisdom and judgment, and left a creaking skeleton to occupy the place of a noble soul.

Why, sir, the condition of the whole earth is lamentable. Texas dreads the teeth and toe nails of Mexico. Oregon has the rheumatism, brought on by a horrid exposure to the heat and cold of British and American trappers; Canada has caught a bad cold from extreme fatigue in the patriot war; South America has the headache, caused by bumps against the beams of Catholicity and Spanish sovereignty; Spain has the gripes from age and inquisition; France trembles and wastes under the effects of contagious diseases; England groans with the gout, and wiggles with wine; Italy and the German states are pale with the consumption; Prussia, Poland, and the little contiguous dynasties, duchies, and domains, have the mumps so severely, that "the whole head is sick, and the whole heart is faint"; Russia has the cramp by lineage; Turkey has the numb palsy; Africa, from the curse of God, has lost the use of her limbs; China is ruined by the Queen's evil, and the rest of Asia fearfully exposed to the small pox the natural way from British peddlers; the islands of the sea are almost dead with the scurvy; the Indians are blind and lame; and the United States, which ought to be the good physician with "balm from Gilead," and an "asylum for the oppressed," has boosted and is boosting up into the council chamber of the government, a clique of political gamblers, to play for the old clothes and old shoes of a sick world, and "no pledge, no promise to any particular portion of the people," that the rightful heirs will ever receive a cent of their Father's legacy! Away with such self-important, self-aggrandizing, and self-willed demagogues! their friendship is colder than polar ice; and their professions meaner than the damnation of hell.

Oh! man! when such a great dilemma of the globe, such a tremendous convulsion of kingdoms, shakes the earth from center to circumference; when castles, prison houses, and cells, raise a cry to God against the cruelty of man; when the mourning of the fatherless and the widow causes anguish in heaven; when the poor among all nations cry day and night for bread and a shelter from the heat and storm; and when the degraded black slave holds up his manacled hands to the great statesmen of the United States, and signs,

"O liberty, where are thy charms, That sages have told me were sweet!"

And when fifteen thousand free citizens of the high blooded Republic of North America are robbed and driven from one state to another without redress or redemption, it is not only time for a candidate for the presidency to pledge himself to execute judgment and justice in righteousness, law or no law, but it is his bounden duty as a man, for the honor of a disgraced country, and for the salvation of a once virtuous people, to call for a union of all honest men, and appease the wrath of God by acts of wisdom, holiness, and virtue! "The fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much."

Perhaps you may think I go too far, with my strictures and innuendoes, because in your concluding paragraph you say: "It is not inconsistent with your declarations to say, that you have viewed with a lively interest the progress of the Latter Day Saints, that you have sympathized in their sufferings under injustice, as it appeared to you, which has been inflicted upon them; and that you think, in common with all other religious communities they ought to enjoy the security and protection of the constitution and the laws." If words were not wind, and imagination not a vapor, such "views" "with a lively interest" might coax out a few Mormon votes; such "sympathy" for their suffering under injustice, might heal some of the sick, yet lingering amongst them, raise some of the dead, and recover some of their property from Missouri; and finally, if thought was not a phantom, we might, in common with other religious communities, "you think, enjoy the security and protection of the constitution and laws!" But during ten years, while the Latter Day Saints have bled,

been robbed, driven from their own lands, paid oceans of money into the Treasury to pay your renowned self and others for legislating and dealing out equal rights and privileges to those in common with all other religious communities, they have waited and expected in vain! If you have possessed any patriotism it has been veiled by your popularity for fear the Saints would fall in love with its charms. Blind charity and dumb justice never do much towards alleviating the wants of the needy, but straws show which way the wind blows. It is currently rumored that your dernier resort for the Latter Day Saints is to emigrate to Oregon or California. Such cruel humanity, such noble injustice, such honorable cowardice, such foolish wisdom, and such vicious virtue, could only emanate from Clay. After the Saints have been plundered of three or four millions of land and property by the people and powers of the sovereign state of Missouri; after they have sought for redress and redemption from the county court to Congress, and been denied through religious prejudice and sacerdotal dignity; after they have builded a city and two temples at an immense 172 expense of labor and treasure; after they have increased from hundreds to hundreds of thousands; and after they have sent missionaries to the various nations of the earth to gather Israel according to the predictions of all the holy prophets since the world began, that great plenipotentiary; the renowned Secretary of State, the ignoble duelist, the gambling Senator, and Whig candidate for the presidency, Henry Clay, the wise Kentucky lawyer, advises the Latter Day Saints to go to Oregon to obtain justice and set up a government of their own.

O ye crowned heads among all nations, is not Mr. Clay a wise man and very patriotic? Why Great God! to transport 200,000 people through a vast prairie, over the Rocky Mountains, to Oregon, a distance of nearly two thousand miles, would cost more than *four millions*! or should they go by Cape Horn in ships to California, the cost would be more than *twenty millions*! and all this to save the United States from inheriting the disgrace of Missouri for murdering and robbing the Saints with impunity! Benton and Van Buren, who make no secret to say, that if they get into power they will carry out Boggs' exterminating plan to rid the country of the Latter Day Saints, are

#### "Little nipperkins of milk,"

compared to "Clay's" great aqua fortis jars. Why, he is a real giant in humanity: "send the Mormons to Oregon, and free Missouri from debt and disgrace!" Ah! sir, let this doctrine go to and fro throughout the whole earth, that we, as Van Buren said, know your cause is just, but the United States government can do nothing for you, because it has no power; "you must go to Oregon, and get justice from the Indians!"

I mourn for the depravity of the world, I despise the hypocrisy of Christendom, I hate the imbecility of American statesmen, I detest the shrinkage of candidates for office from pledges and responsibility; I long for a day of righteousness, when "he whose right it is to reign shall judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth," and I pray God who hath given our fathers a promise of a perfect government in the last days, to purify the hearts of the people and hasten the welcome day.

With the highest consideration for virtue and unadulterated freedom,

I have the honor to be,
Your obedient servant,
JOSEPH SMITH.

Hon. H. Clay, Ashland, Ky.

172. Book F-1, 32: "<immense>" (pos. JG)

<sup>173</sup>I instructed Thomas Bullock to take charge of the books of the *Maid of Iowa*, and to go on board as clerk.

<sup>174</sup>Tuesday, 14.—**At home.** Rode out about <sup>175</sup> 7 a.m. *The Maid of Iowa* started for St. Louis at 8:30 a.m.

<sup>176</sup>This afternoon, Mr. Reid, my old lawyer, gave a lecture on the Stand, relating the history of some of my first persecutions. I spoke after he closed, and continued my history to the present time, relating some of the doings of the apostates in Nauvoo.

<sup>177</sup>At 4 p.m., prayer meeting; few present. Prayed for Elder [Lucien]<sup>178</sup> Woodworth's daughter who was sick. Elder Lyman Wight was present.

<sup>179</sup>Wednesday, 15.—At home; much rain through the day; river rising rapidly. Mr. [Charles Francis]<sup>180</sup> Adams, son of John Quincy Adams, with **Mr. [Josiah] Quincy and** Dr. [W.G.]<sup>181</sup> Goforth, called to see me at the Mansion.

At 5 p.m. went to my office, and heard my letter to Mr. Clay read **for the first time**. At 7 p.m., rode to the upper landing with Mr. Adams, **[Josiah] Quincy, and H[eber]. [C.] Kimball**.

I insert the following from the Times and Seasons:—

<sup>182</sup>We take pleasure in announcing to the Saints abroad that Nauvoo continues to flourish, and the little one has become a thousand. Quite a number of splendid houses are being erected, and the Temple is rapidly progressing, insomuch that there is one universal expectation, that before next winter closes in upon us the cap-stone will have been raised, and the building enclosed.

The Saints continue to flock together from all parts of this <sup>183</sup> widespread continent, and from the islands of the sea. Three ships '184 companies have arrived this spring from England, and are now rejoicing in the truths of the everlasting gospel.

The Prophet is in good health and spirits, and unwearied in his anxiety and labors to instruct the Saints in the things of God, and the mysteries of the kingdom of Jesus Christ. Indeed, we may truly say that those who came to scoff remain to pray.

Many have come here filled with prejudice and strange anticipations, but have been convinced that report is false<sup>185</sup> with her thousand tongues, and have almost invariably left a testimony behind them. Instead of finding Mr. Smith the cunning, crafty, and illiterate character

<sup>173.</sup> Source: Based on CHOj 1:12, 13 May 1844 (TB) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>174.</sup> Source: This paragraph from JSj [1844], 119 (WR) (APR, 479), which says the Maid of Iowa left "about 9 A.M.," and CHOj 1:13, 14 May 1844 (TB), which says the Maid left at 8. The historians evidently split the difference (transcription in vol. 8, VI.12). Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type.

<sup>175.</sup> JSj [1844], 119: "<about>"

<sup>176.</sup> Source: This paragraph from JSj [1844], 119 (WR) (APR, 479), and WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 14 May 1844 (NTNLF, 411; DMQP, 19).

<sup>177.</sup> Source: This paragraph from JSj [1844], 119 (WR) (APR, 479).

<sup>178.</sup> Brackets this editor's.

<sup>179.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 120 (WR) (APR, 479), except weather and rising river from CHOj 1:13, 15 May 1844 (TB) (transcription in vol. 8,VI.12). Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type.

<sup>180.</sup> Brackets this editor's. RDft 8:42 has an insertion in pencil: "{Chas. F.}" (JG)

<sup>181.</sup> Brackets this editor's.

<sup>182.</sup> Source: T&S 5 (15 May 1844): 535.

<sup>183.</sup> DHC 6:377: replaces "this" with "the"

<sup>184.</sup> DHC 6:377: "ship's"

<sup>185.</sup> DHC 6:378: moves "is false" to follow "tongues"

that he had been represented to be, they have found in him the gentleman and scholar; frank <sup>186</sup>, open, generous, and brave.

But it is his immediate connections and associates alone that can appreciate his virtues and his talents. While his face is set as a flint against iniquity from every quarter, <sup>187</sup>the cries of the oppressed ever reach his heart, and his hand is ever ready to alleviate the sufferings of the needy.

A few artless villains can always be found who are watching for his downfall or death; but the Lord has generally caused them to fall into their own pit, and no weapon formed against him has prospered. One or two disaffected individuals have made an attempt to spread dissension, but it is like a tale that is nearly told, and will soon be forgotten.

It was first represented as a monster calculated to spread desolation around, but we are credibly informed by a person who attended their first meeting, that there was much difficulty in raising a committee of seven, for there was some objection to Father ———; but as none could be found to fill the vacuum, he constituted one of the seven *stars*!!

It will be unnecessary for us to say much about those *luminaries* of the last days, as they *shine* forth in their true colors in our columns this week in the trial of President Smith. But to say anything by way of warning to the brethren abroad would resemble the "ocean into tempest tossed, to waft a feather or to drown a fly." "By their fruits ye shall know them; do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"

The glad tidings of salvation and the fullness of the gospel, are fast spreading from city to city and from nation to nation. The little stone will still increase till the knowledge of God covers the earth, and righteousness and truth extend from pole to pole.

I copy from the Neighbor:—

<sup>188</sup>To the Friends and Voters of Hancock County.

Elder William Smith, (late representative) wishes to say to the friends and voters of Hancock County, that in consequence of the *sickness* of his family, now in the hands of a doctor in the city of Philadelphia, he relinquishes the idea of offering himself as a candidate for a seat in the next Legislature of Illinois; but, as a matter of the highest consideration, would recommend his brother Hyrum Smith as a suitable and capable person to fill that office, and worthy of the people's confidence and votes.

O sustain ye democracy throughout the land
And ever go forth at Jehovah's command:
And while the old farmer yet swingeth the flail;
Or follows the plough:
Good democrats tread, O tread on the tail
of that Old Coon Now!

We are sorry that our late representative the Hon. Wm. Smith is about to withdraw, for the present time from the political arena. His talents are know and appreciated, his conduct in the last session of the Legislature proved him to be a man of talent and of genius, a patriot and a statesman, and a man every way qualified to maintain the interests of the people he represented.

We know of no person that would be more qualified to fill his station than Gen[era]l.

<sup>186.</sup> DHC 6:378: omits "frank"

<sup>187.</sup> T&S 5:535: adds "while"; Book F-1, 33: adds ellipses over erasure

<sup>188.</sup> Source: NN 2 (15 May 1844): [218]. Deleted material supplied in bold type. Cf. T&S 5 (15 May 1844): 534.

Hyrum Smith (his <sup>189</sup>brother). We are not informed whether the general will accept of the office or not; if he will, we don't know of any gentleman in Hancock Co[unty]. who would be more competent. Gen[eral]. Smith is a man of sterling integrity, deep penetration, and brilliant talents. He is well versed in politics, and as unchangeable as the everlasting hills. He is a man of probity and virtue, and an unwavering patriot.

If Gen[eral]. Hyrum Smith will allow his name to be brought forth we go it for him; and we know from the confidence and respect that is <sup>190</sup> entertained for him as a gentleman and a patriot, he will be elected. What say you, General?

<sup>191</sup>Thursday, 16.—Went to my office at 8 a.m., and heard read<sup>192</sup> my reply to H[enry]. Clay and a letter written by <sup>193</sup>Willard Richards, in behalf of the Council, to Elders Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt at Washington.

 $[...]^{194}$ 

At 10 [a.m.] I ordered the Municipal Court to meet at one p.m., and spent the morning in reading.

<sup>195</sup>At one p.m., I presided in Municipal Court. The case of Jeremiah Smith, sen., who had been arrested by Jones **and [James A.] McCance** on the charge of procuring money at Washington<sup>196</sup> under false pretenses, came up on habeas corpus. The complainant, T. B. Johnson, by his counsel, Chauncey L. Higbee, asked for and obtained an adjournment for one week in order to procure witnesses. The petitioner, by his counsel, Geo[rge]. P. Stiles, objected to the plea, supposing the prosecuting party always ready for trial. The court decided that it was an important case, and it was not best to be in haste; and if the prisoner is discharged on the merits of the case after a full investigation, he goes free forever. The majority of the court decided to adjourn until Thursday next.

<sup>197</sup>**Rain continues.** I was about home the rest of the day, and read in the *Neighbor* the report of my<sup>198</sup> trial before the Municipal Court on the 8th inst.

The following appears in the Times and Seasons:—

<sup>199</sup>Dear Sir:—I have just returned from the north part of this State, where I have been on business for our beloved President Joseph Smith, and it feels so good to breathe the pure air of liberty and friendship after spending some three or four days in a swamp, or rather a slough of religious prejudice and political hypocrisy, which are equally nauseous and offensive, that I

<sup>189.</sup> DHC 6:379: adds "William's"

<sup>190.</sup> DHC 6:379: "are"

<sup>191.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 121 (WR) (APR, 479), with editing and elaboration. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>192.</sup> DHC 6:379: omits "read"

<sup>193.</sup> DHC 6:379: adds "Elder"

<sup>194.</sup> Remainder of Book F-1, 34, and first half of page 35 are blank with note in pencil: "(Blank for letter if found.) [(]q[uer]y is the letter of 25th the one in question)" (JG). WR's 16 May 1844 letter to OH and OP has not been located. His 25 May 1844 letter, which is not the one referred to in JSj, is still among his papers (WRc, Bx 3, fd 2, 25-29) and was included in MSHiJS under date (DHC 6:405-7; chap. 19).

<sup>195.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 121 (WR) (APR, 479), and NMCDB, 97-99 (WR) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.5). Cf. NCRc, Bx 5, fds 27-28. Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type.

<sup>196.</sup> DHC 6:379: omits "at Washington"

<sup>197.</sup> Source: [Sj [1844], 121 (WR) (APR, 479). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>198.</sup> DHC 6:380: replaces "my" with "the"

<sup>199.</sup> Source: T&S 5 (1 June 1844): 554-56. Cf. NN 2 (22 May 1844): [223].

cannot let this opportunity pass without giving vent to some of my feelings in regard to what passed while I remained at the town of <sup>200</sup> Dixon, on Rock River.

My principle business was to appear in the Lee County Circuit Court as a witness in the case of Joseph Smith vs. Joseph H. Reynolds and Harmon T.<sup>201</sup> Wilson, for false imprisonment and using unnecessary force and violence in arresting the plaintiff.

A plea had been entered in this suit by the counsel for the defendants, to which the counsel for the plaintiff demurred. The demurrer was argued on Wednesday morning, the 8th inst., and the parties finally joined issue on the charge of using *unnecessary force and violence*, and the court gave permission by consent of the bar to proceed with the trial, but the counsel not being fully prepared, it was laid over until the following morning, the 9th inst.

On Thursday morning, after the usual preliminaries of opening court, the above case was called up for trial, and the clerk ordered to impanel a jury; and here, sir, a scene took place which ought to make every honest American citizen blush and weep for the credit and honor of his country and laws. A number of men were called up, and when questioned as to whether they had previously expressed opinions in relation to the suit now pending, nearly the whole answered in the affirmative. The further question was then put as to whether they had any prejudice against either of the parties, to which a great majority replied they had against Smith. They were then questioned as to what their prejudice had reference, his religious sentiments or general course of conduct. The greater part replied, to his religious sentiments; and the remainder said they were opposed to his general course of conduct.

About twenty men had to be called upon one after another, out of the number the court finally selected twelve as competent jurors, although<sup>202</sup> the majority of these decidedly expressed their feelings of prejudice against the plaintiff. They were however accepted on the ground that *they said* they *thought* they could do justice to both parties, although some of them expressed a doubt whether they could do justice or not.

The jury being sworn, the court, or rather the counsel, proceeded to examine the witnesses on the part of the plaintiff, which occupied nearly the whole day. But little of the real matter of fact could be set before the court, on account of their being confined to the charge of unnecessary force and violence; but this was proven in the clearest point of light.

I must refer to the testimony of old Mr. Dixon, whose silvery locks seem to tell an age of many years. His evidence related to the circumstance of the Missouri Sheriff refusing for a length of time to give the plaintiff the privilege of habeas corpus, and threatening to drag him to Missouri in fifteen minutes from the time they arrived at Dixon. The old gentleman seemed to tremble with indignation while relating the simple facts as they transpired at the time; and, like a true lover of his country, appeared proud of the privilege of telling those men that the citizens of Dixon would not suffer themselves to be disgraced by permitting them to drag away a citizen of this State to a foreign State for trial, without the privilege of a trial by habeas corpus, a privilege which is guaranteed to every individual under like circumstances, and especially when it was understood that he was to be dragged to Missouri, amongst a people whose hands are yet dripping with the blood of murdered innocence, and who thirst for the blood of General Joseph Smith as the howling wolf thirsts for his prey. Surely such a picture would melt the heart of anything but an adamantine. There are those, and men too who profess to be the followers of the Lord Jesus Christ, who can hear such things, and still wish the Missourians had got Gen[eral]. Smith to Missouri to murder him without judge or jury, and surely they are

<sup>200.</sup> T&S 5:554: omits "of"; DHC 6:380: omits "the town of"

<sup>201.</sup> T&S 5:554: incorrectly reads "G."

<sup>202.</sup> T&S 5:554, DHC 6:381: "though"

no better than murderers themselves, and only lack the opportunity to make them shedders of innocent blood.

After the evidence was through on the part of the plaintiff, the witnesses for the defense was examined, which only occupied a few minutes. The arguments were then advanced on both sides, during which time I could not help noticing how apt the *respectable* gentleman of the opposite counsel was to sing the song of "old Joe Smith," &c., which might appear very gentlemanly in his mind, but to me it seemed as contemptible as the voice of a stupid ass, or the tongue of slander.

Finally the case was submitted to the jury, who were charged by the court, and then ordered to retire and bring in a sealed verdict the following morning at nine o'clock. Friday morning came and with it the verdict, and it proved to be in favor of the plaintiff and against the defendants for *forty* dollars and costs of suit. I confess I was astonished when I heard it, and could not help thinking that prejudice sometimes overrules justice even in the jury box. I could not help comparing the results of this trial with one which came off the day previous, wherein a certain person complained of another for destroying his cow by setting his dogs on the animal until they worried her. It appeared the cow of the plaintiff had seen fit to break into the defendant's lot without asking leave, and the defendant, or rather his men, not liking such treatment, set their dogs on her and destroyed her. Well, the result of this trial was, a verdict of damages for the plaintiff of *thirty* dollars and costs.

Now, sir, compare the two cases. On the one hand, here is a citizen of the United States near two hundred miles from his home and his friends; he is on a visit with his family, not dreaming of danger or difficulty. Two men, or rather wolves in sheep's clothing-for it is a fact that when Wilson and Reynolds made inquiry for Gen[eral]. Smith at Dixon at the time of the arrest, they said they were Mormon Elders, and wanted to see President Joseph<sup>203</sup> Smith, &c. two men, I say, while he is thus enjoying himself with his family, came upon him with each a loaded pistol in his hand, and threatened to shoot him dead if he offered the least resistance, although no resistance had been offered. They then began to haul him about, and when he asked them what they wanted with him, and what was their authority, they replied they were going to take him to Missouri; and jamming their pistols at his side swore that was their authority. He requested them to let him go into the house to bid his family good-by; but this they positively refused, not even giving him the privilege to get his hat. They then forced him into the wagon, and placing themselves one on each side, with a loaded pistol pressed close against his side, and repeatedly striking him with them so as to make him lame and sore for two weeks afterwards, they drove him to Dixon, and ordered horses ready in fifteen minutes to drag him among his murderers; and otherwise abused, insulted, threatened, and treated him in the cruelest manner possible, filling his family with the most excruciating pangs, and rending the heart of his beloved companion with grief to witness their ferocious cruelty, not knowing but his life would be sacrificed before morning; and finally pursued their persecutions until it cost him thousands upon thousands of dollars<sup>204</sup> expenses; and all this without a cause; and when he sues for justice against these men, he obtains damages to the amount of FORTY dollars!

On the other hand a man loses a cow which had broke into his neighbor's lot, and he obtains damages to the amount of *thirty* dollars.

Now, sir, if this is not the effects of prejudice amounting to oppression, then I am no judge of right and wrong. I am very much inclined to think that if Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith, or any of his friends, had treated any citizen of this State or any other State in the manner he was

<sup>203.</sup> DHC 6:382: omits "Joseph"

<sup>204.</sup> T&S 5:555: "cost him from three thousand five hundred to five thousand dollars"; DHC 6:382: "cost him from \$3,500 to \$5,000"

treated by those men, and they had sued for damages as he did, the case would have terminated very different<sup>205</sup>, however, so it is.

The idea of a man yielding to such a degree of prejudice as to render him incapable of executing justice between man and man, merely from rumor and report, is to me perfectly ridiculous and contemptible, as well as wicked and unjust; and when a man is all the day long boasting of the rights and privileges guaranteed to every citizen of the United States under the Constitution and laws, and at the same time is so prejudiced against one of the most peaceable citizens that "he does not know whether he can render him justice" in a court of equity, but would rather strengthen the hands of mobocrats and law-breakers, the inference that one must naturally draw is, that such a man is either<sup>206</sup> a consummate scoundrel and hypocrite, or that he is guilty of the most flagrant violation of the most sacred constitutional principles embraced in the fundamental doctrines of this Republic. I am happy, sir, to have evidence daily that no such corrupt prejudice exists in the heart of General Joseph Smith, nor in the community, so far as I have been able to discover.

Now, as to the exceptions these men have taken in regard to Gen[eral]. Smith's religious views, or general course of conduct, it matters not much. His religious views are his inalienable right, and is<sup>207</sup> nobody's business; and the man who cannot render him justice on that account is a wilful violator of the laws he professes to admire; and, sir, I have for more than two years last past been a close observer of Gen[eral]. Smith's "general course of conduct," as well as his private life; and justice to him, to myself, and the community at large, compels me to say, that in all my intercourse with men, I never associated with a more honorable, upright, charitable, benevolent, and law-abiding man than is the much persecuted Gen[eral]. Smith; and, sir, when I hear men speak reproachfully of him, I never ask for a second evidence of their corruptness and baseness. General Smith, sir, is a man of God, a man of truth, and a lover of his country; and never did I hear him breathe out curses or raillery at any man because he saw fit to differ in religious matters. Shame on the principle—shame on the man or the<sup>208</sup> set of men who show themselves so degraded and miserably corrupt.

The last night of our stay at Dixon, I had the privilege of speaking on the principles of my religion to a number of individuals in a kind of argument with two men; and, sir, although it is near four years since I have made a practice of preaching, it felt as sweet as ever. Truth to an honest heart is sweet, but to a wicked man is like a piercing sword, as was manifest on that occasion; for although the principles of the gospel were laid down so plain and clear that it was impossible to misunderstand, yet the opposing party repeatedly misconstrued my language, and even his own accessions<sup>209</sup>.

I cannot persuade myself that the prejudice referred to above is a general thing; there are many honorable exceptions, and I presume if the Mormons had signified their intentions of supporting the democratic candidate for the Presidency at the ensuing election, instead of nominating an independent candidate of their own choice, their *prejudice* would not have been so great at the trial of Reynolds and Wilson, and perhaps Gen[eral]. Smith would have obtained a judgment somewhat equivalent to the injuries he sustained from that unholy prosecution. But the Mormon people are too noble-minded to be bought or biased by fear or favor, and have been too often deceived by the plausible pretensions of demagogues to put trust in any but *tried friends*. Gen[eral]. Smith has ever been an undeviating friend, not only to this community, but

<sup>205.</sup> DHC 6:383: "differently"

<sup>206.</sup> DHC 6:383: omits "either"

<sup>207.</sup> DHC 6:383: "are"

<sup>208.</sup> T&S 5:556, DHC 6:383: omit "the"

<sup>209.</sup> DHC 6:384: replaces "accessions" with "admission"

to the oppressed of every name or society; and we consider him as competent and qualified for the highest office of the United States as any other man, and a little more so; and a great deal more worthy of it.

In conclusion, let me say that whatever others may say, I consider it an honor to be associated with such a man as Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith, and all true followers of the Lord Jesus Christ; and the more wicked men despise and misrepresent the principles and conduct of President Smith, the more I love him and delight in his society; and this I can do without prejudice or animosity against any man or set of men. I believe in the broad principle of equal rights and privileges, so far as religion or politics are concerned; and while I seek to enjoy my religion according to the knowledge in me, I will interfere with the rights of no man, nor persecute because my neighbor does not think as I do.

A multitude of business compels me to close, and I must forbear. I have the honor to be, Your brother in the everlasting covenant.

WILLIAM CLAYTON.<sup>210</sup>

Nauvoo, May 16, 1844.

From the Neighbor:—

#### <sup>211</sup>STEAMBOAT ELECTION.

On the last upward voyage of the *Osprey* from St. Louis to this place, as usual the merits of the several candidates for the next Presidential election was<sup>212</sup> discussed. A vote was taken, and the following was the "state of the polls" as handed to us by a gentleman who came as passenger:—

Gen[eral]. J[oseph]. Smith,	26 g	entlemen,	3	ladies,
Henry Clay,	6	"	2	"
Van Buren,	2	11	0	"

The ladies are altogether forsaking Van Buren, and the gentlemen as a matter of course are following after. There is a wonderful shrinkage in Henry Clay, but the General is going it with a rush.

Hurrah for the General!

<sup>210.</sup> T&S 5:556: "W.C."

<sup>211.</sup> Source: NN 2 (22 May 1844): [222].

<sup>212.</sup> DHC 6:384: replaces "was" with "were"

#### 18.

# PRESIDENTIAL CONVENTION AT NAUVOO

### May 1844

#### [DN 7 (2 September 1857): 201-203]

<sup>1</sup>Friday, [May] 17 [1844].—The State Convention met in the Assembly Room<sup>2</sup>: **called to promote my election**; I copy the minutes:—

<sup>3</sup>Convention met according to appointment, and was organized by appointing Gen[eral]. Uriah Brown to the chair, and Dr. F. Merryweather, secretary.

Dr. G. W. Goforth presented the following letter, and took his seat in the Convention. Several letters of the same character were presented by other gentlemen, but we have not room to insert them.

Muscoutah, St. Clair Co[unty]., Ill., May 4th, 1844.

Mr. G. W.4 Goforth:-

Sir:—At various meetings held in this county, where I have<sup>5</sup> had the honor of attending; and the interesting topic of the selection of a suitable person for the high station of President of the United States being at this time the most important to Americans, and with the names that are now before the people, Joseph Smith of Nauvoo is recognized respectfully as a candidate, declarative in the principles of Jeffersonianism, or Jefferson Democracy, Free trade and Sailors' rights, and the protection of person and property.

A Convention being about to be held in the city of Nauvoo on the 17th of this month (May), your name has been on every occasion given as a delegate to said convention, and through me the message to be imparted you, asking you to represent our expressions in the case.

Please say for us as Americans, that we will support Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith in preference

<sup>1.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 122 (WR) (APR, 479). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>2.</sup> JSj [1844], 122: replaces "Assembly Room" with "my office"

<sup>3.</sup> *Source*: Following minutes of the state convention at Nauvoo, which run from this point to the end of G.W. Goforth's speech, are from NN 2 (22 May 1844): [222]. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>4.</sup> NN 2:[222]: "W. G."; Book F-1, 39: "W. G." and penciled guideline to reverse letters

<sup>5.</sup> DHC 6:386: omits "have"

to any other man that has given, or suffered his name to come before us as a candidate. And that<sup>6</sup> at the great Baltimore Convention, to be held on the 13th of July, our delegation to said convention be authorized to proclaim for us submission to the nominee as may be by them brought before the people in case of a failure to nominate Joseph Smith, (our choice) and unite approbatively for his support.

Respectfully, sir, this communication and authority upward<sup>7</sup> is forwarded you as your voucher at said convention, with our hearty prayers for the success of him whose special name is given in the important affair.

HENRY B. JACOBS.

Agent for the friends of Gen[eral]. J[oseph]. Smith, whom he those people represents.<sup>8</sup>

Mr. Clay's letter to General Joseph Smith was then read by Mr. Phelps, and also General Joseph Smith's rejoinder, which was applauded by three cheers. We cannot give this correspondence without a great detention of our paper; and the anxiety of the public to see the proceedings of the Convention admonish us to forego the pleasure of inserting it until our next.<sup>9</sup>

It was moved and seconded that the following gentlemen be appointed a committee to draft resolutions for the adoption of this convention:—

Dr. G. W. Goforth, John Taylor, Wm. W. Phelps, William Smith, and Lucian R. <sup>10</sup> Foster. It was moved and seconded that the correspondence of the central committee for government reform of New York be read by W. W. Phelps, also General Joseph Smith's answer to the same.

New York, April 20, 1844.

Joseph Smith, Esq.:

Sir:—The subscribers, the Central Committee of the National Reform Association, in accordance with a duty prescribed by their constitution, respectively solicit an expression of your views as a candidate for public office, on a subject that, as they think, vitally affects the rights and interests of their constituents.

We see this singular condition of affairs, that<sup>11</sup> while wealth in our country is rapidly accumulating; while internal improvements of every description are fast increasing, and while machinery has multiplied the power of production to an immense extent, yet, with all these national advantages, the compensation for useful labor is getting less and less.

We seek the cause of this anomaly, and we trace it to the monopoly of the land, which places labor at the mercy of capital. We therefore desire to abolish the monopoly, not by interfering with the conventional rights of persons now in possession of the land, but by arresting the further sale of all lands not yet appropriated as private property, and by allowing these lands hereafter to be freely occupied by those who may choose to settle on them.

We propose that the public lands hereafter shall not be owned, but occupied only, the occupant having the right to sell or otherwise dispose of improvements to any one not in

<sup>6.</sup> DHC 6:386: omits "that"

<sup>7.</sup> NN 2:[222], Book F-1, 40: "usward"

<sup>8.</sup> NN 2:[222]: adds preceding bolded words; Book F-1, 40: "whom he those people represent"

<sup>9.</sup> This correspondence appears in the previous chapter.

<sup>10.</sup> NN 2:[222]: omits "R."

<sup>11.</sup> DHC 6:387: replaces "and" with "that"

possession of other land; so that by preventing any individual from becoming possessed of more than a limited quantity, every one may enjoy the right.

This measure, we think, would gradually establish an equilibrium between the agricultural and other useful occupations, that would ensure to all full employment and fair compensation for their labor, on the lands now held as private property, and to each individual on the public lands the right to work for himself on his own premises, or for another, at his option.

An answer, as soon as convenient, will much oblige

Your fellow-citizens.

JOHN WINDT, EGBERT S. MANNING, JAMES MAXWELL, LEWIS MASQUERIER, DANIEL WITTER, GEORGE H. EVANS, ELLIS SMALLEY.

Nauvoo, ILL., May 16th, 1844.

To John Windt, Egbert S. Manning, James Maxwell, Lewis Masquerier, Daniel Witter, George H. Evans, and Ellis Smalley, Esqrs.

Gentlemen:—Your communication of April 20th, soliciting my views relative to the public lands is before me; and I answer, that as soon as the greater national evils could be remedied by the consolidated efforts of a virtuous people, and the judicious legislation of wise men, so that slavery could not occupy one-half of the United States for speculation, competition, prodigality, and fleshy capital, and so that enormous salaries, stipends, fees, perquisites, patronage, and the wages of spiritual wickedness in "ermine and lace," could not swallow up forty or fifty millions of public revenue, I would use all honorable means to bring the wages of mechanics and farmers *up*, and the "salaries of public servants *down*; increase labor and money by a judicious tariff, and advise the people—who are the only "sovereigns of the soil—to petition Congress to pass a *uniform land law!* that the air, the water, and the land of the "asylum of the oppressed" might be free to *free men!* 

With consideration of the highest regard for unadulterated freedom,

I have the honor to be Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

After which the meeting adjourned for one hour.

It was moved and seconded that the following gentlemen be constituted a committee to appoint electors for this State:

Dr. G. W. Goforth, E. 14 Robinson, L. N. Scovil[le], Peter Hawes, and John [S.] Reid.

It was moved and seconded that the following gentlemen be constituted a central committee of correspondence, having power to increase their number:

Dr. Willard Richards, Dr. J. M. Bernhisel, W. W. Phelps, and Lucian R. Foster.

The following delegates from the different States of the Union were then received by vote:

<sup>12.</sup> DHC 6:388: omits "the"

<sup>13.</sup> DHC 6:388: adds "the"

<sup>14.</sup> DHC 6:388:"L."

NAMES.	COUNTIES.	STATES.
Dr. G. W. Goforth	St. Clair,	Illinois.
J. 15 Myers, Esq.	Adams,	"
J. Sene,	Quincy,	"
A. Badlock,	Joe Davis,	"
J. C. Wright,	Scott,	"
L. White,	Crawford,	"
S. Brown,	Brown,	"
W. B. Id[l]e,	Sangamon,	"
J. Browning,	Adams,	"
W. W. Phelps,	Hancock,	"
W. Green,	"	"
E[benezer]. Robinson,	"	"
J[ohn]. Taylor,	"	"
H[enry]. [G.] Sherwood,	"	"
F. Merryweather,	"	"
John [S.] Reid, Esq.,	Chemung	N[ew].York.
E. Reece, Esq.,	Buffalo,	"
L. R. 16 Foster,	N[ew]. York city,	"
Dr. J. M. Bernhisel		"
Hugh Herinshaw,	West Chester,	"
E. Thompson,	II .	"
S. A. Perry,	Essex,	"
Wm. Miller,	Livingston,	"
Mr. Dorlan,	Kings,	"
E. Swakhammer,	N[ew].York city,	"
P. Bowen,	Chester,	Pennsylvania.
W. Smith,	Philadelphia,	"
J. H. Newton,	11	"
E[dward]. Hunter,	West Chester,	"
E. Woolley,	Columbiana,	Ohio.
W. G. Ware,	Cincinnati,	"
Thos. Martin,	Hamilton,	11
C. Brooks,	Lake,	"
Dusten Arne,	H .	11
W. W. Dryer,	Lorain,	11
M. J. Coltrin,	Cuyahoga,	11
W. Vanausdell,	Green Briar,	Virginia.
L. B. Lewis,		Massachusetts.
Dr. W[illard]. Richards,	Berkshire,	11
E. Dougherty,	Essex,	N[ew]. Jersey.
W. Richardson,	Burlington,	"
J. Horner,	Monmouth,	11
Tho[ma]s. Atkins,	Burlington,	11
Cap. R. Jones,	N[ew]. Orleans,	Louisiana.
E. Ludington,	"	"
J. Harman,	Monroe,	Mississippi.
		11

<sup>15.</sup> DHC 6:389: omits "J."

<sup>16.</sup> *NN* 2:[222]:"R. S."

NAMES.	COUNTIES.	STATES.
Mr. Palman,	"	"
S. Gully,	Lawrence,	H .
E. M. Sanders,	11	Delaware.
E. F. Sheets,	11	H .
J. Hatch,	Alice,	Vermont.
J. Houston,	Madison,	"
J. A. Mikesell,	"	Missouri.
Col. Cowan,	Oxford,	Maine.
M. Anderson,	Rutherford,	Tennessee.
H. Stout,	Mercer,	Kentucky.
Gen. G. Miller,	Madison,	"
Mr. Hunt,	Switzerland,	Indiana.
A. Johnson,	Middletown,	Connecticut.
L. N. Scovill <sup>17</sup> ,		Maryland.
Dr. L. Richards,	Providence,	Rhode Island.
M. Wilber,		"
J. S. Swiss,		N[ew]. Hampshire.
Dr. Shodask <sup>18</sup> ,		Michigan.
Abr[aham]. Williams,		Georgia.
J. Haws,		Alabama.
R. Alexander,	Union District,	S[outh]. Carolina.
Y. Maccauslin,	Randolph,	N[orth]. "
D. J. Putton,		Iowa.
Cap. Hathaway,		Arkansas.

It was moved, seconded, and carried by acclamation, that General Joseph Smith of Illinois, be the choice of this Convention for President of the United States.

It was moved, seconded, and carried by acclamation, that Sidney Rigdon, Esq., of Pennsylvania, be the choice of this <sup>19</sup> Convention for Vice President of the United States.

The nine following resolutions were then adopted, the fifth of which was carried by acclamation.

- 1. Resolved, that from all the facts and appearances that are now visible in the United States, that we believe much imbecility and fraud is practiced by the officers of government; and that to remedy these evils it is highly necessary that a virtuous people should arise in the panoply of their might, and with one heart and one mind, correct these abuses by electing wise and honorable men to fill the various offices of government.
- 2. *Resolved*, that as union is power, the permanency and continuance of our political institutions depend upon the correction of the abuses.
- 3. Resolved, that as all political parties of the present day have degraded themselves by adhering more or less to corrupt principles and practices, by fomenting discord and division among the people, being swallowed in the vortex of party spirit and sectional prejudices, until they have become insensible to the welfare of the people and the general good of the country; and knowing, that there are good men among all parties, in whose bosoms burn the fire of pure patriotism, we invite them by the love of liberty, by the sacred honor of freemen, by the

<sup>17.</sup> DHC 6:390: "Scovil"

<sup>18.</sup> DHC 6:390: "Shenask"

<sup>19.</sup> DHC 6:390: replaces "this" with "the"

patriotism of the illustrious fathers of our freedom, by the glorious love of country, and by the holy principles of '76, to come over and help us to reform the government.

- 4. *Resolved*, that to redress all wrongs, the government of the United States, with the President at its head, is as powerful in its sphere as Jehovah is in his.
- 5. Resolved, that the better to carry out the principles of liberty and equal rights, Jeffersonian Democracy, free trade and sailor's rights, and the protection of person and property, we will support General Joseph Smith of Illinois for the President of the United States at the ensuing election.
- 6. Resolved, that we will support Sidney Rigdon, Esq., of Pennsylvania, for the Vice Presidency.
- 7. Resolved, that we will hold a National Convention at Baltimore on Saturday, the 13th day of July.
- 8. Resolved, that we call upon the honest men of all parties in each State to send their delegates to said convention.
- 9. Resolved, that all honest Editors throughout the United States are requested to publish the above resolutions.
- [10.]<sup>20</sup> Resolved, that those gentlemen who stand at the head of the list, who have gone to the several States to take charge of our political interests, be requested to use every exertion to appoint electors in the several electoral districts of the States which they represent, and also to send delegates to the Baltimore Convention.
- [11.] Resolved, that Dr. Goforth and John [S.] Reid, Esq., be requested to furnish a copy of their speeches for publication.
- [12.] Resolved, that the electors be instructed to make stump speeches in their different districts.
- [13.] Resolved, that the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Hancock for his patriotic<sup>21</sup> song.

It was moved and seconded that Orson Hyde, H[eber]. C. Kimball, David S. Hollister, Orson Pratt, and Lyman Wight, represent this Convention at the Convention to be held in Baltimore on the 13th of July next.

Sidney Rigdon, Esq., then addressed the meeting, and was succeeded by the following gentlemen:—GEN. JOSEPH SMITH, DR. G. W. GOFORTH, LYMAN WIGHT, W. W. PHELPS, JOHN TAYLOR, HYRUM SMITH, and JOHN S. REID, ESQ.

It was moved, seconded, and carried, that the thanks of this meeting be given to the Chairman and Secretary.

The Convention was addressed in an eloquent speech by Sidney Rigdon, Esq., showing the political dishonesty of both Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren, and stating his views, and the present condition of the<sup>22</sup> country.

Dr. Goforth rose and addressed the Convention in the following eloquent strain<sup>23</sup>:—

#### <sup>24</sup>Mr. Chairman and Fellow Citizens:—

As an American—a citizen of St. Clair County, and of the State of Illinois, with the deference ever acknowledged on occasions like this, I feel the spirit of obedience that was

<sup>20.</sup> NN 2:[222] and DHC 6:390-92 delete the numbers of the remaining resolutions.

<sup>21.</sup> NN 2:[222]: omits "patriotic"

<sup>22.</sup> NN 2:[222]: replaces "the" with "this"

<sup>23.</sup> DHC 6:392: omits "in the following eloquent strain"

<sup>24.</sup> DHC 6:392 omits G.W. Goforth's address and replaces it with: "[Dr. Goforth dealt chiefly with the past glories of the republic, and the wrongs suffered by the Latter-day Saints in Missouri]." Source: NN 2 (22 May 1844): [222].

required of one of old when he was bade to take off his shoes, for he was walking on holy ground, and that this was a holy cause.

Influenced by the distinguished honors paid me on the 24th of April in the convention then here held, and the invitation to associate on this occasion, I feel that on occasions of this importance it commands the rallying excuses of more than a Bonapartean or Mortier desperation; that to have names now brought before an American people that have for the last fourteen years or longer, been like the foot ball of the sportsman and the extraordinary selected subjects of derision and contumely, that new expressions are about to be made that the people are about to trace back the erroneous doings of a nation, to weep and repent for malefactors, to examine the old building that in those days was founded by our forefathers, and for want of qualified tenants, has become occasionally tinged with filth and spurious matter—that its anticipated solidity to the beating storms has ceded—and its firmness in various ranges assumed dubitable type.

The Jeffersonian doctrines have been forsaken; MERIT and QUALIFICATION have been abandoned, humbuggery and sarcasm in their stead adopted, and modern American growth in the unhealthy tones of vice, farce, non-sustenance of truth, and non-valorous deeds in their stead, the only objects for promotion captioned by these expressions, to this august assembly.

In the character of a delegate from St. Clair county, I say, that reform—politically as well as morally, claims the present field; that the many gubernative exercises of the various Presidents since those days that were honored by a Washington, a Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson, have been to AMERICANS, thorns whose irritability never cease, whose national *maligne depot* has been indelible and that has cankered the lovely cement that germinated in the days of the Revolution in 1776, and that were by our forefathers fostered with hope of ameliorizing the conditions of this and previous generations.

Unwilling as I may be to offer to my nation the least attack of reproach, yet, as publicity was given of a western convention to take up the subject of a national merit—by delegating and instructing delegates, by the expression of a will to submit to the nomination of the Baltimore Convention and covenant to support the nominee—and with all the utterance of our disapprobation of Martin Van Buren's ever standing before the lovers of the "76" cause in any character that might respect or recognize him as a portion of material in the erection or construction of this American microcosm I on this occasion stay the ceremony of exposition—I tremble for our once happy country, at the threat of Van Buren's election again by the Americans to the Presidency—and thank God that the age of gray hairs will to every American in these days say "look ere you leap"; since 1819 I have risked an American's part for the sustenance of democracy, and I do assert, JEFFERSONIANISM; ever shaded by the promise of better times, while the LOCKER was opened and the AMERICANS hope till spill[e]d.

On this occasion, delegates hasten to the Baltimore convention—and like Americans, we trust, will represent the cares of a nation and claim the western people's choice—open again as in the "Declaration of Independence" the assertion "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their CREATOR with certain unalienable rights; that among these are LIFE, LIBERTY, and the PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of the ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

"LIGHT AND TRANSIENT CAUSES" may be by party opposition to be the

movers for this proposition of REFORM. But with one voice we will respond No! No!! No!!! For very many years agitating ceremonies have roused from their slumber, and caused the offsprings of "1776" to look back and rehearse the tales, remembering the savage shriek and calling up to horrible vivification the bloody banners of Britain, when the unholy proffer was made for "SLAVERY OR DEATH." When the *cradle* was only a *forest* of uncertainty, and our MOTHERS as in the hands of Heaven's King sustained to impart the voice of patriotic perfection and excellence.

This day associates with our recollection much of the history of Americans, and but for the want of time 'twould be rehearsed. This day sweetens recollection with the privilege of a convention to tell over the national grievances—the omissions of official duty and the usurpation of aristocratical power. This day only whispers the silly lilliputian efforts of Missouri, sanctioned by VAN BUREN, BENTON, and BOGGS. This day published for days passed, has told the world that to be free was our privilege, that to renounce VAN BURENISM would be healthy to Americans—that to dissanction the deaf eared costumes of a White Housed scorpion was prudent, and to tell the old veterans of 1776 that those rights occupy our wills—and the spirits of our fathers yet mingle in our blood and stimulate our actions, to nobly die defending the covenant made by the signers of the "Declaration of Independence" on the 4th day of July, 1776.

Nail to the topmast *the Flag* with letters of *gold* legible to all "FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS, PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY."

Americans now begin to examine their privileges; and like the skilled physician examining a diseased heart, will thump in proper character on its environs for a flat coneif flat, they'll say "beware"—if cone "all's right"—the diseased heart has been detected, and in its furious race, is hastening the exit of that aspirant, who, while in its premonitory stage said, "Your cause is a good one, but I cannot afford you any assistance in your present distressed condition"; and that man who refused the hearing of the Mormon grievances, when by a Young, a Steward, and a Reynolds, they were offered for Congressional action (Benton) asserting that the Missouri mobocracy—the Bogg[s] decree (the women and babe destroyer) and the expatriating 25 or exterminating feat from Far West, was not only just but that he was clad with proof—with legal justification, and the Mormons merited all and more than they had received of virulence and brutality. If American jurisprudence be on these decisions, and by the men whom democracy sustained, the deeds of valor which again will place them at the head of our26 affairs, the stands are broken, the links have sprung, and the anchor fangs refused to hold; may we now say that in 1844, JOSEPH SMITH, the proclaimer of Jefferson Democracy, of Free trade and Sailors' rights, and protection of Person and Property, with us stands first to the Baltimore Convention, (and if his want of success in the nomination exists instruct our delegates to say Henry Clay), and like men stand firm—to a man vi voca speak out-and herald the tidings North, South, East, and West, admitting that

> "None but mean spirits dread the face of care, And none but cowards, life's afflictions bear; All dastard spirits sink at distant war, And tremble as it threatens from afar; But rich or poor, true minds preserve their weight, And if exalted or debased are great."

> > Cruden.

<sup>25.</sup> NN 2:[222]: adds "horrors"

<sup>26.</sup> Book F-1, 46: "<our>" (pos. JG)

#### <sup>27</sup>SYNOPSIS OF THE REMARKS OF HON. JOHN S. REID.

Mr. Chairman:-

I cannot leave this subject and do justice to my own feelings, and the character of Gen. Smith, without giving a short history of the first persecution that came upon him in the counties of Chenango and Broome, in the State of New York, commenced by that class of people calling themselves Christians.

The first acquaintance I had with Gen. Smith was about the year 1823. He came into my neighborhood, being then about eighteen years of age, and resided there two years; during which time I became intimately acquainted with him. I do know that his character was irreproachable; that he was well known for truth and uprightness; that he moved in the first circles of the community, and he was often spoken of as a young man of intelligence and good morals, and possessing a mind susceptible of the highest intellectual attainments.

I early discovered that his mind was constantly in search of truth, expressing an anxious desire to know the will of God concerning his children here below, often speaking of those things which professed Christians believe in. I have often observed to my best informed friends, (those that were free from superstition and bigotry,) that I thought Joseph was predestinated by his God from all eternity to be an instrument in the hands of the great Dispenser of all good to do a great work; what it was I knew not. After living in that neighborhood about three years, enjoying the good feelings of his acquaintance as a worthy youth, he told his particular friends that he had had a revelation from God to go to the west about eighty miles to his father's, in which neighborhood he should find hid in the earth an old history, written on golden plates, which would give great light and knowledge concerning the will of God towards his people in this generation, unfolding the destiny of all nations, kindreds, and tongues; he said that he distinctly heard the voice of him that spake. Joseph Knight, one of the fathers of your church, a worthy man, and my intimate friend, went with him. When I reflect upon our former friendship, Mr. Chairman, and upon the scenes that he had passed through in consequence of mal-administration, mobocracy, and cruelty, I feel to lift up my voice to high heaven, and pray God to bless the aged veteran, and that his silver locks may go down to the grave in peace like a shock of corn fully ripe. In a few days his friends 28 returned with the glad news that Joseph had found the plates, and had gone down to his father-in-law's for the purpose of translating them. I believe he remained there until he finished the translation. After the book was published he came to live in the neighborhood of Father Knight's, about four miles from me, and began to preach the gospel, and many were pricked in their hearts, believed, and were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. He soon formed a church at Colesville, his meetings were numerously attended, and the eyes of all people were upon him with astonishment. O, Mr. Chairman, the world was turned upside down at once, and the devil-always ready to assist and help along in all difficulties that arise among men-personified in some of the religionists, begun to prick up his ears, and jump, and kick, and run about, like Jim Crow, calling for rotten eggs to help in the wake; you would have thought, sir, that Gog and Magog were let loose on the young man. He called upon the world's people, (as they are called) but got no help; he then flew about in the sectarian churches, like lightning, and they immediately came to his aid; and uniting their efforts, roared against him like the thunders of Mount Sinai. When those fiery bigots were let loose, they united in pouring the red hot vials of their wrath upon his head. Their<sup>29</sup> cry of "false prophet! false prophet!!" was sounded from village to village; and every foul epithet that

<sup>27.</sup> Source: RDft 8:43 directs scribe to copy "Some of the Remarks of John S. Reed, Esq., as Delivered Before the State Convention," T&S 5 (1 June 1844): 549–52. Cf. NN 2 (5 June 1844): [231].

<sup>28.</sup> DHC 6:393: adds "[Joseph Smith's]"

<sup>29.</sup> T&S 5:550: replaces "Their" with "The"; Book F-1, 47 (pencil): "They<ir>"

malice and wicked ingenuity could invent, were heaped upon him. Yes, sir, the same spirit that influenced the Presbyterians of Massachusetts, about one hundred and fifty years ago, in their persecution of the Quakers, when they first began to preach their doctrines in that State, was fully manifested by those religious bigots, who were afraid if they let them alone, their doctrines would come to naught. What was the result of the persecution in Massachusetts? Why, sir, warrants were made out by those churches having authority, and the Quakers were tried for heresy. But what was the result of those trials? The sentence of death was passed upon the Quakers for heresy by those religious fanatics, and three of them were hung by the neck on Bloody Hill, in Boston, to make expiation for that unpardonable crime. "Tell it not in Gath," nor publish it not on the tops of the mountains in this boasted land of freedom, that the Puritans of New England, who had fled from the Old World in consequence of religious intolerance, that they might enjoy the sweets of liberty, so soon became persecutors themselves, and shed innocent blood; which still cries aloud from the dust for vengeance upon their heads. Let shame cover our faces when we mention the name of freedom in our grand Republic.

O my God! when in one portion of our country blood is flowing for the crime of worshiping our Creator according to the dictates of conscience, or as the Spirit directs, and in the other are great rejoicings in consequence thereof; where, I ask, is that boasted freedom for which our fathers fought and bled?

O thou who holds<sup>32</sup> the destinies of all things in thine hands here below, return these blessings unto us, that we may keep them as precious jewels till time is no more. But, Mr. Chairman, I am wandering too far from the subject. I will return to the persecutions which followed Gen[eral]. Smith, when his cheeks blossomed with the beauty of youth, and his eyes sparkled with innocence.

Those<sup>33</sup> bigots soon made up a false accusation against him, and had him arraigned before Joseph Chamberlain, a justice of the peace, a man that<sup>34</sup> was always ready to deal out justice to all, and a man of great discernment of mind.

The case came on about 10 o'clock a.m. I was called upon to defend the prisoner. The prosecutors employed the best counsel they could get, and ransacked the town of Bainbridge and county of Chenango for witnesses that would swear hard enough to convict the prisoner; but they entirely failed. Yes, sir, let me say to you that not one blemish nor spot was found against his character; he came from that trial, notwithstanding the mighty efforts that were made to convict him of crime by his vigilant persecutors, with his character unstained by even the appearance of guilt.

The trial closed about 12 o'clock at night. After a few moments' deliberation, the court pronounced the words "not guilty," and the prisoner was discharged. But, alas! the devil, not satisfied with his defeat, stirred up a man not unlike himself, who was more fit to dwell among the fiends of hell, than to belong to the human family, to go to Colesville and get another writ, and take him to Broome county for another trial. They were sure they could send that boy to hell or to Texas, they did not care which; and in half an hour after he was discharged by the court, he was arrested again, and on the way to Colesville for another trial.

I was again called upon by his friends to defend him against his malignant persecutors, and clear him from the false charges they had preferred against him. I made every reasonable excuse I could, as I was nearly worn down through fatigue and want of sleep; as I had been

<sup>30.</sup> Book F-1, 47:"<their doctrines>" (JG)

<sup>31.</sup> DHC 6:394: "hanged"

<sup>32.</sup> DHC 6:394: "holdest"

<sup>33.</sup> DHC 6:394: "These"

<sup>34.</sup> DHC 6:394: replaces "that" with "who"

engaged in lawsuits for two days, and nearly the whole of two nights. But I saw the persecution was great against him; and here let me say, Mr. Chairman, singular as it may seem, while Mr. Knight was pleading with me to go, a peculiar impression or thought struck my mind, that I must go and defend him, for he was the Lord's anointed. I did not know what it meant, but thought I must go and clear the Lord's anointed. I said I would go; and started with as much faith as the apostles had when they could remove mountains, accompanied by Father Knight, who was like the old patriarch that followed the ark of God to the city of David. We rode on till we came to the house of Hezekiah Peck, where a number of Mormon women had<sup>35</sup> assembled, as I was informed, for the purpose of praying for the deliverance of the Prophet of the Lord. The women came out to our wagon, and Mrs. Smith among the rest.

O my God, sir, what were my feelings, when I saw that woman who had but a few days before given herself, heart and hand, to be a consort for life, and that so soon her crimson cheeks must be wet with tears that came streaming from her eyes; yes, sir, it seemed that her very heart strings would be broken with grief. My feelings, sir, were moved with pity and sorrow for the afflicted, and on the other hand they were wrought up to the highest pitch of indignation against those fiends of hell who had thus caused the innocent to suffer.

The next morning about 10 o'clock the court was organized. The prisoner was to be tried by three justices of the peace, that his departure out of the county might be made sure. Neither talents nor money were wanting to ensure them success. They employed the ablest lawyer in that county, and introduced twenty or thirty witnesses before dark, but proved nothing.

They sent out runners and ransacked the hills and vales, grog-shops and ditches, and gathered together a company that looked as if they had come from hell, and had been whipped by the soot-boy thereof; which they brought forward to testify one after another, but with no better success than before; although they wrung and twisted into every shape, in trying to tell something that would criminate the prisoner. Nothing was proven against him whatever.

Having got through with the examination of their witnesses about 2 o'clock in the morning, the case was argued about two hours. There was not one particle of testimony against the prisoner. No, sir, he came out like the three children from the fiery furnace, without the smell of fire upon his garments.

The court deliberated upon the case for half an hour with closed doors, and then we were called in. The court arraigned the prisoner and said: "Mr. Smith, we have had your case under consideration, examined the testimony and find nothing to condemn you, and therefore you are discharged."

They then proceeded to reprimand him severely; not because anything derogatory to his character in any shape had been proven against him by the host of witnesses that had testified during the trial, but merely to please those fiends in human shape, who were engaged in the unhallowed persecution of an innocent man, sheerly on account of his religious opinions.

After they had got through, I arose and said: "This court puts me in mind of a certain trial held before Felix of old, when the enemies of Paul arraigned him before that venerable judge for some alleged crime, and nothing was found in him worthy of death or of bonds. Yet, to please the Jews who were his accusers, he was left bound contrary to law; and this served Mr. Smith in the same way, by their unlawful and uncalled for reprimand after his discharge, to please his accusers."

We got him away that night from the midst of three hundred people without his receiving

<sup>35.</sup> DHC 6:395: replaces "had" with "were"

<sup>36.</sup> DHC 6:396: omits "of"

<sup>37.</sup> DHC 6:396 replaces "this" with "the"

<sup>38.</sup> DHC 6:396 replaces "has" with "had"

any injury; but I am well aware that we were assisted by some higher power than man; for to look back on the scene, I cannot tell how we succeeded in getting him away. I take no glory to myself; it was the Lord's work, and marvelous in our eyes.

This, Mr. Chairman, is a true history of the first persecution that came upon Gen[eral]. Smith in his youth among professed Christians, and in a country<sup>39</sup> heralded to the ends of the earth as a land of freedom, where all men have the constitutional right to worship as they please, and believe what they please without molestation, so long as they do not interfere with the rights and privileges of others. Yes, sir, a persecution got up through the influence of religious bigotry by as vile a set of men as ever disgraced the family of man. But their devices against him were brought to naught by that<sup>40</sup> overruling power that controls all things, and brings to naught the counsels of the wicked.

Mr. Chairman, little did I think, that I was defending a boy that would rise to eminence like this man—a man whom God delights to honor as a prophet and leader of his people; one to whom he has given the keys of heaven and earth, and the power of David, and said to him, whatsoever<sup>41</sup> you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against you. And may he live to put his foot upon the neck of his enemies in love and meekness. I know, sir, that God has made him a leader of many thousands of people, and may he teach them in meekness, and with that wisdom and judgment that God shall direct.

I add no more.

<sup>42</sup>The Convention adjourned sine die.

URIAH BROWN, President.

F. Merryweather, Secretary.

<sup>43</sup>I rode out in the afternoon<sup>44</sup>.

About 6 p.m., a caucus was held **in my office**, but Emma being sick I could not attend. **Dr. Goforth, Chairman.** At night a large assemblage burned a barrel of tar in the street; I went out to see what was the matter, and found they were giving toasts; and as soon as they became aware of my presence, they carried me on their shoulders twice round the fire, and escorted me to the Mansion by a band of music.

Elders Franklin D. Richards and Joseph A. Stratton were ordained High Priests and set apart to go on a mission to England by Elders B[righam]. Young, <sup>45</sup>H[eber]. C. Kimball, and Willard Richards of the Twelve.

<sup>39.</sup> *T&S* 5:551 reads "county"

<sup>40.</sup> DHC 6:396 replaces "that" with "the"

<sup>41.</sup> DHC 6:397 reads "whatever"

<sup>42.</sup> Remainder of convention minutes from NN 2 (22 May 1844): [222].

<sup>43.</sup> *Source*: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 122 (WR) (*APR*, 479-80), with editing and elaboration. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>44.</sup> JSj [1844], 122: replaces "in the afternoon" with "towards night"

<sup>45.</sup> DHC 6:397: adds "and"

#### 19.

## JOSEPH SMITH ON DISSENTERS May 1844

#### [DN 7 (2 September 1857): 201-203 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>Saturday, [May] 18 [1844].—At 9 a.m., I went with Heber C. Kimball to visit President Brigham Young, and afterwards went out to the regimental training; and also in the afternoon riding on my horse<sup>2</sup> "Joe Duncan".

At 5 p.m., two cannons were fired opposite my old house, and the regiments were dismissed.

<sup>3</sup>The high Council cut off from the church, James Blakesley, Francis M. Higbee, Charles Ivins, and Austin Cowles, for apostasy.

<sup>4</sup>Sunday, 19.—Cloudy morning; rain about noon. I remained at home. Elder Lyman Wight preached at the stand in the morning<sup>5</sup>. **[Edward] Bonney returned from the east.** The usual prayer meeting at 2 p.m. was dispensed with on account of the mud and rain.

In the evening I talked to the brethren at my house<sup>6</sup>, Esquire Reid, my old lawyer, being present, W. W. Phelps read my last letter to Henry Clay to the company.

#### Foggy and wet. "Maid of Iowa" has not arrived 10 o'clock.

<sup>7</sup>Monday, 20.—Emma continued<sup>8</sup> very sick, and I<sup>9</sup> was with her most of the time.

At 10 a.m., there was a meeting at the stand for the purpose of collecting means to enable Elder Lyman Wight to go to Washington.

The Circuit Court commenced its sitting at Carthage, Judge Thomas presiding; brother Phelps

<sup>1.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 123 (WR) (APR, 480), with light editing. Cf. NLM [1843-44], 16.

<sup>2.</sup> JSj [1844], 123: omits "my horse"; Book F-1, 50 (pencil): "<my horse>" (RLC)

<sup>3.</sup> Source: Probably based on "Notice," T&S 5 (15 May 1844): 543. Cf. NHCM, Loose Minutes (fd 5), 18 May 1844 (transcription in NHCM [2005], 139, is incomplete; NCHCM, 492-94).

<sup>4.</sup> *Source*: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 124 (WR) (APR, 480), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>5.</sup> JSj [1844], 124: omits "in the morning"

<sup>6.</sup> JSj [1844], 124: replaces "at my house" with "in the bar Room"

<sup>7.</sup> Source: This day's entry (except last paragraph) from JSj [1844], 125 (WR) (APR, 480), with editing and change to first person. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>8.</sup> JSj [1844], 125: "continues"; Book F-1, 50 (darker ink): "continues<d>"

<sup>9.</sup> Book F-1, 50 (pencil): "\I/" (RLC)

and many of the brethren went<sup>10</sup>. Phelps returned in the evening with the intelligence that a summons was supposed to be issued for<sup>11</sup> me to appear **on complaint of F[rancis]**. **M. Higbee** on the same case on which I was set free by habeas corpus on the 8th inst. The lawyers agreed to move an abatement. **Judge Adams presiding**. A good influence in favor of the Saints appears to have prevailed.

<sup>12</sup>A General Court Martial of the Legion was held, Brevet Major General<sup>13</sup> Hyrum Smith presiding. It was adjourned to the 10th <sup>14</sup>June next.

<sup>15</sup>Tuesday, 21.—**At home.** A very pleasant morning; I rode out on horseback to the prairie<sup>16</sup> with Porter Rockwell and Mr. [John S.]<sup>17</sup> Reid<sup>18</sup>. At 7 a.m., Elders B[righam]. Young, H[eber]. C. Kimball, Lyman Wight, and about a hundred Elders, left this city on the steamer *Osprey* (Captain Anderson)<sup>19</sup> for St. Louis.

<sup>20</sup>The *Maid of Iowa* arrived at 8 a.m. with sixty-two Saints from the Eastern States<sup>21</sup> on board, all in good health and spirits; the clerk, Thomas Bullock, reported the fields on each side <sup>22</sup>the river covered with water to the depth of upwards of sixteen feet, and all the farms on the flats of the Mississippi river were submerged, and the river was still rising eight inches per day. The *Maid* <sup>23</sup>started up the river for Wappelo<sup>24</sup> on the Iowa river at 3 p.m.

<sup>25</sup>I was at home towards night with Emma, who is somewhat better. I shoveled dirt out of the ditch, while Wasson stood on the corner of the fence to watch; an officer arrived having a summons and an attachment to take me to Carthage, but he could not find me. I rode out in the evening with W[illia]m Clayton to see David Yearsley's child, who was sick.

<sup>10.</sup> DHC 6:398: adds "to Carthage"

<sup>11.</sup> JSj [1844], 125: "<or a summons was suffered to be issued>"

<sup>12.</sup> *Source*: There are no Legion minutes matching this description. Instead, minutes for a meeting the previous year, 20 May 1843, presided over by Hyrum Smith and adjourned to 10 June, can be found in NLM [1841-44], 32-34 (HSt); NLc, fd 3, 29-34.

<sup>13.</sup> Book F-1, 50 (pencil): "<Gen.>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>14.</sup> DHC 6:399: adds "of"

<sup>15.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 126 (WR) (APR, 481), with some details added from WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 21 May 1844 (NTNLF, 411; DMQP, 19). Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type. Cf. BYj, vol. 3, 21 May 1844 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.2); HCKj, vol. 3, 21 May 1844 (OPW, 60); L. Wight and H. C. Kimball to JS, 19 June 1844, in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 59-70 (DHC 7:136).

<sup>16.</sup> JSj [1844], 126: omits "on the prairie"; taken from WCj.

<sup>17.</sup> Brackets this editor's.

<sup>18.</sup> JSj [1844], 126: omits "and Mr. Reid"; taken from WCj.

<sup>19.</sup> JSj [1844], 126: omits "(Captain Anderson)"; added interlinearly in RDft 8:44 (JG).

<sup>20.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 126 (WR) (APR, 481), mentions the arrival and departure of the Maid; CHOj 1:13, 21 May 1844 (TB), gives the Maid's arrival time (transcription in vol. 8,VI.12); CHOj 1:14, 30 May 1844 (TB), records the streamer's arrival at Wappelo (transcription in vol. 8,VI.12); TB's report about the rising water is from CHOj 1:13, 18 May 1844 (TB) (transcription in vol. 8,VI.12); and NN 2 (22 May 1844): [222] reports the arrival of the Maid "on the 20th inst. of another company of Latter Day Saints from the east ... numbering 62 souls all in good health and spirits."

<sup>21.</sup> RDft 8:44: "<from the eastern states>" (JG)

<sup>22.</sup> DHC 6:399: adds "of"

<sup>23.</sup> DHC 6:399: adds "of Iowa"

<sup>24.</sup> DHC 6:399: "Wapello"

<sup>25.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 126 (WR) (APR, 481), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type. WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 21 May 1844 (DMQP, 19), records: "An officer came about noon from Carthage to supoena him [JS] but he kept out of the way. Evening rode out together to Mr Richards & paid him \$100. Then up to Yearsleys to see sick child."

<sup>26</sup>Lorenzo Wasson came up [to Yearsley's] and said the officer was about the house waiting for him. He sent me [William Clayton] to find Emma's mind about him going home. I found her crying with rage and fury because he had gone away. She wanted him to go [come] home. I came and told him, and [he] returned home at 9 p.m.

I copy from the Times and Seasons:-

<sup>27</sup>Newark, Kendall Co[unty]., Ill., May 21, 1844.

#### EDITOR OF THE TIMES AND SEASONS:—

Dear Sir:—We arrived at Ottawa on the 17th inst., after driving four days through constant rains, and over roads almost impassable for man or beast. We were soon informed that the Conference was removed twenty miles up Fox river, at the Newark branch.

Notice had been given for a political address to be delivered in the Court House in the evening by one of the Twelve; several hundred citizens assembled, and were addressed by Elder G. A. Smith. The speaker considered General Smith the smartest man in the United States, and best calculated to fill the presidential chair, which was applauded by the assembly; his political views as presented on that occasion seemed to please most of the people; at the close of the speech the congregation quietly dispersed. Elder Woodruff continued his journey ten miles, and held a meeting with the La Salle branch of 46 members, mostly emigrants from Norway. On the 18th we arrived at Newark, and attended the Conference according to appointment.

The following is a copy of the minutes, which we forward for publication:—

Newark, Kendall Co[unty]., Ill., May 18, 1844.

Conference convened pursuant to notice.

There were present, two of the quorum of the Twelve, one High Priest, two Seventies, nine Elders, one Priest, and one Teacher. Conference called to order by Elder Woodruff.

Elder Geo[rge]. A. Smith called to the chair.

Conference opened by singing, and prayer by the President.

Representation of the several branches was called for, when the following branches were represented as follows:—

Newark branch, 35 members, 1 elder, 1 teacher; La Salle branch, 46 members, 2 elders; Ottawa branch, 16 members, 2 elders; Bureau branch, 15 members, 3 elders; Pleasant Grove, McHenry Co[unty].,  $10^{28}$  members, 2 elders; Indian Creek branch, 5 members; Big Vermillion branch, 4 members; French Creek Grove branch, 2 members. Total, 133 members, 10 elders, and 1 teacher.

It was moved and carried that Canute Petersen, Severt Olson, Zimri H. Baxter, Levi Lightfoot, Simpson<sup>29</sup> D. Huffaker, Mades Madison, Vance Jacobs, and Oder Jacobson, were<sup>30</sup> ordained elders<sup>31</sup>; also Henry Saba, ordained a priest;<sup>32</sup> and<sup>33</sup> Ole Johnson and Peter Maclin

<sup>26.</sup> Source: WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 21 May 1844 (DMQP, 19). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>27.</sup> *Source*: The following letter of G. A. Smith and W. Woodruff to editor J. Taylor, containing minutes for a conference in Newark, IL, is from *T&S* 5 (1 June 1844): 557–58. Unless indicated otherwise, omitted material added from *T&S* in bold type.

<sup>28.</sup> DHC 6:400:"19"

<sup>29.</sup> DHC 6:400: "S."

<sup>30.</sup> *T&S* 5:558: replaces "were" with "be"

<sup>31.</sup> DHC 6:400: replaces "elders" with "Priests"

<sup>32.</sup> DHC 6:400: omits "also Henry Saba, ordained a priest"

<sup>33.</sup> T&S 5:558, DHC 6:400: omit "and"

ordained teachers[.] **All of which persons were then ordained unto the offices assigned them** under the hands of Elders<sup>34</sup> Wilford Woodruff, Geo. A. Smith, and Ezra Thayer.

Appropriate remarks were then made by Elders Woodruff and Smith, by way of counsel and instruction to those who had been ordained; followed by Elder David Savage.

Adjourned until Sunday morning, 10 o'clock.

Sunday, 19th. Met according to adjournment.

Opened by singing and prayer by Elder A. M. Wilsey.

A discourse was then delivered by Elder Wilford Woodruff, in which he instructed the elders to be careful to preach the first principles of the gospel and doctrine<sup>35</sup> of Christ, and not spend their time in warring with the opinions of other men; showed the importance of revelation, and the necessity of a prophet of God, as the head of the church on earth, being as necessary in order to exist and advance in knowledge, as for a natural body to possess a head in order to live. He considered we were enjoying the society of as good a prophet in this day, as any people ever enjoyed in any age of the world, and believed all good men would think so, if they were fully acquainted with him and his principles.

He was followed by Elder Geo. A. Smith, who bore testimony to the truth of the fullness of the gospel, counseled the elders to be humble, and not get head and shoulders above their brethren, lest they fall, like the tallest trees of the forest, that are first swept down by the raging storm. He made many appropriate remarks, which was well received by the congregation. Adjourned until 2 o'clock.

Two o'clock,<sup>36</sup> met according to adjournment, when the sacrament was administered, and many testimonies given from the elders and members present, concerning the truth of the work they had received.

Conference was dismissed amid the best of feelings, which was<sup>37</sup> manifested, not only by all the Saints, but by the whole congregation of citizens that attended. Good order prevailed through the whole conference; attention, kindness, and civility was manifested<sup>38</sup> by all **who were present.** 

GEO. A. SMITH, President.

Asa Manchester, Clerk.

At the close of the Conference, Elders C. C. Rich, David Fullmer, Henry<sup>39</sup> Jacobs, and Moses Smith, arrived direct from Nauvoo on their way to Michigan.

20th. We have appointed a political meeting in Newark, this evening, and one at Joliet tomorrow evening; where we expect to present to the citizens, General Smith's views of the powers and policy of the government, and discuss the subject of politics.

W[ILFORD]. WOODRUFF, GEO. A. SMITH.

#### [DN 7 (9 September 1857): 209-211]

<sup>40</sup>Wednesday, [May] 22.—At home, watching, as the officers from Carthage were after me.

<sup>34.</sup> *T&S* 5:558: "Elder"; Book F-1, 51 (pencil): "Elder<s>"

<sup>35.</sup> DHC 6:401: "doctrines"

<sup>36.</sup> T&S 5:558: omits "Two o'clock"

<sup>37.</sup> DHC 6:401: "were"

<sup>38.</sup> Book F-1, 51 (pencil): "manifest<ed>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>39.</sup> Book F-1, 52, DHC 6:401: replace "Henry" with "Norton"

<sup>40.</sup> *Source*: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 127 (WR) (*APR*, 481), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type. WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 22 May 1844 (DMQP, 19), records: "Prest J[oseph]. kept close in his room all day."

At 10 a.m., about 40 Indians of the Sacs and Foxes, came up in front of the Mansion, four or five of them being mounted; among whom was Black Hawk's brother, Kis-kish-kee, &c. I was obliged to send word I could not see them at present. They encamped in the Council Chamber afternoon and night. I was with the police on duty, and saw several individuals lurking around. [Chester] Loveland and others [were searching for me].<sup>41</sup>

Very pleasant day.

<sup>42</sup>President Brigham Young preached to the brethren in St. Louis this evening.

<sup>43</sup>Thursday, 23.—**With my family;** Emma rather better. Read Hebrew with [Alexander]<sup>44</sup> Niebaur<sup>45</sup>, and counseled with various friends.

<sup>46</sup>At 10 a.m., the Municipal Court met, N[ewel]. K. Whitney presiding; but there not being a quorum present, adjourned for one week.

At one, p.m., had a talk with the Sac and Fox Indians in my back<sup>47</sup> kitchen. They said: "You are a big chief. We are sons of two<sup>48</sup> big men and Priests<sup>49</sup> as ever inhabited this land. You preach a great deal so say great Spirit, you be as great and good as our fathers that will do. Our worship is different, but we are good as any other men. Before our nation were acquainted with white men, they were as great men as ever lived on the river, now live on Des Moines. Twenty y[ea]rs ago [there were] 6,000 of us, now [we are a] small nation. [of] 3 towns. Two men not over yesterday. They talk with big spirit. We have had possession of this land. Neapope<sup>50</sup> is one of our principle men. We wish friendship with all men. Our chiefs done wrong in selling our count[r]y.

Black Hawk's bro[ther]. Maquinis<sup>51</sup>: Fox Nation worshiped on this piece of ground. When our fathers first came here, this land was inhabited by the Spanish; when the Spaniards were driven off the French came, and then the English and Americans; and our fathers talked a great deal with the Big<sup>52</sup> Spirit. We different color, no difference; so we all good men.["] Another said, ["]we have seen a great deal of pleasure on this <sup>53</sup>piece of land. Our fathers worshiped on this piece of land. English were very friendly. Had good. We drove off a nation who was on the river. This is the best country our fathers had seen. Fathers of the 2 old men were preachers. Wanted Joseph to be as good as they were. Two nations are brothers. Wanted Joseph to talk right to be our big chief[;] white men

<sup>41.</sup> Chester Loveland, a captain in state militia who lived near Warsaw, would later (16 June 1844) be ordered to assist in the arrest of JS (see DHC 6:504; chap. 25).

<sup>42.</sup> Source: Based on BYj, vol. 3, 22 May 1844 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.2). Cf. HCKj, vol. 3, 22 May 1844 (OPW, 61).

<sup>43.</sup> Source: This day's entry (except last paragraph) from JSj [1844], 128-30 (WR) (APR, 481-83), with light editing and details added from WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 23 May 1844 (DMQP, 19). Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type.

<sup>44.</sup> Brackets this editor's.

<sup>45.</sup> DHC 6:402: "Neibaur"

<sup>46.</sup> JSj [1844], 128, reads: "10 A.M. Municipal court. N[ewel]. K. Whitney. <adjourned> 1 week." Detail about a lack of quorum added interlinearly in RDft 8:45 (JG), possibly supplied from Municipal Court Journal, 7 (WR), in NCRc, Bx 5, fd 1.

<sup>47.</sup> Book F-1, 52: "<back>" (JG)

<sup>48.</sup> JSj [1844], 128: "<2 as>"

<sup>49.</sup> JSj [1844], 128: "<and Priests>"

<sup>50.</sup> APR, 481: "Neohope". E&MS 1:62 mentions "Black Hawk and his two sons, the Prophet, Napope and five others ..."

<sup>51.</sup> APR, 481: "Maquisto"

<sup>52.</sup> JSj [1844], 128: "gr[e]at" overwrites "big"

<sup>53.</sup> JSj [1844], 128: adds "ground"

wear hats. Indians naked. <sup>54</sup>English, French, Indian all brethren. Don't expect to live long. Don't<sup>55</sup> care for any thing only for something to eat &c. Friendly visit. [of] 2 days. Sac chief sold their land again and would go to M[iss]o[uri] in 2 years. We are very poor. Whites cheat us. But no difference not long to live. We wanted to let you know we were a Christian people." They complained that they had been robbed of their lands by the whites, and cruelly treated. <sup>56</sup>

I told them I knew they had been wronged, but that we had bought this land and paid our money for it. I advised them not to sell any more land, but to cultivate peace with the different tribes, and with all men; as the Great Spirit wanted them to be united and to live in peace. "The Great Spirit has enabled me to find a book, <sup>57</sup>(showing them the Book of Mormon) which told me about your fathers, and the Great Spirit told me, 'you must send to all the tribes that you can, and tell them to live in peace'; and when any of our people come to see you, I want you to treat them as we treat you."

At 3 p.m., the Indians commenced a war dance in front of my old house; our people commenced with music and firing cannon. After the dance, which lasted about two hours, the firing of cannon closed the exercise, and with our music, marched back to the office. Before they commenced dancing the Saints took up a collection [of] \$9.45 to get the Indians food.

<sup>58</sup>**Soon after the dance commenced,** A. A. Lathrop<sup>59</sup> came to my clerk, Dr. Richards, and told him an officer was on his way with an attachment for him; and that the grand jury had found a bill against me for adultery, on the testimony of William Law;<sup>60</sup> he had come from Carthage in two hours and thirty minutes to bring the news. Dr. R[ichards]. came to my house and stayed all night.

Aaron Johnson came from Carthage, and said that Foster had been swearing that I swore to the complaint on which Simpson was arrested. I instructed Johnson and Rockwell to go to Carthage in the morning, and have him indicted for perjury, as I never did swear to the complaint. The officer was after John D. Parker also, and report says B[righam]. Young, H[eber]. C. Kimball, and W. Clayton<sup>61</sup>.

Past nine p.m., I walked a little way with D[r]. Richards for exercise.

My brother Hyrum called in the evening, and cautioned me against speaking so freely about my enemies, &c., in such a manner as<sup>62</sup> to make it actionable. I told him that six months would not roll over his head before they would swear twelve as palpable lies about him as they had about me.

<sup>63</sup>President B[righam]. Young left St. Louis at noon in the steamboat Louis Phil[l]ippe.

<sup>64</sup>Friday, 24.—With my family all day<sup>65</sup>.

<sup>54.</sup> JSj [1844], 129: adds illegible word

<sup>55.</sup> JSj [1844], 129: "<don't>"

<sup>56.</sup> Preceding sentence not in JSj, but intended to summarize omitted portion.

<sup>57.</sup> DHC 6:402: replaces parentheses with brackets

<sup>58.</sup> This paragraph includes details from WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 23 May 1844 (DMQP, 19), which reads: "Prest J[oseph] kept still in his room all day about 3 P.M. Lathrop came in from Carthage and brought news that the grand jury had found a bill against Prest. J[oseph]. for adultery and that an attachment would be here immediately for him and Dr Richards."

<sup>59.</sup> JSj [1844], 130: replaces name with blank space; RDft 8:45: "A messenger < A.A. Lathrop>"

<sup>60.</sup> Preceding sentence omitted in JSj [1844], 130, which is added interlinearly in RDft 8:45.

<sup>61.</sup> JSj [1844], 130: "<& Report says B. Young, & Wm C[layton] & Kimball>"

<sup>62.</sup> Book F-1, 52: "<as>" (pos. JG)

<sup>63.</sup> Source: Based on BYj, vol. 3, 23 May 1844 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.2). Cf. HCKj, vol. 3, 22 May 1844 (OPW, 61).

<sup>64.</sup> *Source*: Following four paragraphs from JSj [1844], 131 (WR) (APR, 483). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>65.</sup> JSj [1844], 131: omits "all day". Possibly added from WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 23 May 1844 (DMQP, 19), which reads: "Prest J[oseph]. kept still all day", that is, in hiding from Marshals from Carthage seeking his arrest.

Aaron Johnson and O[rrin]. P. Rockwell went to Carthage to get Rob[er]t. D. Foster indicted; but they returned again as the grand jury had risen. Joseph H. Jackson was at Carthage, and had sworn falsely<sup>66</sup> against me.

**Tarried with my family.** At 6 p.m., went into<sup>67</sup> Dr. Bernhisel's room, and had counsel with brothers Richards and Phelps. I ordered a meeting of the City Council for tomorrow, and returned to my family after being absent about<sup>68</sup> one hour.

The Central Committee [i.e., Council of Fifty]<sup>69</sup> wrote a letter to Hugh Clark, Esq.:—

<sup>70</sup>Nauvoo, Illinois, May 24th, 1844.

#### Hugh Clark, Esq.

Sir.—Having received your address through our mutual friend, Mr. Edward Doughty, we<sup>71</sup> forward with this per next mail the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of the 22nd inst., through which you will learn the doings of a State Convention held in this place on the 17th<sup>72</sup>; and this communication has been drawn forth, in a great degree, through our sympathies for a people who are now being mobbed in the city of brotherly love (Philadelphia) as we have been for many years in Missouri; and for what? for our religion, although called by another name.

The Mormons and the Catholics are the most obnoxious to the sectarian<sup>73</sup> world of any people, and are the only two who have not persecuted each other and others<sup>74</sup> in these the United States, <sup>75</sup>and the only two who have suffered from the cruel hand of MOBOCRACY for their *religion* under the name of *foreigners*; and to stay this growing evil, and establish <sup>76</sup>"Jeffersonian Democracy, free trade and sailors' rights, and protection of person and property," we have nominated Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith for the next President of the nation, a man with whom we are *thoroughly acquainted*, and have no fear in pledging our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, that if <sup>77</sup>elected, he will give and secure these inestimable blessings to every individual and society of men, no matter what their *religious* faith. Help us to elect this man, and we will help you to secure those<sup>78</sup> privileges<sup>79</sup> which belong *to you*, and <sup>80</sup>break every yoke.

You will please to consider yourself a member of the Corresponding Committee with us, agreeably<sup>81</sup> to the resolution of the State Convention, and lay this subject before your people, giving us your views on receipt hereof, and open such correspondence as <sup>82</sup>wisdom shall dictate.

```
66. JSj [1844], 131: omits "falsely"
```

<sup>67.</sup> DHC 6:403:"to"

<sup>68.</sup> Book F-1, 53: "<about>" (JG)

<sup>69.</sup> Brackets this editor's.

<sup>70.</sup> Source: MS letter in WRc, Bx 3, fd 2, 21-24 (WR). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>71.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<we>"

<sup>72.</sup> MS letter, 1 (pencil): "19<17>th"

<sup>73.</sup> MS letter, 1: "people <sectarian>"

<sup>74.</sup> MS letter, 1: inserts "\each/ others <& others>" at eoln

<sup>75.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "{the post}"

<sup>76.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "free trade"

<sup>77.</sup> MS letter, 2: adds "he is"

<sup>78.</sup> DHC 6:404: "these"

<sup>79.</sup> MS letter, 2: "blessing[s] < privileges>"

<sup>80.</sup> MS letter, 2: adds "help you"

<sup>81.</sup> MS letter, 2: "according <agre[e]ably>"; DHC 6:404: "agreeable"

<sup>82.</sup> MS letter, 2: adds "your"

General Smith's prospects are brightening every day. With sentiments of the highest consideration.

We are, your obedient servants,

WILLARD RICHARDS, JOHN M. BERNHISEL, W. W. PHELPS, LUCIAN R. FOSTER.<sup>83</sup>

Central<sup>84</sup> Committee of Correspondence for the Election of Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith to the Presidency.

Hugh Clark, Esq. <sup>85</sup>, Alderman. Corner of 4th and Masters street, Northern Liberties, Philadelphia. <sup>86</sup>

<sup>87</sup>Rainy evening. It has been very pleasant for some days.

<sup>88</sup>A Conference was held at Chicago, Alfred Cordon, president, and James Burgess, clerk; eleven elders were present, and a very favorable impression was made upon the minds of the people.

<sup>89</sup>Saturday, 25.—At home, keeping out of the way of the expected writs from Carthage. Towards evening Edward Hunter and William Marks, of the grand jury returned from Carthage; also Marshal John P. Greene and Almon W. Babbitt, who informed me there were two indictments found against me, one charging me with false swearing on the testimony of Joseph H. Jackson and Robert D. Foster, and one charging me with polygamy or something else, on the testimony of William Law<sup>90</sup>, that I had told him so! the particulars of which I shall learn hereafter. There was much false<sup>91</sup> swearing before the grand jury. Francis M. Higbee swore so HARD that I had received stolen property, &c., that his testimony was rejected. I heard<sup>92</sup> that Joseph H. Jackson had come into the city; I therefore instructed the officers to arrest him for threatening to take life, &c.

I had a long talk with Edward Hunter, my brother Hyrum, Dr. Richards, William Marks, Almon W. Babbitt, Shadrach Roundy, Edward Bonney<sup>93</sup> and others, and concluded not to keep out of the way of the officers any longer.

At 2 p.m., I was in council in my north room, and heard the letters from Elder O. Hyde read, and instructed Dr. Richards to write an answer<sup>94</sup>, which he did as follows:—

<sup>83.</sup> MS letter, 2, has only WR's name and a blank space below.

<sup>84.</sup> Book F-1, 53: "<Central>" (JG)

<sup>85.</sup> MS letter, 2: omits "Esq."

<sup>86.</sup> MS letter, 2: adds "P[ennsylvani]a."

<sup>87.</sup> Source: [Sj [1844], 131 (WR) (APR, 483). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>88.</sup> Source: Based on T&S 5 (1 Aug. 1844): 606.

<sup>89.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 132 (WR) (APR, 483-84), with editing and elaboration.

<sup>90.</sup> JSj [1844], 132: "the Laws". Naming of William Law specifically possibly came from JS's 26 May 1844 sermon, where it is stated that Law "has gone to Carthage and swore that I [JS] told him that I was guilty of adultery" (see DHC 6:410; below in this chap.).

<sup>91.</sup> JSj [1844], 132: replaces "false" with "hard"

<sup>92.</sup> JSj [1844], 132: inserts "<as I heard>" at end of sentence

<sup>93.</sup> DHC 6:405: "Romney"

<sup>94.</sup> JSj [1844], 132: replaces "instructed Dr. Richards to write an answer" with "ordered an answer"

<sup>95</sup>Nauvoo, May 25, 1844.

<sup>96</sup>Orson Hyde, Esq.:—

Sir.—Yours of April 30th is received. The council convened this afternoon, and after investigation directed an answer, which must be brief to correspond with a press of business.

All the items you refer to had previously received the deliberation of the Council.

Messrs. Lyman Wight and Heber C. Kimball will doubtless be in Washington before you receive this, from 97 whom you will learn all things relative to Texas, &c. Our great success 98 at present depends upon our faith in 99 the doctrine of election; and our faith must be made manifest by our works, and every honorable exertion made to elect Gen. Smith. 100

Agricultural pursuits will take care of themselves, regulating<sup>101</sup> their own operations and the rich also; but the poor we must gather and take care of, for they are to inherit the kingdom.

Nauvoo will be a "corner stake of Zion" forever we most assuredly expect. Here is the House and the ordinances, extend where  $else^{102}$  we may.

Press the bills through the two Houses<sup>103</sup>, if possible; if <sup>104</sup> Congress will not pass them, let them do as they have a mind<sup>105</sup> with them. If they will not pass our bills, but<sup>106</sup> will give us "something," they will give what they please, and it will be at our option to <sup>107</sup> accept or reject<sup>108</sup>.

Men who are afraid of "hazarding their influence" in the council or political arena<sup>109</sup> are good for nothing; 'tis the fearless, undaunted, and persevering<sup>110</sup>, who will gain the<sup>111</sup> conquest<sup>112</sup> of the forum.

Sidney Rigdon, Esq., is about to resign the Postoffice<sup>113</sup> at Nauvoo, in favor of <sup>114</sup>Gen. Joseph Smith, the founder of the city; he<sup>115</sup> has the oldest petitions now on file in the General Postoffice for that station, and has an undoubted claim over every other petitioner<sup>116</sup>, by being the founder and supporter<sup>117</sup> of the city, and by<sup>118</sup> the voice of nineteen-twentieths of the

<sup>95.</sup> Source: MS letter in WRc, Bx 3, fd 2, 25-29 (WR). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>96.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "Mr."

<sup>97.</sup> MS letter, 1: "from" overwrites "by"

<sup>98.</sup> MS letter, 1: "battle < success>"

<sup>99.</sup> MS letter, 1: "most grow out of <depends on our faith in>"

<sup>100.</sup> MS letter, 1: "this, once won, all a Texas, oregon &c will be play things comparatively. Gen Smith must bepresident. <and our works we shall and our faith must be ... Gen Smith>."

<sup>101.</sup> MS letter, 1: "and regulat\ing/ ["i" w.o. "e"]"

<sup>102.</sup> Book F-1, 54: "{\else/}" (prob. JG)

<sup>103.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<the Two houses>"

<sup>104.</sup> MS letter, 1: replaces "if" with "\&/"; "&" w.o. "but"

<sup>105.</sup> MS letter, 1: "\have/ ["have" w.o. illegible] a mind to"

<sup>106.</sup> MS letter, 1: "but" overwrites "&"

<sup>107.</sup> MS letter, 1: "\it/ ["it" w.o. "be"] \will/ will <be at our option to>"

<sup>108.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "as we please"

<sup>109.</sup> MS letter, 2: "in the field <political arena>"

<sup>110.</sup> MS letter, 2: "<undaunted & persevering>"

<sup>111.</sup> MS letter, 2: "<gain the>"

<sup>112.</sup> MS letter, 2: "conque\sts/ ["sts" w.o. "er"]"

<sup>113.</sup> MS letter, 2: "office of Post<office> Master"

<sup>114.</sup> MS letter, 2: adds "Joseph"

<sup>115.</sup> MS letter, 2: "He" w.o. illegible

<sup>116.</sup> MS letter, 2: "\an undoubted/ ["an undoubted" w.o. "any"] < over every other petitioner>"; Book F-1, 54 (pencil): "petitioners"

<sup>117.</sup> Book F-1, 54 (pencil): "support\er/" (pos. RLC)

<sup>118.</sup> MS letter, 2: "by direction by <being the founder & support of the city, & by"

people, and every sacred consideration; and it is the wish of the council that<sup>119</sup> you <sup>120</sup>engage the Illinois delegation to use their influence to<sup>121</sup> secure the office to Gen[eral]. Smith without fail, and have them ready to act on the arrival of <sup>122</sup> Mr. Rigdon's resignation, <sup>123</sup> and before too, if expedient.

## All is going well in the election and at Nauvoo. Some little upstarts among the anties, but 'tis great cry and little wool<sup>124</sup>.

We are also writing<sup>125</sup> to Justin Butterfield, Esq., U. S. Attorney for the district of Illinois, who has kindly offered his services<sup>126</sup> to secure the Postoffice to the<sup>127</sup> General, he having been here and seen for himself the situation<sup>128</sup>, and probably his letter to the department will arrive nearly as soon as this.

The Election, on the principles of Jeffersonian Democracy, free trade, and protection of person and property<sup>129</sup>, is gaining ground in every quarter. All is well at Nauvoo, although some of the anties are trying to do us injury; but their efforts are palsied, and <sup>130</sup> they make very little headway. You remember the Preston motto, "Truth will prevail"; therefore we go ahead.

You have the best wishes of the council and friends here.

I am, sir, most respectfully yours, W. RICHARDS, Recorder.

By order of the Council [of Fifty]. 131

N. B. Your families and friends were well last information.

<sup>132</sup>Sidney Rigdon resigned the office of Postmaster of Nauvoo, and recommended me as his successor. **Adjourned to Friday next**<sup>133</sup> **week 2 o'clock.** 

<sup>134</sup>The Maid of Iowa arrived at 5 p.m.

<sup>135</sup>The High Council having directed the following testimony to be published in the *Neighbor*, I copy it, with the editor's remarks, to show the character of the men who are now seeking to destroy

- 119. MS letter, 2: "<it is the wish of the council that>"
- 120. MS letter, 2: adds "will"
- 121. MS letter, 2: "<use their influence to>"
- 122. MS letter, 2:"<on the arrival of>"
- 123. MS letter, 2: adds a canceled illegible word
- 124. "wool" in MS letter, 2, is a difficult reading.
- 125. MS letter, 2: "\are [two illegible words] <also> is also writ\ing/ ["ing" w.o. "ten"]/"; preceding words overwrite illegible words in ink, which in turn overwrite illegible words in pencil.
  - 126. MS letter, 2: "is enlisted < has kindly offered his services>"
  - 127. MS letter, 2: "the" overwrites "your"
  - 128. MS letter, 2: "<he having been here ... situation>"
  - 129. MS letter, 2: "<on the principles ... property>"
  - 130. MS letter, 2: omits "and"
  - 131. MS letter, 2: moves this line above to precede "I am, sir, most respectfully yours". Brackets this editor's.
  - 132. Source: Based on JSj [1844], 132 (WR) (APR, 483-84). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.
  - 133. JSj [1844], 132: "<to friday next>"
  - 134. Source: Based on CHOj 1:14, 25 May 1844 (TB) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.12).
- 135. Source: This paragraph introducing the May 1844 publication of May 1842 testimonies associated with the trial of Chauncey L. Higbee is apparently a composition of the compilers, for the most part added by TB in the margin of RDft 8:47 shortly before being copied into Book F-1, 55 (JG), between 9 Apr.-12 Aug. 1856 (see MSHi Chronology). The 20 May1842 minutes ordered Chauncey L. Higbee's excommunication be published in *T&S*, not *NN*, which did not exist until 1843 (see NHCM [1842-43], Book 3, 20 May 1842; *NHCM* [2005], 56; *NCHCM*, 413). The possibility that this paragraph refers to an 1844 order by the High Council is not supported in the extant records.

my life and usefulness, and overthrow the work of the Lord which he has commenced through my instrumentality:—

<sup>136</sup>Testimony of Margaret J. Nyman, vs Chauncey L. Highee, before the High Council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, in the city of Nauvoo, May 21st, 1842.

Sometime during the month of March last, Chauncey L. Higbee came to my mother's house early one evening, and proposed a walk to a spelling school. My sister Matilda and myself accompanied him; but changing our design on the way, we stopped at Mrs. Fuller's. During the evening's interview, he, (as I have since learned) with wicked lies, proposed that I should yield to his desires, and indulge in sexual intercourse with him, stating that such intercourse might be freely indulged in, and was no sin; that any respectable female might indulge in sexual intercourse, and there was no sin in it, providing the person so indulging keep the same to herself; for there could be no sin where there was no accuser;—and most clandestinely, with wicked lies, persuaded me to yield by using the name of Joseph Smith; and, as I have since learned, totally false and unauthorized; and in consequence of those arguments, I was influenced to yield to my seducer, Chauncey L. Higbee.

I further state that I have no personal<sup>137</sup> acquaintance with Joseph Smith, and never heard him teach such doctrines as stated by Chauncey L. Higbee, either directly or indirectly. I heartily repent before God, asking the forgiveness of my brethren.

MARGARET J. NYMAN.

State of Illinois, County of Hancock, City of Nauvoo, ss

Nauvoo, May 24th, 1842.

Personally appeared before me, George W. Harris, alderman, of the city aforesaid, Margaret J. Nyman, the signer of the above instrument, and testified under oath, that the above declaration is true.

GEO. W. HARRIS, Alderman.

Nauvoo, May 21st, 1842.

During this spring Chauncey L. Higbee kept company with me from time to time, and, as I have since learned, wickedly, deceitfully, and with lies in his mouth, urged me vehemently to yield to his desires; that there could be no wrong in having sexual intercourse with any female that could keep the same to herself; most villainously and lyingly stating that he had been so instructed by Joseph Smith, and that there was no sin where there was no accuser: also vowing he would marry me.

<sup>136.</sup> DHC 6:407 deletes the following testimonies and replaces them with the following bracketed note: "Here follow the affidavits of Margaret J. Nyman, Matilda J. Nyman, Sarah Miller, and an extract from the testimony of Catherine Warren before the High Council of the Church to the effect that Chauncey L. Higbee had brought about their ruin by deceit in representing that Joseph Smith taught that promiscuous sexual relations were not sinful when kept secret, and by this misrepresentation he, the said Chauncey L. Higbee, accomplished his wicked purposes." *Source*: RDft 8:47 directs scribe to copy "Chauncy L. Higbee," *NN* 2 (29 May 1844): [227]. These testimonies pertain to the trial of Chauncey L. Higbee before the Nauvoo High Council, beginning on 20 May 1842 (see NHCM [1842–43], Book 3, 20 May 1842; *NHCM* [2005], 56–57; *NCHCM*, 413–16). On 21 May, investigation of Higbee's case continued, and on 24 May he was excommunicated (see DHC 5:14, chap. 1; and 5:18, chap. 2). On 25 May 1844, WR recorded that he was "at the mansion all day copying affidavits &c for C. L. Higbee for the Neighbor" (WRj 10:15). MS copies of the testimonies in WR's handwriting are located in CHL (MS 2375).

<sup>137.</sup> MS copy: "[two illegible words] <have no personal>"

Not succeeding, he, on one occasion, brought one <sup>138</sup>, who affirmed that such intercourse was tolerated by the heads of the Church. I have since found him also to be a lying conspirator against female virtue and chastity, having never received such teachings from the heads of the church; but I was at the time partially influenced to believe in consequence of the source from whom I received it.

I yielded and became subject to the will of my seducer, Chauncey L. Higbee: and having since found out to my satisfaction, that a number of wicked men have conspired to use the name of Joseph Smith, or the heads of the Church, falsely and wickedly to enable them to gratify their lusts, thereby destroying female innocence and virtue. I repent before God and my brethren, and ask forgiveness.

I further testify that I never had any personal acquaintance with Joseph Smith, and never heard him teach such doctrines as Higbee stated, either directly or indirectly.

MATILDA J. NYMAN.

State of Illinois, City of Nauvoo, ss.

May 24th, 1842.

Personally appeared before me, George W. Harris, alderman, of said city, Matilda J. Nyman, the signer of the above instrument, and testified under oath, that the above declaration was true.

GEO. W. HARRIS, Alderman.

Nauvoo, May 24th, 1842.

Some two or three weeks since, in consequence of brother Joseph Smith's teachings to the signers, I began to be alarmed concerning myself, and certain teachings which I had received from Chauncey L. Higbee, and questioned him (Higbee) about his teaching; for I was pretty well persuaded from Joseph's public teachings that Chauncey had been telling falsehoods; but Chauncey said that Joseph now taught as he did through necessity on account of the prejudices of the people, and his own family particularly, as they had not become <sup>139</sup>believers in the doctrine.

I then because satisfied that all of Chauncey's teachings had been false, and that he had never been authorized by any one in authority to make any such communication to me.

Chauncey L. Higbee's teaching and conduct were as follows:—When he first came to my house soon<sup>140</sup> after the special conference this spring, <sup>141</sup>Chauncey<sup>142</sup> commenced joking me about my getting married, and wanted to know how long it had been <sup>143</sup>since my husband died; and soon removed his seat near me, and began his seducing insinuations by saying it was no harm to have sexual intercourse with women if they would keep it to themselves, and continued to urge me to yield to his desires, and urged me vehemently, and said he and Joseph were good friends, and he teaches me this doctrine, and allows me such privileges, and there is no harm in it, and Joseph Smith says so.

I told him I did not believe it, and had heard so such teaching from Joseph, nor from the stand, but that it was wicked to commit adultery, &c.

<sup>138.</sup> MS copy: adds "in Authority in the Church"

<sup>139.</sup> MS copy: adds "full"

<sup>140.</sup> MS copy: "<soon>"

<sup>141.</sup> MS copy: adds "darwin chase was with him"

<sup>142.</sup> MS copy: "he < Chauncy>"

<sup>143.</sup> MS copy: adds "for"

Chauncey said that did not mean single women, but married women; and continued to press his instructions and arguments until after dark, and until I was inclined to believe; for he called God to witness of the truth, and was so solemn and confident, I yielded to his temptations, having received the strongest assurance from him that Joseph approved it, and would uphold me in it. He also told me that many others were following the same course of conduct.

As I still had some doubts near the close of our interview, I again<sup>144</sup> suggested my fears that I had done wrong, and should lose the confidence of the brethren; when he assured me that it was right, and he would bring a witness to confirm what he had taught.

When he came again <sup>145</sup>I still had doubts; I told him I understood he (Higbee) had recently been baptized, and that Joseph, when he confirmed him, told him to quit all his iniquitous practices. Chauncey said it was not for such things that he was baptized for; <sup>1466</sup> do you think I would be baptized for such a thing, and then go into it so soon again?"

Chauncey Higbee said it would never be known; I told him it might be told in bringing forth [an infant]; Chauncey said there was no danger, and that <sup>147</sup> Dr. Bennett understood it, and would come and take it away, if there was anything.

SARAH MILLER.

```
State of Illinois,
City of Nauvoo,
```

May 24th, 1842.

There appeared Sarah Miller, the signer of the above instrument, and made oath that the above declaration is true before me.

GEO. W. HARRIS, Alderman.

Nauvoo, May 25th, 1842.

Extract from the testimony of Catherine Warren vs. Chaucey L. Higbee, before the High Council of the Church, &c.

<sup>148</sup>[...] <sup>149</sup> I have <sup>150</sup> had <sup>151</sup> an unlawful connection with Chauncey L. Higbee [...] <sup>152</sup>.

<sup>144.</sup> MS copy: "<ag[ai]n>"

<sup>145.</sup> MS copy: adds "William Smith came with him & told me that the doctrine which Chancy Higby had taught me was true. & that Joseph believed the doctrine"

<sup>146.</sup> MS copy: adds "<chauncy exited from the room> & William Smith said that he would take all the sin to himself—for there was no sin in it. before Chauncy left the house he said"

<sup>147.</sup> MS copy: "<& that>"

<sup>148.</sup> Warren's testimony is not a signed affidavit, but was excerpted from the minutes.

<sup>149.</sup> MS copy: adds "Nearly a year ago I became acquainted with John C. Bennett, after visiting twice and on the third time he proposed unlawful intercourse, being about one week after first acquaintance. He said he wished his desires granted I told him it was contrary to my feelings[.] he answered there was others in higher standing than I was who would conduct in that way, and there was not harm in it. He said there should be no sin upon me if there was any sin it should come upon himself. I told him I was not guilty of such conduct and thought it would bring a disgrace on the church If I should become pregnant he said he would attend to that. I understood that he would give medicine to prevent it. Sometime last winter <I became alarmed at my conduct and told him I did not wish his company any longer> he told me that the heads of the church were conducting in that manner <and mentioned Joseph's name> and he thought he had as good right as they had, I think this happened last October, He said that Joseph taught and conducted in the above manner, He also was with Mrs Swindle now living beyond Ramus. and also with the two Miss Nymans Hoods. I do not know that he kept company with any others neither did I hear him say he had."

<sup>150.</sup> MS copy: replaces "have" with "also"

<sup>151.</sup> Book F-1, 57: "<had>" (pos. JG)

<sup>152.</sup> MS copy: adds "and George W. Thatcher"

Chauncey Higbee taught the same doctrine as was taught by J. C. <sup>153</sup> Bennett, and that Joseph Smith taught and practiced those things; but he stated that he did not have it from Joseph, but he had his information from Dr. John C. Bennett. He, Chauncey L. Higbee, has gained his object about five or six times. [...] <sup>154</sup> Chauncey L. Higbee also made propositions to keep me with food if I would submit to his desires <sup>155</sup>. [...] <sup>156</sup>

#### [Editorial Comment.]

<sup>157</sup>We have abundance of like testimony on hand, which may be forthcoming if we are compelled; at present the foregoing may suffice.

"Why have you not published this before?" We answer, on account of the humility and entreaties of Higbee at the time, and on account of the feelings of his parents, who are highly respectable, we have forborne until now. The character of C[hauncey]. L. Higbee is so infamous, and his exertions such, as to destroy every principle of righteousness, that forbearance is no longer a virtue.

After all that this Chauncey L. Higbee has done, in wickedly and maliciously using the name of Joseph Smith, to persuade innocent females to submit to gratify his hellish lusts; and then blast the characters<sup>158</sup> of the most chaste, pure, virtuous, and philanthropic man on earth; he, to screen himself from the law of the land, and the just indignation of an insulted people, and save himself from the Penitentiary, or whatever punishment his unparalleled crimes merit, has entered into conspiracy with the Laws and others against the life<sup>159</sup> of those who are knowing to his abandoned conduct; thus hoping to save himself from the disgrace which must follow an exposure, and wreak his vengeance, and gratify his revenge for his awful disappointments<sup>160</sup>.

<sup>161</sup>A two days' conference was held in Jefferson County, New York, at 10 a.m., present 300 Saints, 150 of whom had embraced the gospel since last autumn. Nine branches were represented, containing 289 members, 16 Elders, 8 Priests, and 1 Teacher. An immense concourse of people assembled to hear the elders preach. Elder Benj. Brown was present, and J. W. Crosby, clerk.

<sup>162</sup>A three days' Conference was held at Dresden, Weakly County, Tennessee. Elder A. O. Smoot was chosen president, and D. P. Raney, secretary. A large congregation assembled, but the proceedings were interrupted by a mob, headed by some of the leading men of the county; yet a candidate for elector was appointed by my friends.

<sup>153.</sup> MS copy: "<J. C.>"

<sup>154.</sup> MS copy: adds "[two illegible words] has also been to my house on the 27th of last month being the day-I was married and proposed unlawful connexion but I refused and told him that it was contrary to the teaching of Joseph on the stand. He answered that Joseph was obliged to teach to the contrary on the stand to keep down prejudice and keep peace at home. First W[illiam]. Smith insisted that I should not marry and proposed to supply me withfood &c if I should remain unmarried and grant his requests."

<sup>155.</sup> MS copy: replaces "desires" with "designs"

<sup>156.</sup> In the remainder of her testimony, Warren claims Darwin Chase, Lyman O. Littlefield, George W. Thatcher, and William Smith tried to seduce her, but failed. Among those who succeeded, she names Joel S. Miles, J. B. Backenstos, and John C. Bennett.

<sup>157.</sup> *Source*: Following editorial comment on above testimony also from "Chauncy L. Higbee," *NN* 2 (29 May 1844): [227].

<sup>158.</sup> DHC 6:407: "character"

<sup>159.</sup> DHC 6:407: "lives"

<sup>160.</sup> DHC 6:407: "disappointment"

<sup>161.</sup> Source: Based on "Minutes of a conference ...," T&S 5 (15 July 1844): 583.

<sup>162.</sup> Source: Based on "Minutes of a general conference ...," T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 573-74.

<sup>163</sup>Sunday, 26.—At 10 a.m., I preached at the stand **about Joseph**<sup>164</sup> **Jackson and the mobocrats**; the following synopsis<sup>165</sup> was reported by Mr. Thos. Bullock, clerk of the steamer, *Maid of Iowa*:—

<sup>166</sup>President Joseph Smith read the 11th ch[apter]. 2d Corinthians: My object is to let you know that I am right here on the spot where <sup>167</sup> I intend to stay. I, like Paul, have been in perils, and oftener than anyone in this generation; as Paul boasted, I have suffered more than Paul did. I should be like a fish out of water if I were out of persecution <sup>168</sup>; perhaps my brethren think <sup>169</sup> it requires all this to keep me humble. The Lord has constituted me so curiously that I glory in persecution; I am not near so humble as if I was not persecuted. If oppression will make a wise man mad, much more a fool. If they want a beardless boy to whip all the world, I will get on the top of a mountain and crow like a rooster; I shall always beat them. When facts are proved, truth and innocence will prevail at last. My enemies are no philosophers; they think that when they have my spoke under, they will keep me down; but for the fools, I will hold on and fly over them.

God is in the "still small voice"; in all these affidavits, indictments, it is all of the devil—all corruption. Come on, ye prosecutors, ye false swearers; all hell boil over; ye burning mountains roll down your lava; for I will come out on the top at last. I have more to boast of than ever any man had; I am the only man that ever has<sup>170</sup> been able to keep a whole church<sup>171</sup> together since the days of Adam; a large<sup>172</sup> majority of the whole have stood by me: neither<sup>173</sup> Paul, John, Peter, nor Jesus, ever<sup>174</sup> did it. I boast that no man ever did such a work as me<sup>175</sup>; the followers of Jesus ran away from him; the Latter Day Saints never ran away from me yet. You know my daily walk and conversation. I am in the bosom of a virtuous and good people<sup>176</sup>. How I do love to hear the wolves howl; when they can get rid of me, the devil will also go. For the last three years I have a record of all my acts and proceedings; for I have kept several good, faithful, and efficient clerks in constant employ; they have accompanied me everywhere, and carefully kept my history, and they have written down what I have done, where I have been, and what I have said; <sup>177</sup> therefore my enemies <sup>178</sup> cannot charge me with any day, <sup>179</sup>time, or place, but what

<sup>163.</sup> *Source*: JSj [1844], 133 (WR) (*APR*, 484), and possibly CHOj 1:14, 26 May 1844 (TB), which reports: "at the Stand recording J. Smith's sermon" (transcription in vol. 8,VI.12). Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type.

<sup>164.</sup> JSj [1844], 133: "<Joseph>"

<sup>165.</sup> Book F-1, 58: "<synopsis>" (JG)

<sup>166.</sup> Source: RDft 8:48 directs scribe to "see manuscript in Leo's writing" (JG), which is found in JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, 75–92 (LH). This 9-page draft, which includes emendations by TB and JG, concludes with a penciled note: "read to Prest. Young Feb 27/[18]56 and approved" (TB). LH's version undoubtedly drew on TB's notes, which have not been located. See transcription in vol. 7, RDft 8:48.

<sup>167.</sup> MS sermon, 1:"<where>" (JG)

<sup>168.</sup> DHC 6:408: "persecutions"

<sup>169.</sup> MS sermon, 1: "and <perhaps my brethren think>" (TB)

<sup>170.</sup> DHC 6:408: "has ever"

<sup>171.</sup> MS sermon, 2: "<church>" (JG)

<sup>172.</sup> MS sermon, 2: "<large>" (TB)

<sup>173.</sup> MS sermon, 2: "<neither>" (JG)

<sup>174.</sup> MS sermon, 2: "never"

<sup>175.</sup> DHC 6:409: replaces "me" with "I"

<sup>176.</sup> MS sermon, 2 (pencil): "family <people>" (LH)

<sup>177.</sup> MS sermon, 2: "<for I have kept several good <faithful> and efficient clerks ... what I have said>" (TB)

<sup>178.</sup> MS sermon, 2: "the\re/ ["re" w.o. "y"] < fore my enemies>" (TB)

<sup>179.</sup> MS sermon, 2: adds "or"

I have written testimony to prove my actions, and my enemies<sup>180</sup> cannot prove anything against me. They have got wonderful things in the land of Ham. I think the grand jury have strained at a gnat and swallowed the camel.

A man named Simpson says I made an 181 affidavit against him, &c. Mr. Simpson says I arrested him; I never arrested Mr. Simpson in my life. He says I made an affidavit 182 against him; I never made an affidavit 183 against him in my life. I will prove it in 184 court. I will tell you how it was: 185 last winter I got ready with my children to go to the farm to kill hogs; O[rrin]. P. Rockwell was going to drive. An Englishman came in and wanted a private conversation with me 186; I told him I did not 187 want any private conversations; "I demand one of you!" Such a one I am bound to obey anyhow. Said he, "I want a warrant against the man who stabbed brother Badham"; he said it was a man who boarded at Davis'; he said it was Mr. Simpson—it answered his description. I said I had 188 no jurisdiction out of the city. He said ["]the man must be arrested, or else he will go away. ["] I told him, 189 "you must go to Squire Wells, Johnson, or Foster." Mr. Lytle stepped up and said "I am a policeman." I jumped into my carriage and away I went.

When I came back I met Mr. Jackson. He said, "you did wrong in arresting Mr. Simpson." I told him I did not do it. I went over and sat down, and related 190 the circumstances. He turned round and said, "Mr. Smith, I have nothing against you; I am satisfied." He went and supped with me. He declared in the presence of witnesses that he had nothing against me. I then said "I will go over to Esquire 191 Johnson, and testify what the Englishman told me." I told him not to make out that I believe he is the man, but that I believe he is innocent. I don't want to swear that he is the man. Mr. 192 Coolidge, Rockwell, Hatfield, and Hawes were present.

Mr. Johnson made one <sup>193</sup>out in due form; and as I sat down in a bustle, the same as I do when one of the clerks brings a deed for me to sign, Johnson read it. I said "I can't swear to that affidavit; I don't believe it; tear up that paper." Mr. Simpson agreed to come before Badham and make it up. I did not swear to it<sup>194</sup>.

After a while Dr. Foster and others came in; they called me up to testify. I told it all the same as I do here. Mr. Simpson rose up, and asked<sup>195</sup>, "do you believe *now* that I am the man who stabbed Mr. Badham?" I replied, "no, sir; I do not now, nor ever did; the magistrate says I did not swear to it." He considered, and made a public declaration that he was satisfied with me.

Aaron<sup>196</sup> Johnson went before the grand jury, and swore that<sup>197</sup> I did not swear to it,

<sup>180.</sup> MS sermon, 2:"for & they <or place but what I have ... enemies>" (TB)

<sup>181.</sup> MS sermon, 2: "<an>" (JG)

<sup>182.</sup> MS sermon, 2: "<an> affidavits" (JG)

<sup>183.</sup> MS sermon, 2: "affidavit{s}" (prob. JG)

<sup>184.</sup> MS sermon, 2: "at <in>" (JG)

<sup>185.</sup> MS sermon, 2: "<I will tell you how it was:>" (JG)

<sup>186.</sup> MS sermon, 3: "<with me>" (JG)

<sup>187.</sup> MS sermon, 3: "don't < told him I did not>" (JG)

<sup>188.</sup> MS sermon, 3: "ha<del>ve</del><d>" (prob. LH)

<sup>189.</sup> MS sermon, 3: "<I told him>" (JG)

<sup>190.</sup> MS sermon, 3:"{\related/}" (LH)

<sup>191.</sup> MS sermon, 3: "<Esquire>" (JG)

<sup>192.</sup> DHC 6:409: "Messrs."

<sup>193.</sup> DHC 6:409: adds "[a complaint]"

<sup>194.</sup> DHC 6:410: adds "[i.e. to the complaint]"

<sup>195.</sup> MS sermon, 4: "<and asked>" (pos. TB)

<sup>196.</sup> MS sermon, 4: "A<aron>" (prob. JG)

<sup>197.</sup> MS sermon, 4: "<that>" (prob. JG); DHC 6:410: omits "that"

when Dr. Foster goes and swears that I swore to it, and that he was in the room when he was not in. Chauncey wanted me to stay and have a conversation. Dr. Foster asked Aaron<sup>198</sup> Johnson for the writ and affidavit; he handed them to Dr. Foster who read them, and then threw them into the fire. I said, "Doctor, you ought not to have burned it, it was my paper"; Dr. Foster goes to the grand jury and swears he did not burn only one; but I say he burnt both<sup>199</sup>. <sup>200</sup>This is a fair sample of the swearing that is going on against me. The last discharge was the 40th, now the 41st, 42nd, 43rd, all through falsehood. Matters of fact are as <sup>201</sup>profitable as the gospel, and which I can prove; you will then know who are liars, and who speak the<sup>202</sup> truth I want to retain your friendship on holy grounds.

Another indictment has been got up against me;<sup>203</sup> it appears a holy prophet has arisen up, and he has testified against me<sup>204</sup>; the reason is he is so holy. The Lord knows I do not care how many churches are in the world; as many as believe me, may; if the doctrine that I preach is true, the tree must be good. I have prophesied things that have come to pass, and can still.

Inasmuch as there is a new church, this must be old, and of course<sup>205</sup> we ought to be set down as orthodox; from henceforth<sup>206</sup> let all the churches now no longer persecute orthodoxy. I never built upon any other<sup>207</sup> man's ground. I never told the old Catholic that he was a fallen true prophet. God knows then <sup>208</sup>the charges against me are false.

I had not been married scarcely<sup>209</sup> five minutes, and made one proclamation of the gospel<sup>210</sup>, before it was reported that I had seven wives. I mean to live and proclaim the truth<sup>211</sup> as long as I can.

This new holy prophet <sup>212</sup>(William Law)<sup>213</sup> has gone to Carthage, and swore that I had told him that I was guilty of adultery. This *spiritual wifeism*! why<sup>214</sup>, a man dares not speak or wink, for fear of being accused of this.

William Law testified before forty policemen<sup>215</sup>, and the assembly room full<sup>216</sup> of witnesses, that he testified under oath, that he never had<sup>217</sup> heard, or seen, or knew anything immoral or<sup>218</sup> criminal against me. He testified under oath that he was my friend, and not the Brutus. There was a cogitation who was the Brutus. I had not prophesied against William Law.

```
198. MS sermon, 4: "A<aron>" (prob. JG)
199. MS sermon, 4: "<but I say he burnt both>" (JG)
200. MS sermon, 4-5: adds "He burned both"
201. MS sermon, 5: adds "were"
202. MS sermon, 5: "<the>" (JG)
203. MS sermon, 5: "an <another> indictment <has been got up against me.>" (JG)
204. MS sermon, 5: "<and he has testified against me>" (JG)
205. MS sermon, 5: "<and of course>" (JG)
206. MS sermon, 5:"{\henceforth/}" (LH)
207. MS sermon, 5: "out of <upon> any <other>" (JG)
208. DHC 6:410: adds "that"
209. MS sermon, 5: "<scarcely>" (JG)
210. MS sermon, 5: "<of the gospel>" (JG)
211. MS sermon, 5: "proclaim the truth>" (TB)
212. DHC 6:410: replaces parentheses with brackets
213. MS sermon, 5: "<(William Law)>" (JG)
214. MS sermon, 6: "<why>" (JG)
215. MS sermon, 6: "Police<men>" (JG)
216. MS sermon, 6: "a whole number < the assembly room full>" (JG)
217. MS sermon, 6: "<had>" (JG)
```

218. MS sermon, 6: "<immoral or>" (JG)

He swore under oath that he was satisfied that he was ready to lay down his life for me; and now<sup>219</sup> he swears that I have committed adultery.

I wish the grand jury would tell me who they are; whether it will be a curse or blessing to me. I am quite tired of the fools asking me.

A man asked me whether the commandment was given that a man may have seven wives; and now the new prophet has charged me with adultery. I never had any fuss with these men<sup>220</sup> until that Female Relief Society brought out the paper against adulterers and adulteresses.

Dr. Goforth was invited into the Laws' clique, and Dr. Foster and the clique were dissatisfied with that document, and they rush away and leave the church; and conspire<sup>221</sup> to take away my life; and because I will not countenance such wickedness, they proclaim that I *have been* a true prophet, but that<sup>222</sup> I am now a fallen prophet.

Jackson has committed murder, robbery, and <sup>223</sup> perjury, and I can prove it by half-a-dozen witnesses. Jackson got up and said, "by God he is innocent"; and now swears that I am guilty; he threatened my life.

There is another Law, not the prophet, who was cashiered for dishonesty and robbing the government. Wilson Law also swears that I told him I was guilty of adultery. Brother Jonathan<sup>224</sup> Dunham can swear to the contrary. I have been chained; I have rattled chains before in a dungeon for the truth's sake<sup>225</sup>. I am innocent of all these charges, and you can bear witness of my innocence; for you know me yourselves.<sup>226</sup>

When I love the poor, I ask no favors of the rich. I can go to the cross—I can lay down my life; but don't forsake me. I want the friendship of my brethren. Let us teach the things of Jesus Christ. Pride goes before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a downfall.

Be meek and lowly<sup>227</sup>, upright and pure; render good for evil; if you bring on yourselves your own destruction I will complain. It is not right for a man to bare [bear]<sup>228</sup> down his neck to the oppressor always. Be humble and<sup>229</sup> patient in all circumstances of life; we shall then triumph more gloriously. What a thing it is for a man to be accused of committing<sup>230</sup> adultery<sup>231</sup>, and having<sup>232</sup> seven wives when I can only find one.

I am the same man, and as innocent as I was fourteen years ago, and I can prove them all perjurers. I labored with these apostates myself until I was out of all manner of patience;<sup>233</sup> and then I sent my brother Hyrum<sup>234</sup>, whom they virtually kicked <sup>235</sup>out of doors.

I then sent Mr. Backenstos, when they declared that they were my enemies. I told Mr.

```
219. DHC 6:411: omits "now"
```

<sup>220.</sup> MS sermon, 6: "<with these men>" (pos.TB)

<sup>221.</sup> MS sermon, 6: "<and leave the church, and conspire>" (JG)

<sup>222.</sup> MS sermon, 7: "<they proclaim ... but that>" (JG)

<sup>223.</sup> MS sermon, 7: "<&>" (pos. JG)

<sup>224.</sup> MS sermon, 7: "<Jonathan>" (JG)

<sup>225.</sup> MS sermon, 7: "<in a dungeon for the truth's sake>" (JG)

<sup>226.</sup> MS sermon, 7: "<of my innocence; for you know me yourselves.>" (JG)

<sup>227.</sup> MS sermon, 7 (pencil): "low<ly>" (pos. TB)

<sup>228.</sup> MS sermon, 7, DHC 6:411: "bear"

<sup>229.</sup> MS sermon, 7: "<&>" (pos. JG)

<sup>230.</sup> MS sermon, 7: "<be accused of> commit\ing/" (TB)

<sup>231.</sup> Book F-1, 60: "<adultery>" (JG)

<sup>232.</sup> MS sermon, 8: "hav\ing/ ["i" w.o. "e"]" (TB)

<sup>233.</sup> MS sermon, 8: "the\se/ ["se" w.o. "m"] <apostates myself ... <all manner of> patience,>" (TB)

<sup>234.</sup> MS sermon, 8: "<Hyrum>" (TB)

<sup>235.</sup> MS sermon, 8: adds "him"

Backenstos <sup>236</sup>that he might tell the Laws<sup>237</sup> if they had any cause against me, I would go before the church, and confess it to the world. He <sup>238</sup>was summoned time and again, but he refused to come<sup>239</sup>. Dr. Bernhisel and Elder Rigdon know that I speak the truth. I cite you to Captain Dunham, Esquires<sup>240</sup> Johnson and<sup>241</sup> Wells, brother<sup>242</sup> Hatfield and others, for the truth of what I have said. I have said this to let my friends know that I am right.

As I grow older my heart grows tenderer for you. I am at all times willing to<sup>243</sup> give up everything that is wrong, for I wish this people to<sup>244</sup> have a virtuous leader. I have set your minds at liberty by letting you know the things of <sup>245</sup>Christ Jesus. When I shrink not from your defense, will you throw me away for a new man who slanders you? I love you for your reception of me. Have I asked you for your money? No, you know better; I appeal to the poor. I say cursed be that man or woman who says that I have taken of your money unjustly<sup>246</sup>. Bro[ther]. Babbitt will address you. I have nothing in my heart but good feelings.

<sup>247</sup>I rode out in the afternoon. On my return my lawyers, Col. Richardson and Almon W. Babbitt called upon me on the subject of the writs which were out against me.

A man called and informed me that John Eagle and several others intended to kidnap Jeremiah Smith during the night, I therefore stationed an extra police in order to protect him.

<sup>248</sup>President B[righam]. Young arrived at Cincinnati at 5 p.m.

<sup>249</sup>Monday, 27.—About 8 a.m., I started on horseback with a few friends, went by the Temple, and pursued my course towards Carthage, thinking it best for me to meet my enemies before the Circuit Court, and have the indictments against me investigated. After I had passed my farm on the prairie, most of <sup>250</sup> the following brethren joined my company, and the remainder soon after my arrival in Carthage, viz.: Aaron Johnson, Dr. J. M. Bernhisel, Joseph W. Coolidge, John Hatfield, O[rrin]. P. Rockwell, Lorenzo Rockwell, William Walker, Harrison Sagers, Hyrum Smith, John P. Greene, John Y. <sup>251</sup> Greene <sup>252</sup>, Judge W[illia]m. <sup>253</sup> Richards, Shadrach Roundy, Theodore Turley, Jedediah M. Grant, John Lytle, Joseph B. Nobles <sup>254</sup>, Edward Bonney, Lucien Woodworth, Cornelius P. Lott, Johathan Dunham, and other friends <sup>255</sup>.

```
236. MS sermon, 8: adds "when they declared"
```

<sup>237.</sup> MS sermon, 8: "Mr <the> Law\s/" (prob. LH)

<sup>238.</sup> DHC 6:412: adds "[Wm. Law]"

<sup>239.</sup> MS sermon, 8: "<to come>" (JG)

<sup>240.</sup> MS sermon, 8: "<Esquires>" (JG)

<sup>241.</sup> MS sermon, 8: "<&>" (JG)

<sup>242.</sup> MS sermon, 8: "<bro[the]r>" (JG)

<sup>243.</sup> MS sermon, 8:"will <am at all times willing to>" (TB)

<sup>244.</sup> MS sermon, 8:"I am wanted in order that you may <is wrong for I wish this people to>" (TB)

<sup>245.</sup> MS sermon, 8: adds "Jesus"

<sup>246.</sup> MS sermon, 7: "\unjustly/" (TB)

<sup>247.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 133 (WR) (APR, 484), with editing and elaboration.

<sup>248.</sup> Source: Based on BYj [1840-44], vol. 3, 26 May 1844 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.2).

<sup>249.</sup> Source: This day's entry (except second to last paragraph) closely follows JSj [1844], 134-37 (WR) (APR, 484-85), with light editing and elaboration.

<sup>250.</sup> JSj [1844], 134: "<most of>"

<sup>251.</sup> JSj [1844], 134: omits middle initial

<sup>252.</sup> DHC 6:412: omits "John Y. Green"

<sup>253.</sup> JSj [1844], 134: omits "Wm."; Book F-1, 61 (pencil): "\Wm./ <(q[uer]y Wm)>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>254.</sup> DHC 6:412: "Noble"

<sup>255.</sup> JSj [1844], 134: replaces "and others" with "an[d] 2 or 3 more"

We arrived at Hamilton's Hotel<sup>256</sup> about noon. Cha[rle]s. A. Foster overtook us three or four miles from the city, and accompanied us to Carthage. I had considerable conversation with him, and he appeared to be more mild than previously, and as though he was almost persuaded that he had been influenced to some extent by false reports.

Joseph H. Jackson, Francis M. Higbee, and Chauncey L. Higbee, were in Hamilton's Hotel when we arrived. Soon after our arrival there, Cha[rle]s. A. Foster took me into a private room, and told me in a friendly manner<sup>257</sup> that there was a conspiracy against my life. Rob[er]t. D. Foster told some of the brethren (with tears in his eyes) that there was evil determined against me; and that there were some persons who were determined I should not go out of Carthage alive, &c.<sup>258</sup> Jackson was seen to reload his pistols, and was heard to swear he would have satisfaction of me and Hyrum.

I had a short interview with Judge Thomas, who treated me with the utmost courtesy; he is a great man, and a gentleman. After dinner (at the second or third table) we retired to our room, when Jackson who had been to the court house, came towards the hotel; some person told him Hyrum had arrived, when he immediately turned towards the Court House again.

My lawyers, Messrs. Richardson, Babbitt, and Skinner, used all reasonable exertions to bring forward<sup>259</sup> my trial on the charge of perjury; but the prosecuting party were not ready, one Withers, a material witness, (as they asserted in court) being absent.

My attorneys frequently called on me to report the state of things in court, and I was ready to go in at a moment's warning, being anxious for my trial<sup>260</sup>; but the case was deferred until<sup>261</sup> next term. I was left to give bail to the sheriff at his option, he told me I might go home, where he would call and take bail at his own convenience.

We immediately called for our horses, and while they were being harnessed, Chauncey L. Higbee came to me and wanted me to stay as a witness in a certain case in which he was employed as attorney; he urged me considerably, but I told him I did not recollect the occurrence he referred to particularly enough to testify in the case, and got him to excuse me.

At 4½ p.m., we started on our return; but when we had got as far as brother George D.<sup>262</sup> Grant's, a heavy shower of rain commenced, and I went into the house, while most of the brethren went into the barn until the shower abated. After the storm had subsided we went forward, and I, Hyrum, and some others, arrived at home about 9 p.m., and found Emma sick. My carriage, with Joseph B. Nobles<sup>263</sup>, arrived a little after; it was upset on the Temple Hill, but no one was hurt. I rode on horseback all the way on "Joe Duncan".

As we left the tavern in Carthage, and passed the Court House, there were many people about in small groups; Jackson stood on the green with one or two men some distance off.

While at Hamilton's, C[hauncey]. L. Higbee offered some insulting language concerning me to O[rrin]. P. Rockwell, who resented it nobly as a friend ought to do; Hamilton seeing it, turned Rockwell out of doors.

<sup>256.</sup> JSj [1844], 135: "at "A. Hamilton's Carthage Hotel""

<sup>257.</sup> JSj [1844], 135: replaces "in a friendly manner" with "<as a friend>"

<sup>258.</sup> DHC 6:413: omits "&c."

<sup>259.</sup> JSj [1844], 135: "<forward>"

<sup>260.</sup> JSj [1844], 136: "I was ready to join", that is, his attorneys in the courtroom; the words "at a moment's warning, being anxious for my trial" are an elaboration.

<sup>261.</sup> DHC 6:413: "till"

<sup>262.</sup> JSj [1844], 136: omits "George D."

<sup>263.</sup> DHC 6:414: "Noble"

It was afterwards reported to me by James<sup>264</sup> Flack that Robert D. Foster, Cha[rle]s. A. Foster, Wm. H.<sup>265</sup> Rollinson, and the Higbees<sup>266</sup>, were on the hill when I passed in the morning<sup>267</sup>; they immediately gathered their pistols, mounted their horses, and were in Carthage before me, excepting Cha[rle]s. A. Foster.

<sup>268</sup>Also Mr. Powers was talking with Mr. Davies, <sup>269</sup>tailor, about my going to Carthage, and said they would attempt to kill Joseph Smith. Mr. Davies replied, "O no, I think not." Mr. Powers rejoined, "they will by God<sup>270</sup>, and you know it by God<sup>271</sup>."

Samuel Smith, of Montebello, heard at 5 this morning, that I had been taken prisoner to Carthage by a mob; he immediately gathered a company of 25 men for the purpose of assisting me, and arrived at Carthage about the time I did.

<sup>264.</sup> JSj [1844], 137: omits "James"

<sup>265.</sup> JSj [1844], 137: omits "Wm. H."

<sup>266.</sup> JSj [1844], 137: replaces "the Higbees" with "Higbee"

<sup>267.</sup> JSj [1844], 137: omits "in the morning"

<sup>268.</sup> Source: This paragraph inserted interlinearly in RDft 8:50 (JG), and comes from NCCM [1844], Loose Minutes, 11 June 1844; see also WR Minutes, 11 June 1844 (JSHD, Bx 1, fd 22; transcription in vol. 8,VI.18).

<sup>269.</sup> DHC 6:414: adds "a"

<sup>270.</sup> DHC 6:414:"G—"

<sup>271.</sup> DHC 6:414:"G—"

#### 20.

### THE NAUVOO EXPOSITOR

## May-June 1844

#### [DN 7 (9 September 1857): 209-211 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>Tuesday, 28.—At home all day. Rain in the afternoon. The *Maid of Iowa* started for the Iowa river at 11 a.m.

<sup>2</sup>I received a letter from Mr. J. Bronder, dated Philadelphia, May 20th, expressing his strong desires that I should allow my name to stand as candidate for the Presidency of the United States, urging many reasons for his request.

<sup>3</sup>Wednesday, 29.—At home. Rain in the morning. **Dr.** Luther W. Hickock<sup>4</sup>, of Burlington, Iowa, came in, and arrested Jeremiah Smith on a warrant issued by Nathaniel Pope, Judge of the U. S. Circuit Court. During our conversation in the afternoon, we learned to our mutual joy that Jeremiah Smith and I<sup>5</sup> were of one origin in [that] our grandfathers' father [was] Anthony Smith of Glasgow, Scotland.

Received the following letter:—

<sup>6</sup>Baltimore, May 9th, 1844.

Dear Brother Joseph:—From the time of my departure to<sup>7</sup> that of my arrival here on Saturday last, I was blessed with prosperity. The feelings manifested by the passengers on the boat to St. Louis were quite favorable.

At St. Louis I embarked on board the steamer *Valley Forge* with about 125 cabin passengers. I gradually introduced myself to those whose faces gave indications of honest hearts and intelligent minds.

On Sunday I was invited to give, in a public discourse, the points of difference between the<sup>8</sup> faith of the Latter Day Saints, and other professors of the Christian religion. There was

<sup>1.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 138 (WR) (APR, 486), with part about Maid of Iowa from CHOj 1:14, 28 May 1844 (TB) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.12).

<sup>2.</sup> Source: Based on JSLR, Bx 3, fd 7, 27-28 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.19). Description of letter's contents added interlinearly by TB in RDft 8:51. JG wrote the name as "Brandon", but TB corrected it in pencil to "Bronder" or "Browder".

<sup>3.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 139 (WR) (APR, 486), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>4.</sup> JSi [1844], 139, DHC 6:416: "Hicock"

<sup>5.</sup> Book F-1, 62: "<Jeremiah Smith and I>" (JG)

<sup>6.</sup> Source: JSLR, Bx 3, fd 7, 9-12. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>7.</sup> MS letter, 1: "<to>"

<sup>8.</sup> DHC 6:416: omits "the"

a Methodist preacher on board, with whom arrangements were made to follow me, and *blow Mormonism to the four winds*. Well, I led off in a discourse of an hour and a half. After dinner the Methodists tried to rally their preacher, but he could not be induced to undertake the fulfillment of his<sup>9</sup> engagements.

I spent the time<sup>10</sup> in conversing with groups of inquirers, and giving further information to those who sought it. After tea, the Methodist priest was, by much persuasion, induced to preach; but, to the astonishment of all, <sup>11</sup>never once mentioned Mormonism.

By-the-by, we had a beautiful specimen of Missouri treatment to 12 the Saints on board; while I was speaking, I referred to the many 13 false statements which found their way to the public through the papers; a case in point was that of *Joseph Smith having just discarded his wife*.

After I had finished speaking<sup>14</sup>, and was standing on the guard of the boat, a Missourian stepped up to me asking me if I wished to be understood that all who said Jo Smith had discarded his wife were *liars*. On my answering him in the affirmative, he drew his Bowie knife on me; but some passengers, who had heard him threaten my life were watching<sup>15</sup>, and caught him as he was in the act of striking, and I in the act of pitching him overboard; but they saved him, and I am glad of it. The whole affair turned much to my advantage; it was an ocular demonstration to the crowd, of Missourians' feeling towards<sup>16</sup> the Church of Christ.

By this time the way was pretty well paved for introducing national matters, and from this <sup>17</sup>on to our arrival at Wheeling, the time was principally occupied on that subject, reading your views on political economy, &c.

On arriving at Wheeling, a stranger might have imagined me to be a man of some consequence; for it was, "Will you take a seat in our coach?" "Go with us in this stage;" "hold on and take a seat with us," says the third. In fact the Mormon was quite a lion among the passengers.

But passing the minutiae, I arrived in this city two days after the great Whig Convention. All is joy and enthusiasm among the Whigs, while doubt and consternation is manifest among the democrats. The convention has been got up at an immense expense—hundreds of thousands of dollars have been expended.

The Democratic Convention comes off on the 27th inst.; in the meantime I shall do what is in my power for the promotion of the good cause, and endeavor to be well accountered for that occasion. I <sup>19</sup>expect to cooperate with <sup>20</sup> Hyde, Pratt, and Page, though as yet I have not heard from them.

<sup>21</sup>There are some few matters relative to the Boat *Maid of Iowa* which I aught to have named to you. There was two guns on board which Mr Derby took for passage money while on Red river which Mr [Dan] Jones took from the Boat. I know of no account being made of them. I suppose he appropriated them to his own use. There was also a feather Bed tossed overboard, and from what I could learn of the circumstances by the

```
9. MS letter, 1: "<his>"
```

<sup>10.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<the time>"

<sup>11.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "he"

<sup>12.</sup> DHC 6:417: replaces "to" with "of"

<sup>13.</sup> Book F-1, 63: "<many>" (JG)

<sup>14.</sup> MS letter, 2: "<speaking>"

<sup>15.</sup> MS letter, 2: "<were watching>"

<sup>16.</sup> DHC 6:417: "toward"

<sup>17.</sup> MS letter, 2: adds "time"

<sup>18.</sup> DHC 6:417: "are manifested"

<sup>19.</sup> MS letter, 2: adds "shall"

<sup>20.</sup> MS letter, 2 (pencil): "the <to> cooperation<e> of <with>" (pos. LH or JG)

<sup>21.</sup> This paragraph canceled in pencil in MS letter, 3, probably by the editors of MSHiJS.

passengers, and what was said to pacify the owner and passengers, <sup>22</sup> I consider the boat bound to make it good to the owner who is poor. I mention these things thinking they may be matters to be considered in a settlement with Capt. [Dan] Jones.

I shall expect to receive from you the proceedings of the Convention held at Nauvoo on Monday last, together with such instructions as you may<sup>23</sup> deem proper to give.

<sup>24</sup>I shall expect to remain here until after the 27 and by that time be able to determine whether to stay longer; in the meantime I may go to Philadelphia, but you will please direct to me here the present indications on that we have a very strong current to contend with here. The Whigs have their minds settled on H. Clay; it is quite doubtful what the Democrats will do, but if I judge correctly they will not nominate Van Buren. Please remember me to your family as also mine, and as often as I have any thing of interest to communicate you shall hear from me.

I am dear brother yours in the kingdom of our God,

D. S. HOLLISTER.

#### [DN 7 (16 September 1857): 217-19]

<sup>25</sup>Thursday, 30.—Municipal Court met at 10 a.m., over which I presided as mayor and chief justice. <sup>26</sup> Present William Marks, Orson Spencer, Geo[rge]. W. Harris, Gustavus Hills, and Samuel Bennett, alderman, associate justices. Jeremiah Smith, sen., was brought up on habeas corpus, from the custody of T[homas]. B. Johnson, the complainant.

<sup>27</sup>T. B. Johnson being called by the court answered that he did not acknowledge the jurisdiction of this court; that his writ was only to keep Smith until he could get another writ for him; that Mr. Hickock had a writ from Judge Pope, and <sup>28</sup>he considered Mr. Smith his prisoner, and he attended this court as a matter of courtesy, and if any one offered resistance he was instructed by government to give their names, &c.; and wrote the names of the court, &c.

Smith's counsel replied to such a subterfuge writ.

The court thought it due the court to hear the reasons why the jurisdiction of the court was not regarded.

T. B. Johnson said he did not come to make a speech, but was instructed to arrest the man. He intended to make no defense; he was an agent of the United States. "Your writ of habeas corpus had nothing more to do with this case than with a man in the moon; I have not been able to get authority, and did not come to make defense." Read from Charles B. Penrose's handwriting (so purporting) 33 sec. of Act Sept. 24th, 1789, Act of Congress. Had agreed to wait the decision of this court, but had not agreed to abide the decision.

James A. McCanse was called by the court and asked, "Do you subscribe to the decision of Mr. Johnson in the matter?"

McCanse would not decide; would like counsel.

T. B. Johnson said he did not ask any favors of the court; he was a United States' agent.

<sup>22.</sup> MS letter, 3: "<and what was said ... passengers>"

<sup>23.</sup> DHC 6:418: omits "may"

<sup>24.</sup> Following bolded text canceled in pencil in MS letter, 3, probably by the editors of MSHiJS.

<sup>25.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1844], 140 (WR) (APR, 486), and NMCDB, 97-99 (WR) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.5).

<sup>26.</sup> Book F-1, 63: "<as Mayor and Chief Justice.>" (JG)

<sup>27.</sup> Source: RDft 8:51 directs scribe to copy following eighteen paragraphs from NMCDB, 97-99 (WR) (transcription in vol. 8,VI.5). Cf. NCRc, Bx 5, fds 27-28.

<sup>28.</sup> NMCDB, 98: adds "L.W. Hickok stated to the court that"

Councilor Hugins said ["]if [Mc]Canse surrenders his claim, we will not go into the merits of the case; but if [Mc]Canse claims the prisoner we will go into the merits.["]

Councilor Hugins read a petition of Jeremiah Smith for another<sup>29</sup> writ of habeas corpus. G. P. Stiles, counsel for prisoner, said that Johnson had given up the prisoner on the first claim.

T. B. Johnson said he did not surrender his claims—had nothing to say about it. "Take your own course, gentlemen."

Stiles said he has given him up on the first writ, and now says he says nothing about it; and upon this ground we claim a discharge.

T. B. Johnson said, "We would be defending the writ before Judge Pope. I come here as an agent of the United States; the prisoner has been taken out of my hand I consider illegally. I do not come here to prosecute or to defend a writ of habeas corpus; there is no law for these proceedings; I know my rights. If this court thinks it right to discharge the prisoner, let them do it—let them do it. I do not ask any favors of the court; I ask justice. The laws of Illinois have no power over the United States laws. Let this court discharge him, and I shall take another course, I do not say against you as a court. I came here to arrest Jeremiah Smith."

Justice Harris asked if he meant to intimidate the court by threats.

The Chief Justice remarked that it was the duty of the United States and Federal Government to treat their subjects and constituents with all that complacency and good feeling which they wished in return, and to avoid every<sup>30</sup> threatening aspect, every intimidating and harsh treatment. He respected the United States laws, but would not yield up any right ceded to them<sup>31</sup>. The United States has<sup>32</sup> no right to trample our laws under their feet.

The court is bound by oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and State of Illinois, and the writ of habeas corpus. The Constitution of the United States and habeas corpus shall not be denied. If the court deny the writ of habeas corpus they perjure themselves. The United States have no right to usurp power to intimidate, and the court would see them all destroyed before he would perjure himself. We have asked no power. Mr. Smith asked us to investigate; we were bound to do so. Let the federal government hurl on us their forces, "dragoons," &c.; we are not to be intimidated. The<sup>33</sup> court is clothed with the<sup>34</sup> habeas corpus, <sup>35</sup>and will execute it according to the law. "I understand some law and more justice, and know as much about the rights of American citizens as any man."

T. B. Johnson said, "If I did say anything indecorous to the court, I take it back."

Court responded, "All is right."

Court ordered that the<sup>36</sup> prisoner be discharged, the complainant having refused to prosecute his claim; and that judgment be entered up vs. T. B. Johnson as agent, for costs of suit.

Afterwards another petition for another writ of habeas corpus was presented, and the writ issued and tried; I copy the minutes from the municipal docket:—

<sup>29.</sup> NMCDB, 98: "a<nother>"

<sup>30.</sup> Book F-1, 64: "{\every/}" (JG)

<sup>31.</sup> DHC 6:419: replaces "them" with "the court"

<sup>32.</sup> DHC 6:419: "have"

<sup>33.</sup> NMCDB, 98: replaces "The" with "This"

<sup>34.</sup> DHC 6:420: omits "the"

<sup>35.</sup> DHC 6:420: adds "[power]"

<sup>36.</sup> Book F-1, 64 (pencil): "<the>" (pos. RLC)

United States vs. Jeremiah Smith on Habeas Corpus.

May 30th, 1844, came Jeremiah Smith, and upon the reading and filing the petition for a writ of habeas corpus to be directed to one Luther W. Hickock to have forthwith before the municipal court the body of the said Jeremiah Smith upon said writ. Said writ was granted by the court in accordance with the prayer of the petitioner.

The writ of habeas corpus was served instanter by the Marshal in court, and petitioner present, which writ, with the<sup>38</sup> Marshal's return thereon, is <sup>39</sup>on file in the clerk's office.

The foregoing petition of said<sup>40</sup> Jeremiah Smith, together with a certified copy of the warrant, by virtue of which the said Hickock held the said Jeremiah Smith in custody, are on file in the clerk's office.

Present, Joseph Smith, Mayor and Chief Justice, and William Marks, Orson Spencer, George W. Harris, Gustavus Hills, and Samuel Bennett, aldermen, associate justices.

Luther W. Hickock was called by the court to answer in the case, who said he had a writ from Judge Pope, and should consider Smith his prisoner until he was compelled to give him up. Wanted an adjournment.

The court informed Hickock that Smith was their prisoner.

H.T. Hugins and George P. Stiles, counsel for Smith, objected to an adjournment, as there had been two weeks' adjournment for the government to procure witnesses in another suit which had closed, arising out of the same case, and which had been abandoned by the prosecuting party.

T. B. Johnson appeared before the court and said, "I stand here as an agent for 41 the government to act in the case of Smith in any State where he may be found, and if we are to go into an investigation on the merits of the case, and go behind the writ, I must have time to send to Washington for witnesses, and I am instructed to consult with Justin Butterfield, Esq., Governor Chambers of Iowa, and Mr. McPherson of St. Louis.["]

The Marshal, J. P. Greene, presented the prisoner for trial.

The court ordered the Marshal to take charge of the prisoner, and have him forthcoming from time to time for trial.

Hickock asked for an adjournment until afternoon.

Hugins said ["]if they want to go into the merits of the case, we will give them any time; but we propose to dispense with the merits, and move a discharge on the insufficiency of the papers. Doctor Hickock has no legal<sup>42</sup> authority to arrest the prisoner,["] and read from page 51, Revised Statutes of Illinois, sec. 399.

T. B. Johnson said he could show the law different, and asked for one week's adjournment<sup>43</sup>. One o'clock, p.m., court adjourned till after dinner to hear the pleas.

Three o'clock p.m., court sat, the same as in the morning.

H. <sup>44</sup> T. Hugins and George <sup>45</sup> P. Stiles, counsel for Smith, read and filed their plea, moving the court that said Smith be discharged, and suffered to go at large.

<sup>37.</sup> Source: RDft:51 instructs scribe to copy NMCDB, 100-102 (WR).

<sup>38.</sup> NMCDB, 100, DHC 6:420: omit "the"

<sup>39.</sup> NMCDB, 100: apparently adds "over and"

<sup>40.</sup> Book F-1, 65: "<said>" (pos. JG)

<sup>41.</sup> NMCDB, 100: replaces "for" with "of"

<sup>42.</sup> NMCDB, 101:"<legal>"

<sup>43.</sup> NMCDB, 101: "adjourned"

<sup>44.</sup> Book F-1, 65 (pencil): inserts "\H/ N." at boln (pos. RLC)

<sup>45.</sup> NMCDB, 101:"G."

1st. Because the person issuing the warrant on which he has been arrested is unauthorized to issue the same.

2nd. Because the process has been issued in a case, and under circumstances where the law does not allow process.

3rd. Because the person having custody of said Smith is unauthorized to execute the warrant under which he is acting, and is not the person empowered by law to detain him.

4th. Because said Smith has been by and before a competent court, legally examined and discharged in relation to the subject matter set forth in said warrant.

5th. Because said writ is defective in a substantial form required by law.

L. W. Hickock was called and persisted in considering the authority under which he acted good and sufficient.

Counselor Hugins urged the 1st & 2nd count in his plea, and read from the Constitution of the United States, Art. 4, 2nd sec., 2nd par. 46, 3rd count, read Revised Statutes of Ill[inois]., page 51, sec. 399, and p[age]. 324. 4th count, read the certificate of John S. Dunlap, clerk of the District Court for the county of Des Moines, Iowa Territory, dated May 21st, 1844, a copy of which is on file in the clerk's office.

L. W. Hickock said he had nothing to say, and the case was submitted.

DECISION.—The court is<sup>47</sup> of opinion when they take into consideration their oath to support the Constitution of the United States, that the certificate of John S. Dunlap, clerk of the District Court for the county of Des Moines, Territory of Iowa, is sufficient to authorize the discharge of <sup>48</sup> the prisoner, because the Constitution says no person shall twice be put in jeopardy of life for the same offense. The decision of the court is, that the prisoner be discharged on all the points for which plea has been made in his behalf, and that judgment be entered against the prosecutor for costs<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>50</sup>Evening, T. B. Johnson was going to Burlington; Jeremiah Smith swore out an execution for \$77.75. Mr. Johnson came forward and <sup>51</sup> acknowledged the fee bill, and afterwards threatened to bring the dragoons in order to get Jeremiah Smith.

Mr. Hickock called for a copy of the proceedings of the Municipal Court. **Pleasant.** I wrote the following letter to Judge Pope:—

<sup>52</sup>Nauvoo, May 30th, 1844.

Sir:—Permit me to introduce to your particular notice and confidence, as brethren of the "mystic tie," Mr. Jeremiah Smith of Iowa Territory, and Mr. <sup>53</sup> H. T. Hugins of Burlington in

<sup>46.</sup> DHC 6:422: "part"

<sup>47.</sup> DHC 6:422: "are"

<sup>48.</sup> Book F-1, 66: "<of>" (pos. JG)

<sup>49.</sup> DHC 6:422: "cost"

<sup>50.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 140 (WR) (APR, 486), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type. This entry relates to the following in the Municipal Court records: "Same evening to wit, May 30th 1844. T. B. Johnson came before the clerk and as agent of the U.S. acknowledged a fee bill for the above, to wit. 77.75. by endorsement on the back of said Bill. The cost of two police in guarding said Smith 15 days at \$2.00 per day at the special insistence and request of T. B. Johnson Agent for the U.S. was omitted through mistake in the foregoing bill endorsed by said Johnson" (NMCDB, 99; WR). An itemization of costs relating to this case is located in NCRc, Bx 5, fd 27, image 23 (WR).

<sup>51.</sup> DHC 6:422: omits "came forward and"

<sup>52.</sup> Source: JSLS, Bx 2, fd 7, 25-26 (WWP).

<sup>53.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<Mr>"

said territory. <sup>54</sup>Mr. Smith is a gentleman whose statements can be relied on; and Mr. Hugins, a lawyer of sound principles, as well as promising talents, and I always take pleasure in extending the reputations of honorable men among honorable men, especially when it appears to me that the benevolence and clemency extended by me is *needed* and *merited* by worthy men. Conscious too, that your honor is liberal and just in your sphere, <sup>55</sup>and will appreciate ["]the golden rule,["] I have only to greet you with my best wishes for your<sup>56</sup> welfare and happiness.

Respectfully, I have the honor to be,

Your humble servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

Judge<sup>57</sup> Pope.

<sup>58</sup>A presidential election was recently held on board the *Osprey*, and the result was as follows:—

Joseph Smith,	65 gentlemen,		and	6 ladies.	
Henry Clay,	27	"	"	3	"
Van Buren.	12	"	"	0	"

Friday, 31.—

 $\begin{cases}
59 \text{State of Illinois,} \\
\text{City of Nauvoo,}
\end{cases}$  ss.

May 31st, 1844.

Then and there personally appeared before me, <sup>60</sup>Joseph Smith, Mayor of the city of Nauvoo, the undersigned<sup>61</sup> H. T. Hugins of Burlington, Iowa Territory, and made solemn oath that <sup>62</sup>Thomas B.<sup>63</sup> Johnson did on the 30th day of May, 1844, declare in his presence that he intended to bring dragoons, and troops of the United States<sup>64</sup> from Iowa Territory into this city, for the purpose of resisting the authority and power of the Municipal Court of said city, and that he should disregard entirely the authority of said court, and that he deemed the authority of said court of no effect. Deponent further states that said Johnson in his said conversation had reference to the case of Jeremiah Smith, which had been decided by said court.

H.T. HUGINS.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 31st day of May, 1844.

WM. W. PHELPS, Clerk M. C.

 $^{65}$ **9 A.M.** Upon the foregoing affidavit, I issued a *capias* [warrant] to arrest T[homas]. B. Johnson

<sup>54.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "what ever statements they may make"

<sup>55.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "I have only"

<sup>56.</sup> MS letter, 1: "<your>"

<sup>57.</sup> MS letter, 1: omits "Judge"

<sup>58.</sup> Source: "Gen. Smith goes ahead," NN 2 (5 June 1844): [230].

<sup>59.</sup> Source: MS original in UC (WWP; signed by H.T. Hugins).

<sup>60.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: adds "the undersigned"; Book F-1, 67: adds ellipses over erasure of about two words

<sup>61.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: adds guideline to indicate moving "the undersigned" to this location; Book F-1, 67: "<the undersigned>" (JG)

<sup>62.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: adds "it was"

<sup>63.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: adds "B:"

<sup>64.</sup> MS affidavit, 1:"U.S. <United States>"

<sup>65.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 141 (WR) (APR, 486). Deleted material supplied here in bold type. Cf. WRj 10:16 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13).

for threatening the peace of the<sup>66</sup> city with United States dragoons. At 10 a.m., called at my office **and wrote**; at one, p.m., called to see sister Richards, who was **very** sick; I administered to her the laying on of hands [and] directed some Raspberry tea [be taken], when she felt better.

<sup>67</sup>Afternoon, I attended General Council, when bro[ther]. Emmett made his report. Rode out in the evening to Van Orden's, and paid him \$100.

<sup>68</sup>Two or three Indians staid in the hall at night.

 $[...]^{69}$ 

<sup>70</sup>Saturday, June<sup>71</sup> 1.—At home; some gentle showers.

At one, p.m., I rode out with Dr. Richards and O[rrin]. P. Rockwell; called on Davis at the Boat; paid Manhard \$90; met George J. Adams and paid him \$50; then went to John P. Greene's, and paid him and another brother \$200; **exchanged \$100 gold and a check;**<sup>72</sup> **drank a glass of beer at Moessers;**<sup>73</sup> called at William Clayton's, while Dr. Richards and O[rrin]. P. Rockwell called at the Doctor's new house; returned home at 4½ p.m.

At 8 p.m., Peter Maughan, John Saunders, and Jacob Peart, called at Dr. Richards' to consult about a coal-bed on Rock River; I suggested it would be profitable to employ the *Maid of Iowa* in the business of carrying the coal, &c., and all approved of this plan.

<sup>74</sup>President B[righam]. Young and Elder John E. Page held a conference in Pittsburgh. I received the following letter:—

<sup>75</sup>Boston, May 9th, 1844.

My dear Sir:—Being so closely confined in the Postoffice in this city, where I have been but a short time, I have not before this morning been aware that you had petitioned Congress in relation to raising a military force to protect our Southern Frontier.

My purpose in addressing you is to offer my services either in military or civil duty, as I am so much confined that my health must suffer if I remain a great length of time.

If I can make myself known to you by reputation, which I think possible, I have every confidence, if in your power, you will favor my wishes.

At any rate <sup>76</sup>hope you will write me at your earliest convenience upon receipt of this. I was born in Peacham, Vermont, October 14th, 1813. My father is Col. Joel Walker, now of Belvedere<sup>77</sup>, Ill[inoi]s. Hon. E. Peck of Springfield, Ill[inoi]s., is my brother-in-law. I was in the mercantile business in Chicago from 1836 to '39 (one of the firm of King, Walker & Co.;) since which time I have been here with the exception of a year. Have been in the military since the age of 16, and am considered *somewhat* proficient, having devoted much attention to the *study* of its *principles*, and an ardent love for the art. I have received a good academical and

<sup>66.</sup> Book F-1, 67 (pencil): "<the>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>67.</sup> Source: WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 31 May 1844 (DMQP, 19), which reads: "P.M. attended council of 50[.] bro Emmett made his report." Source for part about William Van Orden undetermined.

<sup>68.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 141 (WR) (APR, 486).

<sup>69.</sup> Book F-1, 67: adds "I visited Jennetta, the wife of Dr. Richards, she being very sick." It was copied from RDft 8:52, but canceled because it repeats what is said in the third paragraph above.

<sup>70.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph closely follow JSj [1844], 142 (WR) (APR, 486-87).

<sup>71.</sup> Book F-1, 68: omits "June"; "June 1" in margin.

<sup>72.</sup> Preceding sentence omitted in MSHiJS and DHC 6:424.

<sup>73.</sup> DHC 6:424: omits preceding sentence

<sup>74.</sup> Source: Based on BYj [1840-44], vol. 3, 1 June 1844 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.2).

<sup>75.</sup> Source: Original letter in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 7, 13-16.

<sup>76.</sup> DHC 6:424: adds "I"

<sup>77.</sup> Book F-1, 68, DHC 6:425: "Belvidere"

mercantile education, and if there is in your place anything which you think<sup>78</sup> would be for our mutual advantage.

I am, yours respectfully,  $\label{eq:JOEL HAMILTON WALKER.}$ 

Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith, Nauvoo.

I replied as follows:—

<sup>79</sup>Nauvoo, Ill[inois]., June 1st 1844.

Sir:—Yours of May 9th is before me<sup>80</sup>, and according to my custom I answer off hand. I have not yet ascertained whether Congress will, by special act, authorize me to protect our beloved country: if it should I have not a doubt but your services could be agreeably used.

As to what you could do in Nauvoo I am unable to say. Gentlemen, with a small capital or a large one, can easily employ it to good advantage, our city is so rapidly improving.

Truth, virtue, and honor, combined with energy and industry, pave the way to exaltation, glory, and bliss.

Respectfully, I have the honor to be,
Your obedient servant,
JOSEPH SMITH.

Joel Hamilton Walker, Boston, Mass.

<sup>81</sup>A Conference was held at Kalamazoo, Michigan. Present, W[ilford]. Woodruff, Geo[rge]. A. Smith, of the Twelve; S. Bent, C. C. Rich, and D. <sup>82</sup> Fullmer, of the High Council; also 5 High Priests, 8 Seventies, 14 Elders, 2 Priests and 1 Deacon. Elder W[ilford]. Woodruff presided. Seven branches were represented, containing 126 members, 15 Elders, 4 Priests, 1 Teacher and 2 Deacons. Two Elders were ordained; also one Priest and one Teacher.

<sup>83</sup>A Conference was held at Alquina, Fayette Co., Indiana. Elder Amasa Lyman presided. 5 High Priests, 2 Seventies, and 4 Elders present.

<sup>84</sup>Sunday, 2.—At home. Pleasant day.

<sup>85</sup>A conference was held in Glasgow, Scotland, representing 1,018 members, including 1 High Priest, 30 Elders, 46 Priests, 36 Teachers, and 20 Deacons.

<sup>86</sup>Monday, 3.—At home. Received the following letter this morning:—

<sup>87</sup>Burlington, Iowa, June 2nd, 1844.

Friend Smith:—I have just received intimation that there is a project on foot here to

<sup>78.</sup> DHC 6:425: omits "you think"

<sup>79.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 1 (WWP) (PWJS, 599).

<sup>80.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<me>"

<sup>81.</sup> Book F-1, 68: adds "\[See Addenda page 1]/" (LH). This and next paragraph added in Book F-1, Addenda, 1 (LH). *Source*: First paragraph based on *T&S* 5 (15 July 1844): 579-80.

<sup>82.</sup> DHC 6:425: "B."

<sup>83.</sup> Source: Based on "Minutes of a conference of the elders ...," T&S 5 (15 July 1844): 581-82.

<sup>84.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 143 (WR) (APR, 487).

<sup>85.</sup> This paragraph added interlinearly in Book F-1, 69 (LH). *Source*: Based on "Reports of Conferences," *MSt* 5 (July 1844): 28.

<sup>86.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 144 (WR) (APR, 487). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>87.</sup> Source: Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 3.

visit Nauvoo with a body of from five to six hundred armed men for the purpose of liberating Doctor Hickock, whom it is stated is confined in your prison. I, as a friend to your society, consider it my duty to make you aware of the danger you may be in, that you may be prepared to meet them. I think it best to keep my name from you, for were it known here that I had given notice<sup>88</sup> of their proceedings it would be unsafe<sup>89</sup> for me to remain. Do not think it a humbug, and treat it lightly, but prepare yourselves for the coming storm. From what I can learn they intend going on the next boat. I hope this may reach you in time.

I am, with respect, your friend,

HORACE.

90Rode out on the hill about 9 a.m.

Municipal Court sat; I was not present; the appealed cases of Augustin[e] Spencer, C[hauncey]. L. Higbee, C[harles]. A. Foster, and R[obert]. D. Foster came up; but as they failed to appear, the cases were referred back to the court below.

At 5 p.m., I read German with Alexander Neibaur.

<sup>91</sup>President B[righam]. Young left Pittsburgh, and preached in the evening to an attentive congregation in Old Britain.

<sup>92</sup>Tuesday, 4.—At home.

Arthur<sup>93</sup> Morrison and Pulaski Cahoon proposed to give \$100 per month for the use of the *Maid of Iowa*, made out their own bonds with their own security; but I would not receive them.

In the afternoon I went out to my farm, and accidentally broke the whippletree of my buggy. Wrote the following letter to Mr. Tewkesbury, Boston:—

94Nauvoo, Ill[inois]., June 4th, 1844.

Sir:—We understand that you have been<sup>95</sup> cut off from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and feeling an ardent desire for the salvation of the souls of men, we take pleasure in feeling after you; and therefore would, in the sincerity of men of God, advise you to be rebaptized by Elder Nickerson, one of the servants of God<sup>96</sup>, that you may again receive the sweet influences of the Holy Ghost, and enjoy the fellowship of the Saints.

The law of God requires it, and you cannot be too good. <sup>97</sup> Patience is heavenly; obedience is noble; forgiveness is merciful; and exaltation is godly; and he that holds out faithful to the end shall in no wise lose his reward. A good man will endure all things to honor Christ, and even dispose of the whole world and all in it to save his soul. Grace for grace is a heavenly decree, and union is power where wisdom guides.

Respectfully,

JOSEPH SMITH,

HYRUM SMITH.

<sup>88.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<notice>"

<sup>89.</sup> DHC 6:426: "it would not be safe"

<sup>90.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 144 (WR) (APR, 487), with light editing.

<sup>91.</sup> Source: Based on BYj [1840-44], vol. 3, 3 June 1844 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.2).

<sup>92.</sup> Source: Following four paragraphs from JSj [1844], 145 (WR) (APR, 487), with light editing.

<sup>93.</sup> JSi [1844], 145: "A."

<sup>94.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 3-4 (WWP) (PWJS, 600-601).

<sup>95.</sup> MS letter, 1: inserts "\been/" at boln

<sup>96.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<one of the servants of God>"

<sup>97.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<The law of God ... good>"

 $^{98}$  The Municipal Court issued an execution against Francis M. Higbee for \$36.26½  $^{99}$  for costs incurred on 8th May last.

<sup>100</sup>At 6 p.m. <sup>101</sup>, I was in council with Elders John Taylor, Hyrum Smith, Willard Richards, Almon W. Babbitt, Lucien Woodworth, and W[illia]m. W. Phelps on the propriety of prosecuting the Laws and Fosters for perjury, slander, &c. Counseled Taylor to go on with a<sup>102</sup> prosecution in behalf of Maria Lawrence. I concluded to go to Quincy with Taylor, and give up my bonds of guardianship as administrator of the Lawrence estate.

Alpheus Cutler and Reynolds Cahoon are so anxious to get property, they will all flat out as soon as the Temple is completed, and the faith of the Saints ceases from them<sup>103</sup>, &c.

At 7 p.m., 104 I walked out with Lucien Woodworth.

<sup>105</sup>Wednesday, 5.—I went to the prairie to show some land, and returned home towards night, between 8 and 9 eve[ning].

At 8 p.m., I walked out with Dr. Richards; the lightning in the north was most beautiful. About 10 a shower of rain passed over with continual distant thunder; there has not been any rain for some days back. Thermometer stood at 94½ deg[rees]. in the shade. Very warm. I told my clerk Dr. Richards it would be fair weather tomorrow.

I received a book entitled, "The book of denominations," 106 and wrote the following acknowledgment:—

<sup>107</sup>Nauvoo, Illinois, June 5th, 1844.

Dear Sir:—"He pasa Ek-klesia," &c., together with your note, has safely reached me, and I feel very thankful for so valuable a treasure. The design, <sup>108</sup>the propriety, the wisdom of letting every sect tell its own story; and the elegant manner in which the work appears, have filled my breast with encomiums upon it, wishing you *God speed*<sup>109</sup>.

Although all is not gold that shines, any more than every religious creed is **not** sanctioned with the so eternally sure word of prophecy, satisfying all doubt with "Thus saith the Lord," yet, "by proving contraries truth is made manifest," and a wise man can search out the 110 "old paths," wherein righteous men held communion with Jehovah, and were exalted through obedience, which is better than, easier than by man-made creeds.

I shall be pleased to furnish further information at a proper time, and render you such

<sup>98.</sup> *Source*: Based on Executive vs. Francis M. Higbee, 4 June 1844, in NCRc, Bx 5, fd 26, images 49-50 (WR) (transcription in vol. 8,VI.20).

<sup>99.</sup> DHC 6:427:"½"

<sup>100.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 145 (WR) (APR, 487), with editing.

<sup>101.</sup> JSj [1844], 145: "[from] 6 to 7 eve[ning]"

<sup>102.</sup> DHC 6:427: replaces "a" with "the"

<sup>103.</sup> JSj [1844], 145: replaces "them" with "<Higbee & [blank]>"

<sup>104.</sup> JSj [1844], 145: deletes time, which apparently was assumed from the length of the meeting, that is, from 6 to 7 p.m., mentioned above.

<sup>105.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 146 (WR) (APR, 487), with editing and rearrangement. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>106.</sup> DHC 6:428 gives the correct title: "An Original History of the Religious Denominations at Present Existing in the United States."

<sup>107.</sup> Source: Letter draft in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 5-6 (WWP). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>108.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "is good"

<sup>109.</sup> MS letter, 1: "God's speed"

<sup>110.</sup> DHC 6:428: omits "the"

further service as the work, and vast extension of our<sup>111</sup> church, may demand for the benefit of truth, virtue, and holiness.

```
Your work will be suitably noticed in our papers for your benefit.

With great respect,

I have the honor to be
your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.
```

```
J.<sup>112</sup> D. Rupp, Esq.,
Lancaster City, Pa.
```

<sup>113</sup>Thursday, 6.—**At home.** About 9 a.m., I ordered my carriage for a ride, but it stood at the door till nearly noon, while I read my letter to Henry Clay to many strangers in the bar-room; among whom was one who advocated the claims of Henry Clay for the Presidency. I argued with him for a long time to show the subject in its true light, and that no man could honestly vote for a man like Clay<sup>114</sup>, who had violated his oath, and not acted on constitutional principles.

About half-past 12, D[imick]. B. Huntington came and said that Rob[er]t. D. Foster felt very bad, and he thought there was a chance for his return, if he could be reinstated in his office in the Legion, &c., &c.; and that Foster had all the affidavits of the anti-Mormons<sup>115</sup> under his control. I told Huntington that if Foster would return, withdraw all the suits he had commenced, &c. <sup>116</sup>, and do right, he should be restored. Met Bro[ther] Richards coming from his garden with new potatoes. Told him to go to the High Council and have Bro[ther Samuel C.] Brown restored to the church and give him his licence.

I rode out in the carriage with several persons for an hour or two. At 7 p.m., a heavy shower of rain, accompanied by thunder and lightning, and another shower at 9 p.m.

I issued the following CAUTION to the public:—

<sup>117</sup>Having once notified the public against receiving a certain currency called "Kirtland Safety Society," I again caution all persons against receiving, or trading in, said paper money, as all that was issued as genuine was redeemed; after the first officers who signed said bills retired, a new set of officers were appointed, and the vault of the institution was broken open and robbed of several hundred thousand dollars, the signatures forged upon the said stolen bills, and those bills are being slyly bartered or had in trade for the purpose of wilful and malicious prosecution and collection.

In the first place the bills are not <sup>118</sup>collectable by law in an unchartered institution; in the second place they are *spurious*, the signatures being a forgery, and every person passing or trading a bill is *guilty* of *passing counterfeit money*, besides the barefaced act of swindling. And lastly, he that uses said bills in any way as a medium of trade, is guilty of *fraud*, and shows a wicked and corrupt determination to wilfully, maliciously, and feloniously rob the Latter Day Saints;

<sup>111.</sup> MS letter, 1: "the <our>"

<sup>112.</sup> MS letter, 1, Book F-1, 70: "I."; DHC 6:428: incorrectly reads "L." Israel Daniel Rupp.

<sup>113.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 147 (WR) (APR, 488), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>114.</sup> JSj [1844], 147: "like Clay>"

<sup>115.</sup> JSj [1844], 147: replaces "of the anti-Mormons" with "&c."

<sup>116.</sup> DHC 6:429: omits "&c."

<sup>117.</sup> Source: "Caution," NN 2 (12 June 1844): [235].

<sup>118.</sup> Book F-1, 71: adds space from erasure

and if the executors of the laws are as ready to *mete out even* handed justice to such men as to the *Mormons*, more indictments will indicate *more honesty*. Time will show.

JOSEPH SMITH.

Nauvoo, June 6, 1844.

<sup>119</sup>Friday, 7.—**At home.** Robert D. Foster called professedly to make some concessions in order to return to the church; he wanted a private interview which I declined. I had some conversation with him in the hall in the presence of several gentlemen. <sup>120</sup> I told him I would meet with him in the presence of friends; I would choose three or four, and he might choose an equal number, and that I was willing to settle everything on righteous principles. <sup>121</sup> In the evening a report was circulated that Foster had said <sup>122</sup>I would receive him back on any terms, and give him a hatful of dollars into the bargain.

I went to the printing office about 2 p.m., and instructed Elder John Taylor to answer a certain bill or receipt of George W. Harris.

The first and only number of the *Nauvoo Expositor* was published, edited by Sylvester Emmons. <sup>123</sup>In the evening I received an extremely saucy and insulting letter from R[obert]. D. Foster. Pleasant evening.

<sup>124</sup>Saturday, 8.—From 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. in City Council, also from 3 to 6½ p.m. The subject the *Nauvoo Expositor* was taken under consideration. **Made a long speech in favor of having an ordinance to suppress Libels &c. in Nauvoo and a committee was appointed to draft. Councilor [Sylvester] Emmons, Editor of the** *Expositor***, was cited to appear at the next regular term of the Council on impeachment. An ordinance was passed concerning the City Attorney, and his duties.** 

 $^{125}$ Elder J[edediah]. M. Grant preached in the Mansion this evening. Thunder and rain this evening and during the night.

A ferry-boat came down from Burlington with a pleasure party, and landed at the Nauvoo House at 2 p.m.

<sup>126</sup>I sent William Clayton to Carthage to give in some lots for assessment, and while there Backenstos told him that Walter Bagby had been gone to Missouri<sup>127</sup> eight days to try to get another

<sup>119.</sup> *Source*: This day's entry (except second to last paragraph) from JSj [1844], 148 (WR) (*APR*, 488), with editing, elaboration, and rearrangement, probably based on testimonies of JS and Lucien Woodworth concerning Foster before city council on 8 June 1844 (cf. DHC 6:436-38; chap. 21). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>120.</sup> Preceding sentence omitted in JSj [1844], 148; taken from NN 2:[238].

<sup>121.</sup> Preceding two sentences are an amalgamation of JSj [1844], 148: "Told him I would choose indi=viduals, & he might choose others, & we would meet, and I would settle any thing on righteous principles."; and NN 2 (19 June 1844): [238]: "[JS] offered to meet him [Foster] and have an interview in presence of friends, three or four to be selected by each party—which Foster agreed to."

<sup>122.</sup> DHC 6:430: adds "that"

<sup>123.</sup> Source: WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 7 June 1844 (DMQP, 19). See R. L. Foster to JS, 7 June 1844, in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 21-22, quoted in Nauvoo city council minutes published in NN 2 (19 June 1844): [238] (cf. DHC 6:437; chap. 21).

<sup>124.</sup> *Source*: Based on JSj [1844], 149 (WR) (*APR*, 488-89), with last sentence based on NCCM, Rough Book [1844], 11-19 (WR) (NCHCM, 238-49); cf. *NN* 2 (19 June 1844): [238]) and/or NCCP, 209 (TB) (*NCHCM*, 249-50). Deleted material supplied here in bold type; italic added.

<sup>125.</sup> Source: Following two paragraphs from JSj [1844], 149 (WR) (APR, 488-89), with light editing and rearrangement.

<sup>126.</sup> Source: WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 8 June 1844 (NTNLF, 411), with light editing and change to first person. For the second paragraph, WC records: "I got home about 7 o clock & walked with J[oseph]. who told me of having received some money."

<sup>127.</sup> DHC 6:430: moves "to Missouri" to follow "days"

writ for me. Bro[ther]. Clayton also got news that the democrats had dropped Van Buren, and substituted James K. Polk, of Tennessee, for President, and Silas Wright, of New York, for Vice President.

I walked out in the evening with bro[ther]. Clayton.

128 The following appears in the Times and Seasons:—

<sup>129</sup>Nauvoo, June 8th, 1844.

#### Mr. Editor:—

Dear Sir:—It is with mingled feelings of gratitude and pleasure that I again seat myself to address you a few lines agreeably to promise, expressive of my feelings with regard to your Prophet—his doctrine, character, views, &c. During my short stay in your city, I have found nothing to alter my opinions of its inhabitants, as expressed in my former letter. I have seen with my eyes, and heard with my ears, and I am satisfied with the result. I have seen the Prophet, and heard him speak. His actions have rendered him famous, his claims have made him known, his persecutions have made him an object of interest, but his own intrinsic merits have made him beloved by all who know him.

I was astonished that men would be so blind as to follow after such a man; but that feeling is gone, and I now only wonder why he has not more followers; the only reason can be they hate the truth.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of his adversaries, he has pursued the even tenor of his way, and steadily advanced to his present position. Unintimidated by their threats, unmindful of their numbers, unawed by their power, he has always come off victorious, and thwarted all the plans of his opponents. Although priest and people, rich and poor, professor and non-professor, learned and unlearned, Christian and infidel, have united their forces to belie, slander, and persecute him, yet has the work in which he is engaged rolled steadily onward, impelled by the hand of a God.

That an illiterate youth of twenty-one, with none of the advantages of our learned divines, with scarce a common school education, poor and despised, alone and unassisted, should have conceived a system of theology, which all the wisdom and learning of the age have not been able to confute, and the progress of which the combined efforts of earth and hell have not been able to resist, exceeds even my powers of belief.

When we review his career, and behold him, from the poor despised visionary of Manchester, rising in the short space of fifteen years, to the Presidency of a Church numbering not less than 200,000 souls, spread throughout the United States and the Canadas, Europe, and the islands of the sea, we are led to exclaim, "a greater than Jonah is here." Indeed had he no other claims to inspiration than his actions, and the works he has performed, they would be abundant to stamp him indelibly a Prophet of God.

He has only to be known, to be admired; his doctrine has only to be investigated to be believed; his claims cannot be confuted. What then obstructs his progress? Surely nothing; unless it be the bigotry, superstition, and prejudice of a priest-ridden community.

But the time will come, perhaps too late, when their eyes will be opened to a sense of their folly. They can then see, that, led on by their priests, they have opposed themselves to inspiration, and rejected the truth. Be not astonished at the warmth of my expression, for I have but just emerged from my thraldom, like a chrysalis breaking its shell, and look back with affright at the bondage to which I was subjected. Would to God that the whole world would throw away their prejudice, and investigate for themselves; or come here and get their eyes opened as I have done.

<sup>128.</sup> DHC 6:431: omits the following introduction and letter

<sup>129.</sup> Source: RDft 8:56 directs scribe to copy "Communications," T&S 5 (15 July 1844): 589-90.

Would they but examine the matter they would find that the so called "Mormon delusion" beautifully harmonizes with the scriptures, reconciles many seeming contradictions, explains many difficult passages, restores the primitive order and simplicity of the Church, fulfills many of the prophecies, and gives us just conceptions of the character, attributes, and perfections of the Deity.

It contains some of the most glorious, grand, and sublime principles ever imagined by the mind of man; it reveals a plan of life in a future state of existence worthy the conceptions<sup>130</sup> of a God; it elevates our ideas of Jehovah and of his creation; it plainly shows the whole duty of a saint, the plan of salvation, the straight and narrow path; and, in short, it is a perfect system of theology, as far before the clanging, jarring systems of modern divinity as the gospel of Jesus Christ was before the systems of the Pharisees and Sadducees, or as the plan of salvation devised by Jehovah before the worlds began is before any of the systems of sectarianism.

The political views of the Prophet are as far in advance of the age as his religious principles—liberal, enlightened, and comprehensive; they are totally unique. The friend of equal rights and liberty, he advocates the emancipation of the slaves, and the opening of the prison doors. Independent in his actions, he cares for neither wealth nor fame, but is the friend of the poor. Uncorrupted by the spoils of office, he is opposed to the political aristocrats of Washington lining their pockets with the hard earnings of the poor democracy. His liberality and benevolence extends form pole to pole; hear his views: "Come Texas, come Mexico, come Canada, and come all the world; let us be brethren; let us be one great family; and let there be universal peace."

What can be more liberal, more benevolent, or more in accordance with the spirit of our free institutions. Opposed to the low systems of political chicanery practiced by the corrupt office-seekers of the age; he advocates the principles of unadulterated freedom. The friend of all mankind, he studies the convenience of the people more than the comfort of the cabinet. Uncompromisingly the friend of truth and freedom, he would carry out the spirit of our Republican constitution, without respect to party or fear of consequences.

He stands alone; modern degeneracy has not reached him. Stern and unyielding in his integrity, the features of his character bear the stamp of Roman patriotism. No narrow system of vicious politics, no political demagoguery, no contest for the spoils of office, have sunk him to the vulgar level of the great; but unfathomable, great, and benevolent, his object is the freedom of the world, his ambition to win the love of all mankind.

The sight of his mind is almost infinite, his schemes are to affect, not the United States and the present age only, but the world and posterity. And judging the future by the past, the means by which these objects will be accomplished, though seemingly small and insignificant, will be always seasonable, always adequate, the suggestions of an understanding animated by love, and illuminated by inspiration.

Comprehensive in his views, unflinching in his patriotism, uncontaminated by his intercourse with the world, unsullied in his character, unbending in his morality, independent in his actions, high literary attainments, of great practical capabilities, a gentleman and a scholar, what more can we ask in a chief magistrate. A character so exalted, so various, so grand, astonishes this corrupt age, and the political demagogues and office seekers, struggling for "the loaves and fishes" tremble in every limb, and quiver, through fear, in every muscle, at the name of the far-famed General Joseph Smith.

I cannot better express my opinion of him than in the language of Robertson in his character of the celebrated William Pitt: "Upon the whole there is something in this

<sup>130.</sup> Book F-1, 72 (pencil): "conception <s>" (US)

man that would create, subvert, and reform; an understanding, a spirit and an eloquence, to summon mankind to society, and break the bonds of slavery asunder—something to rule the wildness of free minds: something that could establish or overwhelm empires, and strike a blow in the world that should resound through the universe."

May the Great Jehovah inspire his heart with wisdom and understanding sufficient to lead his people in the paths of truth and righteousness, and bring about the reformation of mankind. May he be endowed with power to establish universal peace, prepare the way for the coming of the Messiah, and usher in the glorious millennium, and that he may have the divine sanction to all his proceedings, and be blessed in all his undertakings, is the sincere desire of, Yours Respectfully,

#### A CORRESPONDENT OF THE NEIGHBOR. 131

<sup>132</sup>A Conference was held at Pleasant Valley, Michigan. Present of the Twelve. W[ilford]. Woodruff and Geo[rge]. A. Smith. Elder W[ilford]. Woodruff presided: six branches were represented, comprising 89 members, 5 elders, 2 priests, 4 teachers, and 3 deacons; 5 elders were ordained.

<sup>133</sup>Sunday, 9.—At home. My health not very good in consequence of my lungs being impaired by so much public speaking<sup>134</sup>. My brother Hyrum preached at the stand.

At 2 p.m., several passengers of the steamer *Osprey* from St. Louis and Quincy arrived, and put up at the Mansion. I helped to carry in their trunks, and chatted with them in the barroom.

There was a meeting at the Mansion at 6 p.m.

<sup>131.</sup> T&S 5:590: replaces this line with "HOSPES"

<sup>132.</sup> Book F-1, 73: adds "<[See Addenda Page 1]>" (LH). The following paragraph was added in Book F-1, Addenda, 1 (LH). Source: Based on T&S 5 (15 July 1844): 580. Cf. WWj, vol. 4, 8 June 1844 (WWj 2:409).

<sup>133.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 150 (WR) (APR, 489), with light editing and elaboration.

<sup>134.</sup> JSj [1844], 150: replaces "in consequence ... preaching" with "Lungs wearied"

#### 21.

# DESTRUCTION OF THE NAUVOO EXPOSITOR

## 10-11 June 1844

#### [DN 7 (16 September 1857): 217-19 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>Monday, [June] 10 [1844].—I was in the City Council from 10 a.m. to 1:20 p.m., and from 2:20 <sup>2</sup>to 6:30 p.m., investigating the merits of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, and also the conduct of the Laws, Higbees, Fosters, and others, who have formed a conspiracy for the purpose of destroying my life, and scattering the saints, or driving them from the State<sup>3</sup>.

An ordinance was passed concerning libels **and other purposes**.<sup>4</sup> The council passed an ordinance declaring the *Nauvoo Expositor* a nuisance, <sup>5</sup> and also issued an order to me to abate the said nuisance. I immediately ordered the Marshal to destroy it without delay, and at the same time issued an order to Jonathan Dunham, acting Major-General of the Nauvoo Legion to assist the Marshal with the Legion, if called upon so to do.

About 8 p.m., the Marshal returned and reported that he had removed the press, type, printed paper, and fixtures into the street, and destroyed<sup>6</sup> them. This was done because of the libelous and slanderous character of the paper, its avowed intention being to destroy the municipality, and drive the Saints from the city<sup>7</sup>. The posse, accompanied by some hundreds of the citizens, returned with the Marshal to the front of the Mansion, when I gave them a short address, and told them they had done right; and that not a hair of their heads should be hurt for it;<sup>8</sup> that they had executed the orders which were given me by the City Council; that I would never submit to have another libelous publication established in the city; that I did not care how many papers were printed in the city if they would

<sup>1.</sup> *Source*: Following four paragraphs from JSj [1844], 151 (WR) (*APR*, 489), with editing and elaboration. Cf. NCCM, Rough Book [1844], 19-31 (WR) (*NCHCM*, 250-63). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>2.</sup> DHC 6:432: adds "p.m."

<sup>3.</sup> JSj [1844], 151: omits "who have formed ... State"; same words inserted in the margin of RDft 8:57 by TB.

<sup>4.</sup> See NCCP, 210-11. See below.

<sup>5.</sup> See JSLP, Bx 4, fd 11, 35-36.

<sup>6.</sup> JSj [1844], 151: replaces "destroyed" with "fired"

<sup>7.</sup> JSj [1844], 151: replaces "its avowed intention ... city" with "in slandering the Municipality of the city"; wording changed by TB in RDft 8:57.

<sup>8.</sup> JSj [1844], 151: omits preceding sentence; added interlinearly in RDft 8:57 by JG.

print the truth, but would submit to no libels or slanders from them. I then blessed them in the name of the Lord. This speech was loudly greeted by the assembly with three-times-three cheers. The posse and assembly then dispersed all in good order. Francis M. Higbee and others made some threats, which will appear in due course of investigation.

East wind; very cold and cloudy. I here insert the

#### <sup>10</sup>ORDINANCE CONCERNING LIBELS AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

WHEREAS the saints in all ages of the world have suffered persecution and death, by wicked and corrupt men under the garb of a more holy appearance of religion; and whereas the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints from the moment that its first "truth sprang out of the earth" till now, has been persecuted with death, destruction, and extermination; and whereas men, to fulfill the scriptures, that a man's enemies are they of his own household, have turned traitors in the church, and combined and leagued with the most corrupt scoundrels and villains that disgrace the earth unhung, for the heaven-daring and damnable purpose of revenge on account of disappointed lust, disappointed projects of speculation, fraud, and unlawful designs to rob and plunder mankind with impunity; and whereas such wicked and corrupt men have greatly facilitated their unlawful designs, horrid intentions, and murderous plans, by polluting, degrading, and converting the blessings and utility of the press, to the sin-smoking and blood-stained ruin of innocent communities, by publishing lies, false statements, coloring the truth, slandering men, women, children, societies, and countries, by polishing the characters of blacklegs, highwaymen, and murderers, as virtuous; and whereas a horrid, bloody, secret plan, upheld, sanctioned, and largely patronized by men in Nauvoo and out of it, who boast that all they want for the word "go," to exterminate or ruin the Latter Day Saints, is, for them to do "one" unlawful act, and the work shall be done, is now fostered, cherished, and maturing in Nauvoo; by men too who helped to obtain the very charter they would break; and some of them drew up and voted for the very ordinances they are striving to use as a "scarecrow" to frighten the surrounding country in rebellion, mobbing and war; and whereas, while the blood of our brethren from wells, holes, and naked prairies, and the ravishment of female virtue from Missouri, and the smoke from the altars of infamy, prostituted by John<sup>11</sup> C. Bennett, and continued in the full tide of experiment and disgraceful damnation, by the very self-called fragments of a body of degraded men that have got up a press in Nauvoo, to destroy the charter of the city; to destroy Mormonism, men, women, and children, as Missouri did, by force of arms; by fostering laws that emanate from corruption, and betray with a kiss; wherefore to honor the State of Illinois, and those patriots who gave the charter, and for the benefit, convenience, health, and happiness of said city:

Sec. 1. Be it ordained by the City Council of the city of <sup>12</sup> Nauvoo, that if any person or persons shall write or publish in said city, any false statement, or libel any of the citizens, for the purpose of exciting the public mind against the chartered privileges, peace, and good order of said city, or shall slander, (according to the definition of slander or libel by Blackstone or Kent, or the act in the statute of Illinois,) any portion of the inhabitants of said city, or bribe any portion of the citizens of said city for malicious purposes, or in any manner or form excite the

<sup>9.</sup> JSj [1844], 151: omits preceding sentence; added interlinearly in RDft 8:57 by JG.

<sup>10.</sup> Source: RDft 8:58 directs scribe to copy NN 2 (12 June 1844): [235]. Cf. original in NCRc, Bx 1, fd 17, images 24-26 (JMc); NCCP, 210-11 (TB) (NCHCM, 266-68).

<sup>11.</sup> NN 2:[235]:"J."; Book F-1, 75:"J\ohn/" (US)

<sup>12.</sup> DHC 6:434: omits "the city of"

prejudice of the community against any portion of the citizens of said city, for evil purposes, he, she, or they, shall be deemed disturbers of the peace, and upon conviction before the Mayor, or Municipal Court, shall be fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, or imprisoned six months, or both, at the discretion of said Mayor or court.

Sec. 2. Be it further ordained, that nothing in the foregoing section shall be so construed as to interfere with the right of any person to be tried by a jury of his vicinage; with the freedom of speech, or the liberty of the press, according to the most liberal meaning of the constitution, the dignity of freemen, the voice of truth, and the rules of virtue.

Sec. 3. And be it further ordained, that this ordinance shall be in force from and after its passage.

Passed June 10th, 1844.

GEO. W. HARRIS, President pro tem.

W. Richards, Recorder.

#### [DN 7 (23 September 1857): 225-26]

<sup>13</sup>I also insert a brief SYNOPSIS of the PROCEEDINGS of the CITY COUNCIL<sup>14</sup> of the city of Nauvoo, relative to the destruction of the press and fixtures of the *Nauvoo Expositor*.

```
<sup>15</sup>City Council, Regular Session,
June 8th, 1844.
```

<sup>16</sup>10 o'clock A.M. <sup>17</sup>Phinehas Richards and Levi Richards recorded their oath of office and took their seats.

Names of Members called Quorum present. Mayor presiding. Prayer by N[ewel]. K. Whitney.

Minutes of last 3 councils read and approved.

Account of Theodore Turl[e]y \$4.00 read.

Moved seconded and carried that the Marshal call Theodore Turl[e]y. Marshal said he had loaned a portion of <sup>18</sup> money to pay the police so far [as] Mr Lewis was concerned.

Petition of Edson Whipple and 25 others read.

Mr [Christopher] Keegan explained by way of objection.—and said it was.

A[Ideman]. [George W.] Harris asked if the street had been surveyed.

C[ouncilor]. H[yrum]. Smith said there was no need of a street across Keegan's farm; there is no street surveyed.

A[lderman]. Harris said if the street had <sup>19</sup>been surv[ey]ed; the council had no Jurisdiction.

C[ouncilor]. H[yrum]. Smith said there was no street laid out.

Keegan said he had left open<sup>20</sup> 2 streets, voluntarily.

<sup>13.</sup> Source: Introductory paragraph from NN 2 (19 June 1844): [238].

<sup>14.</sup> NN 2:[238]: replaces "CITY COUNCIL" with "MUNICIPALITY"

<sup>15.</sup> Source: RDft 8:58 directs scribe to copy NN 2 (19 June 1844): [238]-[39]. The following "synopsis" of NCCM, Rough Book [1844], 11-31 (WR) (NCHCM, 238-63), was prepared for publication by WR on 15 and 16 June 1844 (WRj 10:19). Portions WR deleted have been supplied here from NCCM in bold type.

<sup>16.</sup> Following bolded text from unused portion of NCCM [1844], 11-12.

<sup>17.</sup> Remainder of paragraph inserted interlinearly in NCCM [1844], 11.

<sup>18.</sup> NCCM [1844], 11: "<a portion of>"

<sup>19.</sup> NCCM [1844], 12: adds "not"

<sup>20.</sup> NCCM [1844], 12: "<open>"

C[ouncilor] H[yrum]. Smith moved it was ordered to be<sup>21</sup> laid on the table<sup>22</sup>.

Petition of Josiah Butterfield and 51 others read and ordered to be<sup>23</sup> laid on table.

Petition of W[hitford]. G. Wilson and 65 others read.

C[ouncilor]. H[yrum]. Smith moved to lay it on the table.

W. W. Phelps proposed some action be had on said bill.—the petitioners were respectable. —and if spirits was to be sold the city might have the benefit of, &c.—some would have grog.

C[ouncilor]. H[yrum]. Smith was opposed to drink shops.—would not have any one licenced.—if the officers would do their duty there<sup>24</sup> would be no trouble.

Mayor said the marshal could do no more. Capt[ain] [Jonathan] Dunham ought to attend to it<sup>25</sup>.

C[ouncilor] W. W. Phelps referred to the speech of the Indian in the council chamber.—advising His brethren to drink no strong drink—&c and compared it with the proceeding of the citizens of this city and told the story of the Devil and the Drunken deacon.—and said let the marshal speak to all the police, and have them do their duty.—referred to the boys playing, swimming and visiting shops on the Sabbath.—and urged the Council to rise up against it, and spoke at considerable length on the principles of government and good order in the city.

A[lderman]. O[rson]. Spencer referred to an ordinance authorizing the Mayor to regulate the sale of spirits, and spoke against selling [of] spirits by the small by every one who was disposed to make a picayune [and] urged that the people sustain the Mayor in the exercise of a wholesome opinion on this subject.

Mayor said he had granted no license in the city to sell Liquors. Each ward petitioned that no Licenses be granted in their ward. Mayor had sold some Liquor at the Barber's<sup>26</sup> shop to accommodate those who needed, and oblige O[rrin]. P[orter]. Rockwell in his suffering condition after being imprisoned in M[iss]o[uri].—had sold none in his house since the passage of the last ordinance. Mayor has heard complaints about certain houses, and when he has called them to make complaint, they have run away.

In connection with other business, as stated in last week's paper, the Mayor remarked, that he<sup>27</sup> believed it generally the case that when a man goes to law, he has an unjust cause, and wants to go before an unjust Judge<sup>28</sup> or some one who wants business, and that he had very few cases on his docket, and referring to Councilor Emmons, editor of the *Nauvoo Expositor*,<sup>29</sup> suggested the propriety of first purging the City Council<sup>30</sup>. The man who steps forward to put down iniquity is the first to be put down by the people of the city. Mayor said if he had kept a whore from Canada here and since, and had done every thing would have been as good a man as William and Wilson Law.<sup>31</sup>—and referring to the character of the paper

<sup>21.</sup> NCCM [1844], 12: "said to <ordered to be>"

<sup>22.</sup> NCCM [1844], 12: adds "& carried"

<sup>23.</sup> NCCM [1844], 12: "<read and ordered to be>"

<sup>24.</sup> NCCM [1844], 12: "<there>"

<sup>25.</sup> NCCM [1844], 12:"<to it>"

<sup>26.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: "<Barbers>"

<sup>27.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: omits "In connection ... he"

<sup>28.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: "<Judge>"

<sup>29.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: omits "editor of the Nauvoo Expositor"

<sup>30.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: adds "first. of Nuisan[ces] <of> Nuisances"

<sup>31.</sup> Preceding sentence canceled in NCCM [1844], 13.

and proprietors,<sup>32</sup> called up Theodore Turley, a mechanic, who being sworn,<sup>33</sup> said that the Laws, (W[illia]m. and Wilson,) had brought *Bogus*<sup>34</sup> *Dies* to him to fix.

Councilor Hyrum Smith inquired what good Foster, and his brother, and the Higbee's, and Laws, had ever done. Where is the first<sup>35</sup> act of goodness and greatness in Wilson and William Law? While his brother Joseph was under arrest from the Missouri persecution<sup>36</sup>, the Laws, and Rob[er]t. D.<sup>37</sup> Foster, would have been ridden<sup>38</sup> on a rail, if he had not stepped forward to prevent it, on account of their oppressing the poor<sup>39</sup>.

Mayor said, while he was under arrest by writ from Governor Carlin<sup>40</sup>, William Law sued<sup>41</sup> him for \$40.00 he was owing Law, and it took the last expense money he had to pay it.

Councilor H[yrum]. Smith referred to J. H. Jackson's coming to this city, &c. Mayor said that William Law had offered Jackson \$500.00 to kill him.

Councilor H[yrum]. Smith continued, Jackson told him, he (Jackson) meant to have his daughter, and threatened him if he made any resistance<sup>42</sup>. Jackson related to him a dream, that Joseph and Hyrum were opposed to him, but that he would execute his purposes;<sup>43</sup> that Jackson had laid a plan with four or five persons to kidnap his daughter, and threatened to shoot any one that should come near, after he had got her in the skiff; that Jackson was engaged in trying to make bogus, which<sup>44</sup> was his principal business. Referred to the revelation read to the High Council of the Church, which has caused so much talk about a<sup>45</sup> multiplicity of wives; that said revelation<sup>46</sup> was in answer to a question concerning things which transpired in former days, <sup>47</sup> and had no reference to the present time. That when sick, William Law confessed to him that he had been "guilty of adultery," and<sup>48</sup> "was not fit to live<sup>49</sup>," and had "sinned against his own soul," &c., and inquired who was Judge Emmons? When he came here he had scarce two shirts to his back, but he had been dandled by the authorities of the city, &c., and was now editor of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, and his right hand man, <sup>50</sup>Francis M.<sup>51</sup> Higbee, who had confessed to him<sup>52</sup> that he had had the p—<sup>53</sup>.

<sup>32.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: omits "and referring ... proprietors", which replaced the deleted text.

<sup>33.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: "T. Turly < Theodore Turly sworn>"

<sup>34.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: "<Bogus>"

<sup>35.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: "<first>"

<sup>36.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: omits "from the Missouri persecution"

<sup>37.</sup> NN 2:[238]: omits "Robt. D."; Book F-1, 75: "<Robt. D>" (JG)

<sup>38.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13, NN 2:[238]: "rode"; Book F-1, 75: "rid\den/" (US)

<sup>39.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: omits "on account of their oppressing the poor"

<sup>40.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: omits "by writ from Governor Carlin"

<sup>41.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13, NN 2:[238]: replace "sued" with "pursued"; Book F-1, 75: "pursued"

<sup>42.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: omits "and threatened him if he made any resistance"

<sup>43.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: omits preceding sentence.

<sup>44.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: "<which>"

<sup>45.</sup> DHC 6:435: omits "a"

<sup>46.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: replaces "of the Church ... said revelation" with "that it"

<sup>47.</sup> Remainder of sentence appears in NCCM [1844], 13, NN 2:[238], and Book F-1, 76, but omitted in DN and DHC.

<sup>48.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: "<he had been guilty of adultery &>"

<sup>49.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: adds "or die"

<sup>50.</sup> DHC 6:435: adds "was"

<sup>51.</sup> NCCM [1844], 13: omits "Francis M."

<sup>52.</sup> NCCM [1844], 14: "him <the speaker>"

<sup>53.</sup> NCCM [1844], 14: "Pox"; Book F-1, 76: "Pxx"; DHC 6:435: omits "p" and has only a long dash. See Higbee's trial of 8 May 1844, which also mentions his having "Pox", or syphilis (see chap. 16, herein).

Washington Peck, sworn, said soon after Joseph H. Jackson came here, he came to witness to borrow money, which witness loaned him, and took some jewelry as security.

Soon after a man from across the river came after the jewelry. Jackson had stolen the jewelry from him<sup>54</sup>.

At another time wanted to get money of witness<sup>55</sup>; asked witness<sup>56</sup> if he would do anything dishonorable to get a living. Witness said he would not. Jackson said witness<sup>57</sup> was a damned<sup>58</sup> fool, for he could get a living a deal easier than he was then doing by making Bogus<sup>59</sup>, and some men high in the church are engaged in the business.

Witness asked if it was Joseph? ["]No,["] said Jackson, ["]I dare not tell it to Joseph.["]<sup>60</sup> Witness understood him the Laws are engaged in it. Jackson said he<sup>61</sup> would be the death of witness if he ever went to Joseph or anyone else to tell what he had said.

Bill of Theodore Turl[e]y for \$4.00 read, and \$1.50 allowed thereon.

1 o'clock and 12 min[utes]—council adjourned 1 hour.

2 [o'clock] 12 mi[nutes] names called.—no quorum. Council adjourned for one hour. AFTERNOON.—3 o'clock 7 minutes.

Edward Hunter received his oath of office and took his seat in the Council.

Ordered by the council<sup>62</sup> that Sylvester<sup>63</sup> Emmons be suspended <sup>64</sup>until his case could be investigated, for slandering the City Council; that the Recorder notify him of his suspension, and that his case would come up for investigation at the next regular session of the<sup>65</sup> council. (The order is in the hands of the Marshal.)<sup>66</sup> **2d [seconded] by N. K. Whitney—and carried.** 

<sup>67</sup>Councilor J[ohn]. Taylor said<sup>68</sup> that Councilor Emmons helped to make the ordinances of the city, and had never lifted his voice against them in the council, and was now trying to destroy the <sup>69</sup>ordinances and the charter.

Lorenzo Wasson sworn; said Joseph H. Jackson had told witness that Bogus-making<sup>70</sup> was going on in the city; but it was too damned small business. Wanted witness to help him to procure money, for the General (Smith) was afraid to go into it, and<sup>71</sup> with \$500 he could get an engraving for bills<sup>72</sup> on the bank of Missouri, and one on the State of New York, and could make money; said many times witness did not know him; <sup>73</sup>believed the General had been telling

```
54. NCCM [1844], 14: adds "or loaned it of him"
```

<sup>55.</sup> NCCM [1844], 14: replaces "of witness" with "he should enlist in bogus making"

<sup>56.</sup> NCCM [1844], 14: "me when <witness>"

<sup>57.</sup> NCCM [1844], 14: "he <witness>"

<sup>58.</sup> NCCM [1844], 14: "<dam[ne]d>"

<sup>59.</sup> NCCM [1844], 14: "<by making Bogus>"

<sup>60.</sup> NCCM [1844], 14: "but not Joseph <witness asked if it was Joseph ... to Joseph>"

<sup>61.</sup> NCCM [1844], 14: "<Jackson said he>"

<sup>62.</sup> NCCM [1844], 14: replaces "Ordered by council" with "W W Phelps moved"

<sup>63.</sup> NCCM [1844], 14: "counsellor < Sylvester Counsellor>"

<sup>64.</sup> NCCM [1844], 14: adds "<from his office as city councillor>"

<sup>65.</sup> NCCM [1844], 14: "<council and that the Recorder ... would be investigated at the next regular session of the>"

<sup>66.</sup> Preceding parenthetical omitted in NCCM [1844], 14.

<sup>67.</sup> NCCM [1844], 14: adds "Moved"

<sup>68.</sup> NCCM [1844], 14: replaces "said" with "Expressed his feelings"

<sup>69.</sup> NCCM [1844], 14: adds "same"

<sup>70.</sup> NCCM [1844], 15: "Business < Making>"

<sup>71.</sup> NCCM [1844], 15: "<for the Gen was afraid to go into it &>"

<sup>72.</sup> NCCM [1844], 15: "<for bills>"

<sup>73.</sup> NCCM [1844], 15: "Mayor Said he"

witness<sup>74</sup> something. ["]God damn<sup>75</sup> him, if he has, I will kill him; swore he<sup>76</sup> would kill any man that should prove a traitor to him.["] Jackson<sup>77</sup> said if he could get a company of men to suit him, he would go into the frontiers, and live by highway robbery; <sup>78</sup>had got sick of the world.

W. W. Phelps moved that the Marshal and police be instructed to investigate the selling of Liquor in the city.

C[ouncilor]. Taylor objected to calling names before the council.

Marshal said 50 had complained of houses and persons &c—but has told them to enter legal complaint.

C[ouncilor]. Taylor explained to Marshal.

Mayor called for the Marshal to report.

Marshal said he knew where the grog shops were—upon Stone House one.—has decanters and glasses.—Gordon & Allen Nauvoo Store.—men come away drunk.—Grubb & Ritchie City Bakery. Snow's or Ashby's brick house. [Marshal] said they were selling candy and wine, [and] believes a good deal of Liquor<sup>79</sup> drunk at Morris' Store.—have never seen any sold at Masonic Hall,—no appearance of it, and [there is] gambling going on at all [of] these places or most of them as Marshal believes.—Lynching of the Negro originated in drinking.—saw a glass poured out at Thompson's but saw none drunk; believed they drink and gamble [at] Morris's House—on Mulholland St.—Beeches sells by [the] swall[ow] as [I am] informed.<sup>80</sup>

A[lderman]. Harris called for the reading of the ordinance on Spirituous Liquors; ordinance [was] read.—A[lderman] Harris suggested that complaint have ½ the fine.

C[ouncilor]. Phelps had not weighed the measure; not ready to go for the measure did not want to do any thing to create quarrel among men and thought the police might bring up the ordinance of the city without fee or reward.

81 Mayor queried [and] Phelps Explained—

A[lderman]. Harris argued his motion that a house divided against itself cannot stand.—and drunkard[s] will betray each other.

Coun[cilor]. Phelps moved that the petition of W[hitford]. G. Wilson and others be laid on the table and the police be instructed to watch the house and learn if the ordinance be broken.

Mayor suggested that there might be a mistake about the upper stone house being. Petition ordered to be laid on the table forever.

John S. Higbee—\$38.00; read [and] referred to Com[mittee]. on claims.

Petition of B[enjamin]. Warrington and 4 others read, [and] referred to the Mayor.

An ordinance concerning the City Attorney and his duties, read twice.

C[ouncilor]. Taylor objected to 3d Section. 82

A[lderman]. Spencer concurred with C[ouncilor]. Taylor that complainant ought not to be compelled to pay for Counsel.

Mayor concurred and spoke at length.

```
74. NCCM [1844], 15: "me <witness>"
```

<sup>75.</sup> DHC 6:436: "G— d—n"

<sup>76.</sup> NCCM [1844], 15: "<& swore he>"

<sup>77.</sup> NCCM [1844], 15: omits "Jackson"

<sup>78.</sup> NCCM [1844], 15: "<for he>"

<sup>79.</sup> NCCM [1844], 15: "<of Liquor>"

<sup>80.</sup> NCCM [1844], 15: "<Morris's House ... Lam <as> informed>"

<sup>81.</sup> NCCM [1844], 16: adds "Mayor asked if Co[uncillor]. Phelps"

<sup>82.</sup> NCCM [1844], 16: adds "thought"

C[ouncilor]. Phelps spoke in concurrence.

Mayor suggested that a bill be got up to give a portion of the fine to the complaint a portion to the Attorney<sup>83</sup> and the rest to the City.

Counselor Stiles Explained.

Mayor called A[lderman]. Harris to the chair. Mayor remarked the Attorney might have the privilege of occupying the Mayors office, and suggested that ½ fine go to Attorney, ½ to complain[an]t, [and] ½ to city.—so far the Mayor has had to be complainant, witness, Mayor and every thing else.

A[lderman]. Spencer spoke [and] C[ouncilor]. Stiles explained.

3d Section was erased and a new one inserted.84

Mayor moved that the rules be dispensed with and the bill pass[ed]. Carried. Satisfied with Title. An Ordinance concerning the City Attorney and his duties.

Report on J[ohn]. S. Higbee's account accepted. Acc[oun]t. allowed.

W. W. Phelps and Geo[rge] P. Stiles were appointed a committee to draft an ordinance.  $^{85}\,$ 

Mayor suggested that the Council pass an ordinance to prevent misrepresentation <sup>86</sup> <sup>87</sup> and libelous publications, and wanted a law passed to prevent all conspiracies against the peace of the city; and referring to the reports that Dr. Foster has set afloat, <sup>88</sup> said he had never made any proposals to Foster to come back to the church <sup>89</sup>. Foster proposed to come back; came to Mayor's <sup>90</sup> house and wanted a private interview; Mayor told him he would have no private interview; had some conversation with Foster in the hall in presence of several gentlemen on the 7th inst.; offered to meet him and have an interview in presence of friends, three or four to be selected by each party; which Foster agreed to, and went to bring his friends for the interview; and the next notice he had of him was the following letter <sup>91</sup>:—

92To Gen[eral]. J[oseph]. Smith:

June 7th, 1844.

Sir:—I have consulted my friends in relation to your proposals of settlement, and they as well as myself are of opinion that your conduct and that of your unworthy, unprincipled clan is so base that it would be morally wrong, and detract from the dignity of gentlemen to hold any conference with you; the repeated insults and abuses I, as well as my friends have suffered from your unlawful course towards us, demands honorable resentment. We are resolved to make this our motto.

Nothing on our part has been done to provoke your anger, but have done all things as become men; you have trampled upon everything we hold dear and sacred; you have set all law at defiance, and profaned the name of the Most High to carry out your damnable purposes; and I have nothing more to fear from you than you have already threatened, and

<sup>83.</sup> NCCM [1844], 16: "council <the attorney>"

<sup>84.</sup> NCCM [1844], 16: adds this line interlinearly

<sup>85.</sup> NCCM [1844], 17: adds this line interlinearly

<sup>86.</sup> DHC 6:436: "misrepresentations"

<sup>87.</sup> NCCM [1844], 17: adds "of"

<sup>88.</sup> NCCM [1844], 17: omits "and referring to the reports ... afloat"

<sup>89.</sup> NCCM [1844], 17: omits "to the church"

<sup>90.</sup> NCCM [1844], 17: replaces "Mayor's" with "his"

<sup>91.</sup> NCCM [1844], 17: replaces "gentlemen on the 7th ... following letter" with "Mayor related to council conversation with Dr Foster, and read a letter from Dr Foster.—<dated> June 7"

<sup>92.</sup> Source: The letter is not included in NCCM [1844], 17, but quoted in WR's synopsis in NN 2 (19 June 1844): [238]. Cf. original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 21.

I as well as my friends will stay here, and maintain and magnify the law as long as we stay; and we are resolved never to leave until we sell or exchange our property that we have here.

The proposals made by your agent Dimick Huntington, as well as the threats you sent to intimidate me, I disdain and despise as I do their unhallowed author; the right of my family and my friends demands<sup>93</sup> at my hand a refusal of all your offers. We are united in virtue and truth, and we set hell at defiance, and all her agents. Adieu.

R. D. FOSTER.

## Gen. J. Smith.<sup>94</sup>

Mayor continued:<sup>95</sup>—And when Foster left his house, he went to a shoe shop on the hill and reported that Joseph said to him, if he would come back, he would give him Law's place in the church, and a hat-full of specie; and then wrote the letter just read.

Lucien Woodworth sworn; said that the conversation as stated by the Mayor was correct: was at the Mansion June 7th<sup>96</sup>, when Dr. Foster rode up and inquired if Gen[eral]. Smith was at home; witness told him he believed he was. Dr. Foster went into the house; witness followed. Dr. Foster was there, the General, and others, looking at some specimens of penmanship; something was said respecting a conversation at that time between the General and the Doctor. Gen. Smith observed to Foster, if he had a conversation he would want others present. The doctor said he would have a word with him by himself, and went into the hall. Witness went to the door that he might see and hear what was passing. They still continued to talk on the subject of a conversation that they might have afterwards with others present, whom Mr. Smith and Foster might choose<sup>97</sup>. Foster left, and went for those that he said he wanted present, and would return soon with them; <sup>98</sup>he heard all the conversation; heard nothing about Gen. Smith's making any offers to Foster to settle; <sup>99</sup>was present all the time. Dimick Huntington said he had seen Foster and talked with him.<sup>100</sup>

Mayor said he wished it distinctly understood that he knew nothing about Dimick Huntington going to see Foster.

Woodworth said he sent Dimick Huntington to Foster, and Joseph knew nothing about it. Councilor H[yrum]. Smith said Dimick Huntington came to him on the 7th inst., and said he had had an interview with Dr. Foster, and thought he was about 101 ready to come back, and a word from him 102 or Joseph would bring it about, &c.

Mayor said ["]the conduct of such men, and such papers, are calculated to destroy the peace of the city; and it is not safe that such things should exist, on account of the mob spirit which they tend to produce["]; he had made the statements he had, and called the witnesses to prepare the council to act in the case.

Emmons was blackguarded out of Philadelphia, and dubbed with the title of Judge (as he

<sup>93.</sup> NN 2:[238]: "demand"; Book F-1, 77 (pencil): "demand<s>"

<sup>94.</sup> DHC 6:437: omits this line

<sup>95.</sup> NCCM [1844], 17: omits "Mayor continued"

<sup>96.</sup> NCCM [1844], 17: "was present May 7th AM 10 At Mansion"

<sup>97.</sup> NN 2:[238]: "Mr. Smith might choose and Foster might choose"; Book F-1, 77, was first emended to read: "Mr. Smith might choose <and Foster might choose>" (JG). A second emendation in pencil moved the insertion point and canceled the redundant words: "Mr. Smith <and Foster might choose> might choose".

<sup>98.</sup> NCCM [1844], 17, NN 2:[238]: add "thinks"; Book F-1, 77 (pencil): "thinks"

<sup>99.</sup> DHC 6:438: omits remainder of paragraph

<sup>100.</sup> NCCM [1844], 17: replaces "said he had seen Foster and talked with him" with "[went to?] < Dr Foster to talk with him me and reported foster was>."

<sup>101.</sup> NCCM [1844], 18: replaces "about" with "almost"

<sup>102.</sup> NCCM [1844], 18: replaces "him" with "witness"

had understood from citizens of Philadelphia;)<sup>103</sup> was poor, and Mayor<sup>104</sup> helped him to cloth for a coat before he went away last fall<sup>105</sup>, and he (Emmons)<sup>106</sup> labored all winter to get the postoffice from Mr. Rigdon, (as informed.)<sup>107</sup>

Mayor<sup>108</sup> referred to a writing from Dr. Goforth, showing that the Laws presented the communication from the "Female Relief Society" in the *Nauvoo*<sup>109</sup> *Neighbor* to Dr. Goforth, *as*<sup>110</sup> *the bone of contention*, and said<sup>111</sup>, if God ever spake by any man, it will not be five years before this city is in ashes and we in our graves<sup>112</sup>, unless we go to Oregon, California<sup>113</sup>, or some other<sup>114</sup> place, if the city does not put down everything which tends to mobocracy, and put down <sup>115</sup>murderers, bogus–makers, and scoundrels; all the sorrow he<sup>116</sup> ever had in his<sup>117</sup> family in this city<sup>118</sup> has arisen through the influence of William Law.

Councilor H. Smith spoke in relation to the Laws, Fosters, Higbees, <sup>119</sup>Editor of the *Signal*, &c., and of the importance of suppressing that spirit which has driven us from Missouri, &c.; that he would go in for an effective ordinance.

Mayor said, at the time Gov[ernor]. Carlin was pursuing him with his writs<sup>120</sup>, William Law came to his<sup>121</sup> house with a band of Missourians for the purpose of betraying him<sup>122</sup>. Came to his gate, and was prevented <sup>123</sup>by Daniel Carn, who was set to watch; Law<sup>124</sup> came within his<sup>125</sup> gate, and called "Mayor," and the Mayor reproved Law for coming at that time of night with a company of strangers<sup>126</sup>.

Daniel Carn sworn; said that about 10 o'clock at night<sup>127</sup>, a boat came up the river with about a dozen men<sup>128</sup>. William Law came to the gate with them; witness on guard stopped them. <sup>129</sup> Law called Joseph to the door, and wanted an interview. Joseph said, "Bro[ther]. Law, you know better than to come here at this hour of the night," and Law retired <sup>130</sup>. Next

```
103. NCCM [1844], 18: "<(as he had understood from citizens of Phila[delphia])>. he"
104. NCCM [1844], 18: "<Mayor>"
105. NCCM [1844], 18: "<last fall>"
106. NCCM [1844], 18: omits "(Emmons)"
107. NCCM [1844], 18:"<(as informed)>"
108. NCCM [1844], 18: "<Mayor>"
109. NCCM [1844], 18:"<Nauvoo>"
110. NCCM [1844], 18: "<to Dr Goforth> be as"
111. NCCM [1844], 18:"<& said>"
112. NCCM [1844], 18: replaces "graves" with "Gore"
113. NCCM [1844], 18: "<california>"
114. NCCM [1844], 18: "<other>"
115. NCCM [1844], 18, NN 2:[238]: add "their"; Book F-1, 78: "their"
116. NCCM [1844], 18:" F < he > had"
117. NCCM [1844], 18: "his" overwrites "my"
118. NCCM [1844], 18, NN 2:[238]: omit "in this city"; Book F-1, 78: "<in this city>" (JG)
119. NCCM [1844], 19: adds "Sharp". Thomas C. Sharp.
120. NCCM [1844], 19: "<with his writs>"
121. NCCM [1844], 19: replaces "his" with "my"
122. NCCM [1844], 19: replaces "him" with "me"
123. NCCM [1844], 19: adds "with"
124. NCCM [1844], 19: omits "Law"
125. NCCM [1844], 19: "his" overwrites "my"
126. NCCM [1844], 19: omits "with a company of strangers"
127. NCCM [1844], 19: "<at night>"
128. NCCM [1844], 19: "< with about a Doz[en] men>"
129. NCCM [1844], 19: "\witness/ was on guard and stopped them"
130. NCCM [1844], 19: apparently reads "retur[ne]d"
```

morning Law wrote a letter to apologize, which witness<sup>131</sup> heard read, which was written apparently to screen himself from the censure of a conspiracy, and the letter betrayed a conspiracy on the face of it<sup>132</sup>.

Peter Haws Sworn, said

[...]<sup>133</sup>

Mayor proposed an adjournment.

C[ouncilor]. Phelps read an ordinance concerning libels.

Mayor suggested the propriety of having a preamble to said ordinance. Chairman said he would add C[ouncilor]. Taylor to the committee to draft a preamble.

C[ouncilor]. P[hineas]. Richards suggested an addition to the ordinance read to prevent attempts to take away our Charter, &c.—would go for an effective ordinance. 134

Chairman instructed the committee to go all lengths to make a<sup>135</sup> full report on the preamble and ordinance.

Adjourned at half-past 6 p.m., till Monday, 10th, at 10 o'clock, a.m.

Adjourned session, June 10th, 10 o'clock, a.m.

Names of Members called. Quorum Present. Prayer by J[ohn]. P. Green. Minutes of last council read and approved.

Mayor called Alderman [George W.] Harris to the chair.

Alderman Harris presiding.

Mayor referred  $^{136}$  to Dr. Foster, and again  $^{137}$  read his letter of the 7th inst[ant]., (as before quoted).  $^{138}$ 

#### Elias Smith Sworn into office as Alderman, and took his seat.

Cyrus Hills (a stranger)<sup>139</sup> sworn; said one day last week, believed it Wednesday, a gentleman whom witness did not know, came into the sitting room of the "Nauvoo Mansion," and requested the Hon. Mayor to step aside, he wanted to speak with him. Mayor stepped through the door into the entry, by the foot of the stairs, and the General (Mayor)<sup>140</sup> asked him what he wished? Foster, (as witness learned since was his <sup>141</sup> name)<sup>142</sup> said he wanted some conversation on some business witness did not understand at the time; the General refused to go any farther, and said he would have no conversation in private, and what should be said should be in public. **They had some conversation which witness could not repeat;** and [the General] told Foster if he would choose three or four men <sup>143</sup>, he would meet him with the same number of men (among whom was his brother Hyrum.) And they would have a cool and calm investigation of the subject, and by his making a proper satisfaction, things should be honorably adjusted. Witness judged, from the manner in which Foster expressed himself that he agreed to

<sup>131.</sup> NCCM [1844], 19: replaces "witness" with "he"

<sup>132.</sup> NCCM [1844], 19: replaces "it" with four dashes

<sup>133.</sup> NCCM [1844], 19: leaves two lines blank

<sup>134.</sup> NCCM [1844], 19: "\would/ <go for an affective ordinance>"

<sup>135.</sup> NCCM [1844], 19:"<make a>"

<sup>136.</sup> NCCM [1844], 20: replaces "referred" with "made some observations in reference"

<sup>137.</sup> NCCM [1844], 20: omits "again"

<sup>138.</sup> NCCM [1844], 20: replaces "(as before quoted)" with "which was read to the council on the 8th which is as follows"

<sup>139.</sup> NCCM [1844], 21: omits "(a stranger)"

<sup>140.</sup> NCCM [1844], 21: omits "(Mayor)"

<sup>141.</sup> NN 2:[239]: replaces "was his" with "the Gents"

<sup>142.</sup> NCCM [1844], 21:"<as witness Learned the gentlemans name>"

<sup>143.</sup> NCCM [1844], 21: "<men>"

the Mayor's proposals, and would meet him<sup>144</sup> the same day in the presence of friends<sup>145</sup>; heard no proposals made by Major to Foster for settlement; heard nothing about any offers of dollars, or money, or any other offer except those mentioned before; nothing said about W[illia]m. Law. Was within hearing of the parties at<sup>146</sup> the time conversation was going on.

O[rrin]. P. Rockwell sworn; <sup>147</sup>some day last week, saw Dr. Foster ride up to the Nauvoo<sup>148</sup> Mansion and go in; witness went in and found the Mayor and Dr. Foster in conversation<sup>149</sup>. Gen[eral]. Smith was naming the men he would have present, among whom was Hyrum Smith, William Marks, Lucien Woodworth, and Peter Hawes<sup>150</sup>; and Dr. Foster had leave to call an equal number of his friends, as witness<sup>151</sup> understood, <sup>152</sup>for the purpose of having an interview on some matters in contention<sup>153</sup>.

The Doctor's brother was proposed.<sup>154</sup> General said he had no objections<sup>155</sup>; wanted him present. Dr. Foster started, saying he would be back shortly. Before Dr. F[oster].<sup>156</sup> left, the men whom Gen[eral]. Smith had named to be present at the conversation were sent for.

Cross-examined;<sup>157</sup> witness<sup>158</sup> went into the house as Mayor and Dr. Foster were coming out of the barroom into the hall; nothing said by the Mayor to Dr. Foster about his coming back; <sup>159</sup>made no offer to Foster about a settlement.

Mayor said the first thing that occurred to his mind when he stepped into the hall with Foster was that he wanted to assassinate him<sup>160</sup>; he saw something shining below his vest; Mayor put his finger on it and said, ["]what is that?["] Foster replied, ["]it is my pistol,["] and immediately took out the pistol, and showed it openly, and wanted the Mayor to go with him alone. Mayor said he would not go alone; Mayor never saw the pistol before; had a hook on its side to hang on his <sup>161</sup>waistband.

<sup>162</sup>Andrew L. Lamoreaux sworn; said that in 1839 or '40<sup>163</sup>, while President Joseph Smith, Elder Rigdon, Judge Higbee, O[rrin]. P. Rockwell, and Dr. R[obert]. D. Foster, were on their

```
144. NCCM [1844], 21: "<him>"
```

<sup>145.</sup> NCCM [1844], 21: omits "in the presence of friends"

<sup>146.</sup> NCCM [1844], 21: replaces "at" with "all"

<sup>147.</sup> NCCM [1844], 21: adds "<said>"

<sup>148.</sup> NCCM [1844], 21: "<Nauvoo>"

<sup>149.</sup> NCCM [1844], 21: replaces "in conversation" with "talking" and adds "<as <he> went in>"

<sup>150.</sup> DHC 6:439: "Haws"

<sup>151.</sup> NCCM [1844], 22: "<witness>"

<sup>152.</sup> NCCM [1844], 22: adds "<it was of>"

<sup>153.</sup> NN 2:[239]: replaces "contention" with "conversation"

<sup>154.</sup> Preceding sentence based on following from NCCM [1844], 22: "Foster asked the Gen if he had any objections to his brother coming down."

<sup>155.</sup> DHC 6:439: "objection"

<sup>156.</sup> NCCM [1844], 22: "<Foster>"

<sup>157.</sup> NCCM [1844], 22: omits "Cross-examined"

<sup>158.</sup> NCCM [1844], 22: omits "witness"

<sup>159.</sup> NCCM [1844], 22: adds "Mayor"

<sup>160.</sup> NCCM [1844], 22: omits "was that he wanted to assassinate him"

<sup>161.</sup> NCCM [1844], 22: adds "suspenders"

<sup>162.</sup> Source: UC. Lamoreaux's statement not included in NCCM [1844], 22, which reads: "Andrew L. Lamereaux. sworn—read his statements. Marked A. No 1. on File" (WR). Folder in UC contains three-page original on folded sheet in WR's handwriting, and an abbreviated version on a single sheet also in WR's handwriting. The latter document is numbered "9" on recto and "10" on verso and includes following file notation on otherwise blank verso: "A. No 1.—File June | 10—1844".

<sup>163.</sup> MS original, 1: "Some time in the Fall or 18[blank]". At top of page is the following notation in different ink possibly in TB's handwriting: "(1839 or 1840)"

way to Washington, called at witness' house<sup>164</sup> in Dayton, Ohio; that the evening was spent very agreeably, except some dissatisfaction on the part of certain females with regard to the conduct of Dr. Foster. 165 On their return from Washington witness informed President Smith of Foster's conduct. President Smith said he had frequently reproved Foster for such conduct, and he had promised to do better;<sup>166</sup> and told witness to reprove Foster if he saw anything out of the way. That evening Foster refused to join the company, and walked through the town till about 8 o'clock, when he came in and interrupted Pres[iden]t. Smith, who was expounding some passages of <sup>167</sup>scripture; and changed the conversation. Soon after the company were invited to Mr. Brown's at 168 the next door, whither they all repaired. While at Mr. Brown's, 169 conversation was 170 going on, and the room much crowded. Dr. Foster and one of the ladies he had paid so much attention to before, took their seats in one corner of the room; <sup>171</sup>witness heard her state to Dr. Foster that she supposed she had been enceinte<sup>172</sup> for some time back, but had been disappointed, and supposed it was on account of her weakness, and wanted Foster to prescribe something for her; Foster said he could do it for her, and dropped his hand to her feet, and began to raise it; she gave him a slight push, and threw herself close to the wall. He laid his hand on her knee, and whispered so low that witness could not hear; 173 next morning witness went in while Foster and others were at breakfast, and related what he had seen; 174 175 Foster denied it; Pres[iden]t. Smith told him not to deny it, for he saw it himself, and was ashamed of it. Foster confessed it was true, and promised to reform.

Peter Hawes<sup>176</sup> sworn<sup>177</sup>; said that he came to Nauvoo before the Laws, and brought considerable<sup>178</sup> property; it was a short time<sup>179</sup> after the church had been driven out of Missouri, and had arrived in this place. The families having been robbed of all in Missouri were in a starving condition. By the counsel of the Presidency, witness converted his funds to feeding the poor, bringing in meat and flour, &c., and while thus engaged drew upon the Laws, who were at that time engaged

<sup>164.</sup> WR copy: replaces "house" with "home"

<sup>165.</sup> MS original, 1, reads: "the evening was spent very agr[e]able with the exception of one thing nam[e]ly some Disatisfaction on the part of some females present with regard to the conduct of Dr Foster and some one [or] two females as they sutch [such] as exchaininging a kiss now and again as I was informed by <one of> those with [w]hom Foster was so grate after the Broth[er]s left those dissatisfied with the conduct of the others reproved the others whitch Caused them one of them to write to Dr Foster while he was at washington and inform him ♦ to call at another place on his return acordingly he did so"

<sup>166.</sup> MS original, 1, reads: "president Smith told me that he was aware that Foste[r] was impudent and he frequently reproved him for it and he would promise to do bet[t]er"

<sup>167.</sup> DHC 6:440: adds "the"

<sup>168.</sup> WR copy: "<at>"

<sup>169.</sup> WR copy: adds "and a"

<sup>170.</sup> NN 2:[239]: omits "was"

<sup>171.</sup> MS original, 2: adds "and conttinued their co[nversation] whitch which I considered unbecoming and as their ware some persons present that did not belong to the church I placed my self between them and Foster I herd the conversation that pas[s]ed between Foster and the woma[n]"

<sup>172.</sup> MS original, 2: replaces "enceinte" with "with child"; WR copy: "with child < frequent enceinte >"

<sup>173.</sup> DHC 6:440 omits preceding four sentences and inserts following bracketed note: "[Here follows statement of such lewdness in speech and conduct on the part of Foster that it would violate propriety to print it.]"

<sup>174.</sup> MS original, 2-3: "I went in to the room where Foste[r] an[d] the said woman and others [p. 2] [were] breakfasting and told them that I was dissatisfied with their prosiding [proceedings] the Dr asked in {H\$\tilde{\theta}\$} what r[e]sp[e]ct I related several things and then mentioned the prosds prosidings of the previous Evening"

<sup>175.</sup> WR copy: adds "{&}"

<sup>176.</sup> DHC 6:440: "Haws"

<sup>177.</sup> NCCM [1844], 22: replaces "sworn" with "who was sworn <on saturday > at the last council"

<sup>178.</sup> NCCM [1844], 22: "much <considerable>"

<sup>179.</sup> NCCM [1844], 22: replaces "a short time" with "just before"

in merchandise, to the amount of some six hundred dollars, which, on account of expenditure for the poor, he was not able to pay to 180 within 18170 or 80 dollars, which they pressed him for as soon as they wanted it, although he offered them good 182 property at considerable less than the market value; as witness was obliged to leave the city on church business for a little season 183. William Law threatened and intimidated 184 witness' family during 185 his absence for the pay.

<sup>186</sup>Dr. Foster made a public dinner on the 4th of July. Witness was obliged to be absent, and deposited meat, flour, &c., <sup>187</sup> with W[illia]m. Law to give <sup>188</sup> to the poor at that dinner, and Law handed it out as his own private <sup>189</sup> property. <sup>190</sup>Witness carried a load of wheat to Law's mill to be ground; Law would not grind it only to give a certain quantity of flour in return by weight. Law used up the flour, promising from time to time he would refund it. As witness was about to start on a mission to the south, with his valise in his hand, saw Law before his door, talking with Hyrum Smith, called on Law and told him he was going away, and his family wanted the flour; Law promised on the honor of a gentleman and a saint that his family should have the flour when they wanted.

Councilor H[yrum]. Smith said he recollected the time and circumstance<sup>191</sup> Hawes referred to.

<sup>192</sup>Hawes said, when he returned he found his family must have starved, if they had not borrowed money to get food somewhere else; could not get it of Law. And Law was preaching punctuality, *punctuality*, PUNCTUALITY, as the whole drift of his discourses to the Saints; and abusing them himself all the time<sup>193</sup>, and grinding the poor.

```
180. DHC 6:441: omits "to"
```

190. Remainder of this paragraph as well as the second paragraph below do not appear in NCCM [1844], 23, but were apparently added to NN 2:[239] based on the original minutes kept by WR. A single sheet containing WR's sketchy notes of Hawes' testimony is located between pp. 22 and 23 of NCCM, Rough Book [1844], and reads: "come [to Nauvoo] to purchase lands. Joseph [Smith] reminded High Council, look to poor. Witness purchased hogs. Laws purchased goods Hawes bought flour and meat, for fut[ure] winter, in June went to W[illia]m Law, take the flour have on hand to pay 600 dollar Haws owed. What owed him would do it at reduced price—so as to make 2 per cent—while witness was gone—by council, to get some pine lumber. Have Law then told family would attach My property.—when witness was about to go again, said he would capias [arrest] Witness.—go ahead—Told Bro[ther] Joseph—[Joseph] was as good man as W[illia]m Law—did not Capias—when Dr Foster made a dinner 4th july made arrangement with Law to furnish meat &c—Law [handed?] out on his own name [and] nails to [corner?] cabin. when will you pay &c &c—forced to pledge. preached punctuality. charged 2 per cent. pressed the poor—gone East reined up by sis[ter] Law.—he did not not know it.—allowed \$50. for meat[.] Law allowed \$40.00.—Last Summer Witness went south.—had 24½ bu[shels] wheat.—at Laws mill—ground up wheat. & [owned?] it.—put me off—&c—with notice in hand what is to be done about flour.— Law Bro[ther] Haws upon the honor of a gentleman & saint I will get it this week will lodge it in your house. when came back family had been without funds. 7½ [bushels] only—must have [starved?] if they had not—some place right off—Could not say one word was boiling over.—some [Wilson?] said we have done the best we could.—built mills—bot farms—and oppressed the poor. Some other God beside the one I served.—hitched on to bro[ther] Green.—acknowledge his fault—Law gulled [cheated] N[auvoo]. House \$500.—blocked the wheels & locked the guns [p.1] at night."

```
191. NCCM [1844], 24: omits "and circumstance"
```

<sup>181.</sup> NN 2:[239], Book F-1, 80: add "some"

<sup>182.</sup> NCCM [1844], 23: "<good>"

<sup>183.</sup> NCCM [1844], 23: "a little season on church business"

<sup>184.</sup> NCCM [1844], 23: "oppressed his <worried therefore & intimidated>"

<sup>185.</sup> NCCM [1844], 23: replaces "during" with "in"

<sup>186.</sup> NCCM [1844], 23: adds "When"

<sup>187.</sup> NCCM [1844], 23: "<was obliged to be absent &> deposited funds <meat flower &c>"

<sup>188.</sup> NCCM [1844], 23: replaces "give" with "feed"

<sup>189.</sup> NCCM [1844], 23: omits "private"

<sup>192.</sup> NCCM [1844], 24: omits this paragraph.

<sup>193.</sup> DHC 6:441: omits "all the time"

Mayor said Hawes gave him his Notes and he destroyed them. Hawes was the first man to step forward and help save the poor from Missouri.

G[eorge] P. Stiles Bill \$40 read and referred to committee on Claims. Special 194 Committee reported on Bill on Ordinance on Libels and for other purposes.—with preamble.

Mayor said if he had a city council who felt as he did, the establishment (referring to the Nauvoo Expositor) would be declared 195 a nuisance before night; and he then 196 read an editorial from the 2d No. of the Nauvoo Expositor. He then asked who ever said a word against Judge Emmons until he 197 attacked this council; or even against Joseph H. Jackson or the Laws, until they came out against the city? Here is a paper (Nauvoo Expositor) that is exciting our enemies abroad. Joseph H. Jackson has been proved a murderer before this 198 council, and he 199 declared the paper a nuisance, a greater nuisance <sup>200</sup>than a dead carcass. They make it<sup>201</sup> a criminality <sup>202</sup>for a man to have a wife on the earth while he has one in heaven, according to the keys of the holy priesthood; and he then read a<sup>203</sup> statement of William Law's from<sup>204</sup> the Expositor, where the truth of God was transformed into a lie concerning this thing<sup>205</sup>. He then read several<sup>206</sup> statements of Austin Cowles in the Expositor concerning a private interview<sup>207</sup>, and said he never had any private conversations with Austin Cowles on these subjects; that he preached on the stand from the Bible, showing the order in ancient days, <sup>208</sup>having nothing to do with the present times. What the opposition party want, is 209 to raise a mob on us and take the spoil from<sup>210</sup> us, as they did in Missouri; he said it was as much as he could do to keep his clerk Thompson from publishing the proceedings<sup>211</sup> of the Laws, and causing the people to rise up against them<sup>212</sup>; said he would rather die tomorrow, and have the thing smashed, than live and have it go on, <sup>213</sup> for it was exciting the spirit of mobocracy among the people, and bringing death and destruction upon us.

Peter Hawes recalled a circumstance which he had forgot<sup>214</sup> to mention, concerning a<sup>215</sup> Mr. Smith who came from England and soon after<sup>216</sup> died; the children had no one to protect them. There was<sup>217</sup> one girl 16 or 17 years old, and a younger sister; witness took these girls into

```
194. NCCM [1844], 24: "<Special>"
195. NN 2:[239]: omits "declared"; Book F-1, 80: "<declared>" (JG)
196. DHC 6:441: "then he"
197. NN 2:[239]: adds "has"; Book F-1, 80: "has"
198. DHC 6:441: replaces "this" with "the"
199. NCCM [1844], 24, NN 2:[239]: omit "he"
200. NCCM [1844], 24: adds "<greater>"
201. NCCM [1844], 24, NN 2:[239]: omit "it"; Book F-1, 80: in pencil "<it>" (prob. RLC)
202. NCCM [1844], 24: adds "of"
203. NCCM [1844], 24: "the" overwrites "a"
204. NCCM [1844], 24: replaces "from" with "in"
205. NCCM [1844], 24: omits "concerning this thing"
206. NCCM [1844], 24: omits "several"
207. NCCM [1844], 24: omits "concerning a private interview"
208. Remainder of sentence appears in NN 2:[239] and Book F-1, 80, but omitted in DN and DHC.
209. NCCM [1844], 24: "wanted, was"
210. NCCM [1844], 24: replaces "from" with "of"
211. DHC 6:442: "proceeding"
212. NCCM [1844], 24: replaces "rise up against them" with two dashes
213. NCCM [1844], 24: deletes remainder of sentence
214. DHC 6:442: "forgotten"
215. NCCM [1844], 25: replaces "recalled ... concerning a" with "referred to"
216. NCCM [1844], 25: replaces "soon after" with "was taken sick and"
217. NCCM [1844], 25: "<there was>"
```

his family out of pity. Wilson Law, then Major-General of the Nauvoo Legion, <sup>218</sup> was familiar with the eldest daughter; witness <sup>219</sup> cautioned the girl. Wilson was soon there again, and went out in the evening with the girl, who when <sup>220</sup> charged by the witness's wife confessed <sup>221</sup> that Wilson Law had seduced her. Witness told her he could not keep her; the girl wept, made much ado, and many promises; witness told her if she would do right, she might stay; but she did not keep her promise <sup>222</sup>. Wilson came again, and she went out with him <sup>223</sup>; <sup>224</sup>witness then <sup>225</sup> required her to leave his <sup>226</sup> house.

Mayor said certain women came to complain to his wife, that they had caught Wilson Law with the girl on the floor $^{227}$  at Mr. Hawes' in the night.

Councilor H[yrum]. Smith proceeded to show the falsehood of Austin Cowles in the Expositor<sup>228</sup>, in relation to the revelation referred to, that it was in reference to former days, and not the present time as related by Cowles.<sup>229</sup>

Mayor said he had never preached the revelation in private, but<sup>230</sup> he had <sup>231</sup>public; had not taught it to the <sup>232</sup>anointed in the church in private<sup>233</sup>, which statement many present<sup>234</sup> confirmed; that on inquiring concerning the passage on the resurrection concerning "they neither marry nor are given in marriage," &c.; he<sup>235</sup> received for answer, ["]men in this life must marry in view of eternity, otherwise they must remain as angels, or be single<sup>236</sup> in heaven,["] which was the doctrine<sup>237</sup> of the revelation referred to; and the Mayor spoke at considerable length in explanation of this principle; and was willing for one to subscribe his name, to declare the *Expositor*<sup>238</sup> and whole establishment a nuisance.

## 1 o'clock and 19 mi[nutes] adjourned for one hour.

## Half past two o'clock, p.m., council called. Quorum present.

Willard Richards<sup>239</sup>, the clerk of the council, bore testimony of the good character and high standing of Mr. Smith and his family<sup>240</sup>, whose daughter was seduced by Wilson Law, as stated by the last witness before<sup>241</sup> the morning council; <sup>242</sup>that Mrs. Smith died near the mouth

```
218. NCCM [1844], 25: omits "then Major-General ... Legion"
```

<sup>219.</sup> Book F-1, 80: "witnesses" in pencil.

<sup>220.</sup> NCCM [1844], 25: omits "with the girl, who when"

<sup>221.</sup> NCCM [1844], 25: "charged the girl & she confessed to witness wife"

<sup>222.</sup> NCCM [1844], 25: omits "her promise"

<sup>223.</sup> NCCM [1844], 25: replaces "out with him" with "again"

<sup>224.</sup> NCCM [1844], 25: omits remainder of paragraph.

<sup>225.</sup> NN 2:[239]: omits "then"

<sup>226.</sup> DHC 6:442: replaces "his" with "the"

<sup>227.</sup> DHC 6:442: replaces "on the floor" with "[in compromising relations]"

<sup>228.</sup> NCCM [1844], 25: omits "in the Expositor"

<sup>229.</sup> Preceding bolded text appears in NCCM [1844], 25, and NN 2:[239], but omitted in DN and DHC.

<sup>230.</sup> NCCM [1844], 25, NN 2:[239]: replace "but" with "as"; Book F-1, 81 (pencil): with "as <but>" (prob. RLC)

<sup>231.</sup> NCCM [1844], 25, NN 2:[239]: add "in"

<sup>232.</sup> NCCM [1844], 25: adds "highest"

<sup>233.</sup> NCCM [1844], 25: "<in private>"

<sup>234.</sup> NCCM [1844], 25: omits "statement" and "present"

<sup>235.</sup> NCCM [1844], 25: replaces "he" with "I"

<sup>236.</sup> NCCM [1844], 25: replaces "or be single" with "only"

<sup>237.</sup> NCCM [1844], 25: replaces "doctrine" with "amount"

<sup>238.</sup> NCCM [1844], 25: replaces "Expositor" with "paper"

<sup>239.</sup> NCCM [1844], 26, NN 2:[239]: omit "Willard Richards"; Book F-1, 81 (pencil): "<Willard Richards>" (RLC)

<sup>240.</sup> NCCM [1844], 26: "Mr Smiths family"

<sup>241.</sup> NCCM [1844], 26: replaces "by the last witness before" with "in"

<sup>242.</sup> Remainder of paragraph omitted in NCCM [1844], 26.

of the Mississippi, and the father and eldest daughter died soon after their arrival in this place, and that the seduction of such a youthful, fatherless, and innocent creature by such a man in high standing as the Major-General of the Nauvoo Legion, was one of the darkest, damnedest, and foulest deeds on record.

Councilor Hyrum Smith concurred <sup>243</sup>in the remarks made by the clerk concerning the excellent character of Mr. Smith and his family.

Bill<sup>244</sup> on Libels was read the 2d time.

Moved by Mayor that the words, "and statute of Illinois" be added to the 1st section of the ordinance, immediately after Kent. 245—seconded and carried.—and the words added.

C[ouncilor]. Phelps proposed the addition of a word.

Mayor.— $^{246}$ said no man would join the clique who  $^{247}$ was not guilty, and objected to. Read 3d time by its title. $^{248}$ 

Motioned by Mayor 2d. [seconded] by C[ouncilor]. H[yrum]. Smith that the bill pass and carried unanimously.—satisfied with title "An ordinance concerning libels and for other purposes."

Mayor said the constitution did not authorize the press to publish libels, and proposed that the council make some provision for putting down the *Nauvoo Expositor*.

Councilor Hyrum Smith called for<sup>249</sup> a prospectus of the *Expositor*. **2d [seconded] by C[ouncilor]. Phelps.** 

Councilor Phelps read article 8, section 1, Constitution of Illinois.

Mayor called for the charter.

<sup>250</sup>The clerk read the prospectus of the *Nauvoo Expositor* as follows<sup>251</sup>:—

## <sup>252</sup>PROSPECTUS OF THE NAUVOO EXPOSITOR.

The NAUVOO EXPOSITOR will be issued on Friday of each week, on an imperial sheet, with a new press and materials of the best quality, and rendered worthy of the  $^{253}$  patronage of a discerning and an  $^{254}$  enlightened public.

The Expositor will be devoted to a general diffusion of useful knowledge, and its columns open for the admission of all courteous communications of a Religious, Moral, Social, Literary, or Political character, without taking a decided stand in favor of either of the great political parties in 255 the country. A part of its columns will be devoted to a few primary objects, which the Publishers deem of vital importance to the public welfare. Their particular locality gives them

<sup>243.</sup> Remainder of paragraph omitted in NCCM [1844], 26.

<sup>244.</sup> NCCM [1844], 26: "Bill on Libells Ordinance <Bill>"

<sup>245.</sup> I.e., James Kent, Commentaries on American Law, 4 vols. (New York, 1826).

<sup>246.</sup> NCCM [1844], 26: adds "mentioned"

<sup>247.</sup> NCCM [1844], 26: adds "is"

<sup>248.</sup> NCCM [1844], 26: "<read 3d time by its title>"

<sup>249.</sup> NCCM [1844], 26: replaces "called for" with "moved that the Marshall provide"

<sup>250.</sup> In NCCM [1844], 26, this paragraph reads: "Prospectus of the Nauvoo Expositor was read"

<sup>251.</sup> NCCM [1844], 26, NN 2:[239]: omit "as follows"

<sup>252.</sup> The Prospectus was not recorded in NCCM, Rough Book [1844], 26, nor published in NN 2 (19 June 1844): [239], but was added when copied into Book F-1, 81-82. Cf. Nauvoo Expositor 1 (7 June 1844): [4], for undated Prospectus. The Prospectus was previously issued as a flyer, dated 10 May 1844, a photograph of which can be found in Leonard 2002, 363 (Flake 5720). Variant wording indicates the compilers used the flyer.

<sup>253.</sup> Book F-1, 81: "<the>" (pos. JG)

<sup>254.</sup> DHC 6:443: omits "an"

<sup>255.</sup> Nauvoo Expositor 1:[4] and flyer: replace "in" with "of"

a knowledge of the many GROSS ABUSES EXERCISED UNDER THE "PRETENDED" AUTHORITIES OF THE CHARTER OF THE CITY OF NAUVOO<sup>256</sup>, by the Legislative authorities of said city; and the insupportable OPPRESSIONS of the MINISTERIAL powers in carrying out the Unjust, Illegal, and Unconstitutional Ordinances of the same. The Publishers, therefore, deem it a sacred duty they owe to their country and their fellow-citizens, to advocate, through the columns of the Expositor, the UNCONDITIONAL REPEAL OF THE NAUVOO CITY CHARTER—to restrain and correct the abuses of the UNIT POWER—to ward off the Iron Rod which is held over the devoted heads of the citizens of Nauvoo, and the surrounding country—to advocate unmitigated DISOBEDIENCE to POLITICAL REVELATIONS, and to censure and decry gross moral imperfections wherever found, either in the Plebeian, Patrician, or SELF-CONSTITUTED MONARCH—to advocate the pure principles of morality, the pure principles of truth, designed not to destroy, but to strengthen the mainspring of God's moral government—to advocate, and exercise the freedom of speech in Nauvoo, independent of the ordinances abridging the same—to give free toleration to every man's Religious sentiments, and sustain ALL in worshiping their God according to the monitions of their consciences, as guaranteed by the Constitution of our country, and to oppose, with uncompromising hostility, any UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE, or any preliminary step tending to the same—to sustain ALL, however humble, in their equal and Constitutional Rights—and oppose the sacrifice of the liberty, the Property, and the Happiness of the MANY, to the Pride and Ambition of the FEW. In a word, to give a full, candid, and succinct statement of FACTS AS THEY REALLY EXIST IN THE CITY OF NAUVOO—fearless of whose particular case the facts may apply—being governed by the laws of Editorial courtesy and the inherent dignity which is inseparable from honorable minds, at the same time exercising their own judgment in cases of flagrant abuses, or<sup>257</sup> moral delinquencies—to use such terms and names as they deem proper, when the object is of such high importance that the end will justify the means. In this great and indispensable work, 258 we confidently look to an enlightened public to aid us in our laudable effort.

The columns of the *Expositor* will be open to the discussion of all matters of public interest, the production of all correspondents <sup>259</sup>subject to the decision of the Editor alone, who shall receive or reject at his option. National questions will be in place—but no preference given to either of the political parties. The Editorial department will contain the political news of the day, proceedings of Congress, election returns, &c., &c. <sup>260</sup> Room will be given for articles on Agriculture, the Mechanic Arts, Commercial transactions, &c.

The first number of the *Expositor* will be issued on Friday, the 7th day of June, 1844.<sup>261</sup> The publishers bind themselves to issue the paper weekly for one year, and forward 52 copies to each subscriber during the year. Orders should be forwarded as soon as possible, that the publishers may know what number of copies to issue.

The publishers take pleasure in announcing to the public, that they have engaged the service of SYLVESTER EMMANS<sup>262</sup>, ESQ., who will have entire charge and supervision of the Editorial department. From an acquaintance with the dignity of character and literary qualifications of this gentleman, they feel assured that the *Nauvoo Expositor* must and will sustain a high and honorable reputation.

<sup>256.</sup> Nauvoo Expositor 1:[4]: "of the Nauvoo City Charter"

<sup>257.</sup> DHC 6:444: replaces "or" with "of"

<sup>258.</sup> Nauvoo Expositor 1:[4]: moves "In this great and indispensable work" to end of sentence

<sup>259.</sup> Nauvoo Expositor 1:[4]: adds "being"

<sup>260.</sup> DHC 6:444: omits second "&c."

<sup>261.</sup> Nauvoo Expositor 1:[4]: omits preceding sentence

<sup>262.</sup> Nauvoo Expositor 1:[4], DHC 6:444: "Emmons"

## <sup>263</sup>Terms of the Nauvoo Expositor.

The terms of this paper will be

\$2.00 per annum, in advance.

\$2.50 at the expiration of six months.

\$3.00 at the end of the year.

Six copies will be forwarded to one address for \$10.00 in advance—Thirteen copies for \$20.00, &c., &c.

<sup>264</sup>Advertising and Job Work in all their varieties, done on short notice, and upon the most satisfactory terms.

All letters and Communications must be addressed to "CHARLES A. FOSTER, Nauvoo, Ill.," *postpaid*, in order to insure attention.

WILLIAM LAW,
WILSON LAW,
CHARLES IVINS,
FRANCIS M. HIGBEE,
CHAUNCEY L. HIGBEE,
ROBERT D. FOSTER,
CHARLES A. FOSTER,

Publishers.

Nauvoo, Ill., May 10th, 1844.265

Mayor read the statements of Francis M. Higbee from the *Expositor* and asked, "Is it not treasonable against all chartered rights and privileges, and against the peace and happiness of the city?" **And spoke at great length.** 

Councilor H[yrum]. Smith was in favor of declaring the Expositor a nuisance.

Councilor Taylor said no city on earth would bear such slander, and he would not bear it, and was<sup>266</sup> decidedly in favor of active measures.

Mayor made a statement of what William Law said before the City Council under oath, <sup>267</sup> that he was a friend to the Mayor, &c., and asked if there were any present who recollected his statement; when scores responded, Yes! <sup>268</sup>

 $^{269} \mbox{Councilor}$  [Edward] Hunter was one of the grand jury, said Wm. Law stated to the Council that he was Joseph's friend.

Councilor Taylor continued: Wilson Law was president of this Council during the passage of many ordinances, and referred to the records<sup>270</sup>; ["]William Law and Emmons were members of the Council<sup>271</sup>, and Emmons has never objected to any ordinance while in the Council; but has been more like a cipher, and is now become Editor of a libelous paper, and

<sup>263.</sup> Following bolded text (except last paragraph) appears in both *Nauvoo Expositor* 1:[4] and flyer, but deleted in MSHi[S, DN, and DHC.

<sup>264.</sup> This paragraph appears in Nauvoo Expositor 1:[4], but not in the flyer.

<sup>265.</sup> This line omitted in Nauvoo Expositor 1:[4].

<sup>266.</sup> NCCM [1844], 27: replaces "was" with "spoke"

<sup>267.</sup> NCCM [1844], 27: omits "under oath"

<sup>268.</sup> NCCM [1844], 27: "concerning his friendship—<if he had any thing against the Mayor> and scores responded to the question.—yes."

<sup>269.</sup> This paragraph appears in NN 2:[239], but omitted in MSHiJS. In NCCM [1844], 27, this paragraph reads: "C[ouncilor]. [Edward] Hunter said W[illia]m Law stated before this grand Jury that he did not say \to/ ["to" w.o. "before"] the Council that he was Josephs friend."

<sup>270.</sup> NCCM [1844], 27: omits "during the passage ... records"

<sup>271.</sup> NCCM [1844], 27: omits "of the council"

is trying to destroy our charter and ordinances<sup>272</sup>.["] He then read from the Constitution of the United States on the freedom of the press, and said, "we are willing they should publish the truth"; but it is unlawful to publish libels;<sup>273</sup> the *Expositor*<sup>274</sup> is a nuisance, and stinks in the nose of every honest man.

#### Resolution of nuisances read-

Mayor read from Illinois constitution, Article 8, section 22<sup>275</sup>, **page 365**, <sup>276</sup>touching the responsibility of the press for its constitutional liberty.

Councilor Stiles said a nuisance was anything that disturbs the peace of a community, and read **Chitty's** Blackstone on private wrongs, vol. 2, page 4, and the whole community has to rest under the stigma of these falsehoods—referring to the *Expositor*,<sup>277</sup> and if we can prevent the issuing of any more slanderous communications<sup>278</sup>, he would go in for it; it is right for this community to show a proper resentment, and he would go in for suppressing all further publications<sup>279</sup> of the kind.

Councilor H[yrum]. Smith believed the best way was to smash the press **all to pieces**, and "pi" the type.

Councilor [Aaron]<sup>280</sup> Johnson concurred with the councilors who had spoken<sup>281</sup>.

Alderman Bennett referred to the statement of the *Expositor* concerning<sup>282</sup> the Municipal Court in the case of Jeremiah Smith as a libel<sup>283</sup>, and considered the paper<sup>284</sup> a public nuisance.

Councilor Warrington considered<sup>285</sup> his a peculiar situation, as he did not belong to any church or any party; thought it might be considered rather harsh<sup>286</sup> for the council to declare the paper<sup>287</sup> a nuisance<sup>288</sup>, and proposed giving a few days' limitation and assessing a fine of \$3,000 for every libel, and if they would not cease publishing libels to declare it a nuisance, and<sup>289</sup> said the statutes made provisions for a fine of \$500.

Mayor replied that they threatened to shoot him when at Carthage, and the women and others dare not go to Carthage to prosecute; and read a libel from the *Expositor* concerning the imprisonment of <sup>290</sup> Jeremiah Smith, and explained and showed the falsehood of the *Expositor*. Smith was openly in the streets of the city daily.

Councilor H[yrum]. Smith spoke of the Warsaw Signal, <sup>291</sup> and disapprobated its libelous course.

```
272. NCCM [1844], 27: omits "and is now become ... ordinances"
```

<sup>273.</sup> NCCM [1844], 27: omits "but it is unlawful to publish libels"

<sup>274.</sup> NCCM [1844], 27: replaces "Expositor" with "paper"

<sup>275.</sup> NN 2:[239]:"2"; DHC 6:445:"12"

<sup>276.</sup> NCCM [1844], 27: omits remainder of sentence

<sup>277.</sup> NCCM [1844], 27: omits "referring to the Expositor"

<sup>278.</sup> NCCM [1844], 27: "<communications>"

<sup>279.</sup> NN 2:[239]: replaces "publications" with "communications"

<sup>280.</sup> Brackets this editor's.

<sup>281.</sup> NCCM [1844], 28: "with what other counsellors had said"

<sup>282.</sup> NCCM [1844], 28: replaces "concerning" with "relative"

<sup>283.</sup> NCCM [1844], 28: omits "as a libel"

<sup>284.</sup> NCCM [1844], 28: replaces "the paper" with "it"

<sup>285.</sup> NCCM [1844], 28: replaces "considered" with "convinced"

<sup>286.</sup> NCCM [1844], 28: omits "as he did not belong ... harsh"

<sup>287.</sup> NCCM [1844], 28: replaces "declare the paper" with "pass this [paper]"

<sup>288.</sup> NCCM [1844], 28: adds "would be hasty"

<sup>289.</sup> NCCM [1844], 28: replaces "and" with "Mayor—Quince[.] C[ouncilor] Warington"

<sup>290.</sup> NCCM [1844], 28: omits "the imprisonment of"

<sup>291.</sup> NCCM [1844], 28: omits remainder of sentence

<sup>292</sup>Mayor remarked he was sorry to have one dissenting voice <sup>293</sup>in declaring the *Expositor* a nuisance.

Councilor Warrington did not mean to be understood to go against the proposition<sup>294</sup>; but would not be in haste in declaring it<sup>295</sup> a nuisance<sup>296</sup>.

Councilor H[yrum]. Smith referred to the mortgages and property of the proprietors of the *Expositor*, <sup>297</sup> and thought there would be little chance of collecting damages for libels.

Alderman Elias<sup>298</sup> Smith considered there was but one course to pursue, that the proprietors<sup>299</sup> were out of the reach of the law; that our<sup>300</sup> course was to put an end to the thing<sup>301</sup> at once; believed by what he had heard that if the city council<sup>302</sup> did not do it, others would.

Councilor Hunter believed it to be a nuisance; referred to the opinion of Judge Pope on *habeas corpus*, and spoke in favor of the charter, &c.; asked Francis M. Higbee before the <sup>303</sup>jury if he was not the man he saw at Joseph's house<sup>304</sup> making professions of friendship; Higbee said he was not; (hundreds know this statement to be false)<sup>305</sup>; he also asked R. D. Foster if he did not state before hundreds of people that he<sup>306</sup> believed Joseph to be a prophet; "no," said Foster. They were under oath when they said it. (Many hundreds of people are witness to this perjury.)<sup>307</sup>

Alderman O[rson].<sup>308</sup> Spencer accorded with the views expressed that the *Nauvoo Expositor*<sup>309</sup> is a nuisance; did not consider it wise to give them time to trumpet a thousand lies; their property could not pay for it; if we pass only a fine or imprisonment, have we any confidence that they will desist? none at all! we have<sup>310</sup> found these men covenant-breakers with God! with their wives!! &c., have we any hope of their doing better? their characters have gone before them.

Counselor Taylor said when at Quincy the people said nobody cared for him (Higbee)<sup>311</sup>; they all believed him to be a scoundrel.

**A[Iderman]. Spencer continued.**—shall they be suffered to go on, and bring a mob upon us; and murder our women and children, and burn our beautiful city<sup>312</sup>? No! I had rather my blood would be spilled at once<sup>313</sup>, and would like to have the press removed as soon as the ordinance would allow; and wish the matter might be put into the hands of the Mayor, and everybody stand by him in the execution of his duties, and hush every murmur.

```
292. This paragraph added interlinearly in NCCM [1844], 28.
293. NCCM [1844], 28: omits remainder of sentence
294. NCCM [1844], 28: omits "the proposition"
295. DHC 6:446: omits "it"
296. NCCM [1844], 28: omits "in declaring it a nuisance"
297. NCCM [1844], 28: omits remainder of sentence
298. NCCM [1844], 28, NN 2:[239]: "E."
299. NCCM [1844], 28: replaces "the proprietors" with "they"
300. NCCM [1844], 28: replaces "our" with "one"
301. DHC 6:446: "things"
302. NCCM [1844], 28, NN 2:[239]: omit "council"
303. NCCM [1844], 28, NN 2:[239]: add "grand"
304. NCCM [1844], 29: omits "house"
305. NCCM [1844], 29: omits parenthetical statement
306. NCCM [1844], 29: replaces "he" with "you"
307. NCCM [1844], 29: omits parenthetical statement
308. NCCM [1844], 29, NN 2:[239]: omit "O."
309. NCCM [1844], 29: replaces "Nauvoo Expositor" with "paper"
310. NCCM [1844], 29: omits "we have"
311. NCCM [1844], 29: inserts "\Higbee/" at end of paragraph
312. NCCM [1844], 29: omits "and bring a mob ... city"
313. NCCM [1844], 29: omits "at once"
```

Councilor Levi Richards said he had felt deeply on this subject, and concurred fully in the view General Smith had expressed of it this day; thought it unnecessary to repeat what the council perfectly understood;<sup>314</sup> considered private interest as nothing in comparison with the public good; every time a line was formed in Far West he was there, for what? to defend it<sup>315</sup> against just such scoundrels and influence<sup>316</sup> as the *Nauvoo Expositor* and its supporters were directly calculated to bring against us again<sup>317</sup>. Considered the doings of the council this day of immense moment, not to this city alone, but to the whole world; would go in to put a stop to the thing at once; let it be thrown out of this city, and the responsibility of countenancing such a press be taken<sup>318</sup> off our shoulders and <sup>319</sup>fall on the State<sup>320</sup>, <sup>321</sup>if corrupt enough to sustain it.

Councilor Phineas Richards said that he had not forgotten the transaction<sup>322</sup> at Haun's Mill<sup>323</sup>, and that he recollected that his son George Spencer then lay in the well referred to on the day previous, without a winding-sheet, shroud or coffin<sup>324</sup>; he said he could not sit still when he saw the same spirit raging in this place; he considered the publication of the *Expositor* as much murderous at heart as David was before the death of Uriah; was for making a short work of it;<sup>325</sup> was prepared to take his stand by the Mayor, and whatever he proposes; would stand by him to the last. The quicker it is stopped the better.

Councilor Phelps had investigated the constitution, charter, and laws; the power to declare that office a nuisance is granted to us in the Springfield charter, and a resolution declaring it a nuisance is all that is required.

John Birney sworn: Said Francis M. Higbee and Wm. Law declared they had commenced their operations, and would carry them out, *law or no law*.

Stephen Markham sworn: Said that Francis M. Higbee said the interest of this city is done the moment a hand is laid on their press.

Councilor Phelps continued, and referred to Wilson Law in destroying the character of a child—an orphan child, <sup>326</sup> who had the charge of <sup>327</sup> another child.

Warren Smith sworn: Said F. M. Higbee came to him<sup>328</sup>, and proposed to have him<sup>329</sup> go in as a partner in making bogus money. Higbee said he<sup>330</sup> would not work for a living that witness might go in with him if he would advance fifty dollars, and showed him (witness)<sup>331</sup> a half-dollar which he said was made in his dies.

Councilor Phelps continued and said he felt deeper this day than ever he felt before,

```
314. NCCM [1844], 29: omits preceding sentence
```

<sup>315.</sup> NCCM [1844], 29: replaces "it" with "themselves"

<sup>316.</sup> NCCM [1844], 29: omits "and influence"

<sup>317.</sup> NCCM [1844], 29: replaces "as the Nauvoo Expositor ... again" with "as are now fighting against us"

<sup>318.</sup> NCCM [1844], 29: omits "of countenancing ... taken"

<sup>319.</sup> NCCM [1844], 29: adds "let it"

<sup>320.</sup> NCCM [1844], 29: adds "of Illinois"

<sup>321.</sup> NCCM [1844], 29: omits remainder of sentence

<sup>322.</sup> NCCM [1844], 30: replaces "said that he ... transaction" with "referred to the scenery"

<sup>323.</sup> NCCM [1844], 30, NN 2:[239]: "mills"; Book F-1, 84 (pencil): "Mills"

<sup>324.</sup> NCCM [1844], 30: replaces "that he recollected ... coffin" with "the death of his son at that place"

<sup>325.</sup> NCCM [1844], 30: "<was for making a short work of it>"; DHC 6:447: omits preceding sentence

<sup>326.</sup> NCCM [1844], 30: omits "an orphan child"

<sup>327.</sup> NCCM [1844], 30: "child < charge of>"

<sup>328.</sup> NCCM [1844], 30: replaces "him" with "me"

<sup>329.</sup> NCCM [1844], 30: replaces "him" with "me"

<sup>330.</sup> NCCM [1844], 30: omits "Higbee said he"

<sup>331.</sup> NCCM [1844], 30: replaces "him" with "me" and omits "(witness)"

and wanted to know, by ["]yes,["] if there was any present<sup>332</sup> who wanted to avenge the blood of that innocent female who had been seduced by the then Major-General of the Nauvoo Legion, Wilson Law? when<sup>333</sup> ["]yes!!["] resounded from every quarter of the house<sup>334</sup>. He then referred to the tea plot at Boston, and asked if anybody's rights were taken away with that transaction; and are we offering, or have we offered to take away the rights of anyone these two days? (["]No!!!["] resounded<sup>335</sup> from every quarter.) He then referred also to Law's grinding the poor during the scarcity of grain, while the poor had nothing but themselves *to grind*<sup>336</sup>; and spoke at great length in support of active measures to put down iniquity, and suppress the spirit of mobocracy<sup>337</sup>.

Alderman Harris spoke from the chair, and expressed his feelings that the press ought to be demolished.

 $^{338}$ The following resolution was then read and passed unanimously, with the exception of Councilor Warrington:—

<sup>339</sup>Resolved by the City Council of the city of Nauvoo, that the printing-office<sup>340</sup> from whence issues the *Nauvoo Expositor* is a public nuisance, and also all of said *Nauvoo Expositors*, which may be, or exist in said establishment, and the Mayor is instructed to cause said printing establishment and papers to be removed without delay, in such manner as he shall direct.

Passed June 10th, 1844.341

GEO[RGE]. W. HARRIS, President pro tem.

W. Richards, Recorder.

<sup>342</sup>Petition of Samuel Gully and 9 others read[;] <sup>343</sup> rules dispensed with and Petition ordered to be granted.—<sup>344</sup>Committee on Petitions of E[dwin]. D. Wooley reported unfavorable—report accepted and Petition ordered to be laid on the table indefinitely.

Voted that the collector of the 4th Ward have an extension of 60 days for the collection of taxes for 1843.

10 minutes past 6 Council adjourned.

Truman Gillet offered his name in testimony vs W[illia]m Law.

<sup>345</sup>6 o'clock, P.M., Council adjourned.

<sup>332.</sup> NCCM [1844], 30: replaces "present" with "one here"; DHC 6:447: replaces "present" with "person"

<sup>333.</sup> NCCM [1844], 30: omits "who had been seduced ... when"

<sup>334.</sup> NCCM [1844], 30: replaces "house" with "room"

<sup>335.</sup> NCCM [1844], 31: omits "resounded"

<sup>336.</sup> NCCM [1844], 31: omits "during the scarcity ... grind"

<sup>337.</sup> NCCM [1844], 31: omits "and suppress ... mobocracy"

<sup>338.</sup> This paragraph in NCCM [1844], 31, reads: "Resolution on the printing press read and passed."

<sup>339.</sup> Source: Resolution appears in NN 2:[239], but not in NCCM [1844], 31. Cf. copy of resolution in JSLP, Bx 4, fd 11, 35 (WC).

<sup>340.</sup> MS resolution: "printing establishment"

<sup>341.</sup> DHC 6:448: omits this line

<sup>342.</sup> Following four bolded paragraphs omitted in MSHiJS, but added here from NCCM [1844], 31.

<sup>343.</sup> See NCCM, Loose Minutes, 10 June 1844, which in part reads: "We deem it expedient that the Old Barn Belonging to Dr Foster on Hyde Street, Opposite the City Surveyers Office should Be removed, in consequence of the filth in and around s[ai]d Barn we your Petitioners Believe it to be a Perfect Nuisance, and dangerous to the health of the citizens in the vicinity."

<sup>344.</sup> Remainder of paragraph added interlinearly in NCCM [1844], 31.

<sup>345.</sup> Following bolded text omitted in MSHiJS, but added here from NN 2:[239].

This certifies that the foregoing is a true and correct synopsis of proceedings of the City Council of the City of Nauvoo, on the 8th and 10th days of June, 1844, in relation to the *Nauvoo Expositor* and proprietors, as taken from the minutes of said council.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the corporate seal, at Nauvoo, this [16]th<sup>346</sup> day of June, 1844.

WILLARD RICHARDS,

Recorder and Clerk of the City Council.

The following order was immediately issued by the Mayor:—

347 State of Illinois, City of Nauvoo. ss. 348 To the Marshal of said City, greeting:

You are hereby commanded to destroy the printing press<sup>349</sup> from whence issues the *Nauvoo Expositor*, and pi the type of said printing establishment in the street, and burn all the *Expositors* and libelous handbills found in said establishment, and if resistance be offered to your execution of this order by the owners or others, demolish the house; and if anyone threatens you, or the Mayor, or the officers of the city, arrest those who threaten you, and fail not to execute this order without delay; and make due return hereon<sup>350</sup>.

By order of the City Council, JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor.

Mayor's office Nauvoo June 10th 1844.<sup>351</sup>

Marshal's return:-

<sup>352</sup>The within-named<sup>353</sup> press and type is destroyed and pied according to order, on this 10th day of June, 1844, at about 8 o'clock, p.m.

J. P. GREENE, C.M.

354HEADQUARTERS,
NAUVOO LEGION, June 10, 1844.

To Jonathan Dunham, acting Major-General of the Nauvoo Legion.

You are hereby commanded to hold the Nauvoo Legion in readiness forthwith **to assist the Marshal of said city**<sup>355</sup> to execute the city ordinances, and especially to remove the printing establishment of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, and this <sup>356</sup>you are required to do at sight, under the

<sup>346.</sup> WR's copy of *NN* used for this project has printed number of day crossed out and "10" written underneath; since WR worked on his synopsis on 15-16 June 1844, the latter day is here conjectured as the canceled number.

<sup>347.</sup> Source: MS copy of order in JSLP, Bx 4, fd 11, 35 (WC, JMc).

<sup>348.</sup> NN 2:[239], Book F-1, 85: omit "ss."

<sup>349.</sup> MS order: "printing establishment press"

<sup>350.</sup> MS order: "and write and return hereon"

<sup>351.</sup> This and previous line only in MS order.

<sup>352.</sup> Cf. copy of marshal's return in JSLP, Bx 4, fd 11, 36 (JMc).

<sup>353.</sup> MS return: "<named>"

<sup>354.</sup> *Source*: Certified copy of order in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 7-8 (JMc). Certification in WR's handwriting reads: "Endorsed[.] the within is a true copy of the original order of Lieut Gen Smith to Gen. Dunham[.] In testimony whereof I have hereto set my hand & private seal at Nauvoo June 10[,] 1844[.] W Richards Recorder C[ler]k L.S."

<sup>355.</sup> Preceding bolded text omitted in MSHiJS, but appears in MS order.

<sup>356.</sup> DHC 6:448: adds "is what"

penalty of the laws; provided the Marshal shall require it, and need your services.

JOSEPH SMITH, Lieut.-General Nauvoo Legion.

<sup>357</sup>Tuesday 11.—Spent the forenoon in council with the brethren at my house. Went to the office and **[between] 10 [a.m.] to 12 or thereabouts** conversed with my brother Hyrum, Dr. Richards, Geo[rge]. J.<sup>358</sup> Adams and others.

Instructed Bro[ther] Phelps to write a proclamation to the citizens of Nauvoo to keep quiet &c. I issued the following:—

## <sup>359</sup>PROCLAMATION.

By virtue of my office as Mayor of the city of Nauvoo, I do hereby strictly enjoin it upon the municipal officers and citizens of said city, to use all honorable and lawful means in their power to assist me in maintaining the public peace and common quiet of said city. As attempts have already been made to excite the jealousy and prejudice of the people of the surrounding country, by libels and slanderous articles upon the citizens and City Council, for the purpose of destroying the <sup>360</sup>"charter" of said city, and for the purpose of raising suspicion, wrath, and indignation among a certain class of the less honorable portion of mankind, to commit acts of violence upon the innocent and unsuspecting, in a certain newspaper called the Nauvoo Expositor, recently established for such purposes in said city, and which has been destroyed as a nuisance according to the provisions<sup>361</sup> of the charter, I further call upon every officer, authority, and citizen, to be vigilant in preventing by wisdom, the promulgation of false statements, libels, slanders, or any other malicious or evil-designed concern that may be put in operation to excite and ferment the passions of men to rebel against the rights and privileges of the city, citizens, or laws of the land; to be ready to suppress the gathering of mobs, to repel, by gentle means and noble exertion, every foul scheme of unprincipled men, to disgrace and dishonor the city, or State, or any of their legally-constituted authorities: and finally to keep the peace by being cool, considerate, virtuous, unoffending, manly, and patriotic, as the true sons of liberty ever have been; and honorably maintain the precious boon our illustrious fathers won.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said corporation at the city of  $^{362}$  Nauvoo, this 11th day of June, 1844.

[L.S.]<sup>363</sup> JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor.

<sup>364</sup>I had an interview with Elder G. J. Adams out of doors, and then returned home to dinner. At 2 p.m., I went into court. Many people were present; I talked an hour or two on passing events, the mob party, &c., and told the people I was ready to fight if the mob compelled me to; for I

<sup>357.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph based on JSj [1844], 152 (WR) (APR, 489-90). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>358.</sup> DHC 6:449: "G."

<sup>359.</sup> Source: RDft 8:58 directs scribe to copy  $NN\ 2$  (12 June 1844): [234]–[35] (PWJS, 602–3). Cf. MS copy in JScSup, fd 7, 54–55 (JMc).

<sup>360.</sup> MS copy, 1: adds "city"

<sup>361.</sup> DHC 6:449: "provision"

<sup>362.</sup> MS copy, 2: omits "the city of"

<sup>363.</sup> MS copy, 2: omits "[L.S.]"

<sup>364.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 152 (WR) (APR, 490).

would not be in bondage. I asked the assembly if they would stand by me, and they cried "YES" from all quarters. I <sup>365</sup>returned home.

<sup>366</sup>The Recorder [Willard Richards]<sup>367</sup> issued a summons for Sylvester Emmons to attend the City Council on the second Saturday in July at 10 a.m., to answer charges then and there to be preferred against him for slandering the City Council.

<sup>368</sup>Dr. Richards came to me at my room<sup>369</sup> as I was talking to my brother Hyrum, Eaton, Bonney and others, and read the following letter, [which warned us] that T. B. Johnson was about yet [and that] the [members of the Nauvoo] Municipal Court [had been] indicted [by the circuit court] from trying Jeremiah<sup>370</sup> Smith on Habeas Corpus:—

<sup>371</sup>Springfield, Illinois, June 6th, 1844.

Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith or Dr. Richards—

Gentlemen:—I arrived at this place on yesterday, safe and sound, in company with Major [Jeremiah]<sup>372</sup> Smith, who is in good health and wishes to be remembered to you and all his friends

I have just learned that T. B. Johnson, the individual who figured so large at Nauvoo, is about to present the case, or his case, before the Grand Jury at this place. This is to inform you of the fact, that you may take the necessary precaution or do what you think advisable in the case. From what I can gather, you are all to be indicted who were present in the case according to the law of the city<sup>373</sup> of Nauvoo.

I remain a friend to humanity, "equal rights" and justice to all mankind.

L. W. HICKOK.

P.S.—I have just learned that Elder Wight is in this place, and shall put this in his hands, thinking that he may act with more efficiency than the mail.

I am, &c.,

L.W.H.

## [DN 7 (30 September 1857): 233-35]

<sup>374</sup>Our communications by mail appear to be cut off, as no part of our extensive correspondence has come to hand by the U.S. mail for the last three weeks, and Dr. Hickok seems to be aware of it. I<sup>375</sup> instructed Dr. Richards to answer Dr. Hickok's letter, and then rode out ¼ **hour** with O. P. Rockwell.

I received the following letter:—

<sup>365.</sup> Book F-1. 86: adds "then"

<sup>366.</sup> Source: Based on NCCM, Rough Book [1844], 31 (WR), and/or NCCP, 212 (TB) (NCHCM, 268).

<sup>367.</sup> Brackets this editor's.

<sup>368.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 152 (WR) (APR, 490). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>369.</sup> JSj [1844], 152: replaces "room" with "home"

<sup>370.</sup> JSj [1844], 152: "<Jeremiah>"

<sup>371.</sup> Source: Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 17-20.

<sup>372.</sup> Brackets this editor's.

<sup>373.</sup> Book F-1, 86: "<of the city>" (JG)

<sup>374.</sup> Book F-1, 87: adds "[See margin.]" (RLC). The following paragraph and letter of H. T. Hugins to JS were added in margin of Book F-1, 87 (JG). *Source*: First sentence was apparently composed by the compilers to explain the comment in Hickok's postscript (see RDft 8:58); remainder of paragraph from JSj [1844], 152 (WR) (*APR*, 490). Deleted material supplied here from JSj in bold type.

<sup>375.</sup> JSj [1844], 152, DHC 6:450: omit "I"

<sup>376</sup>Springfield, Ill., June 6th, 1844.

Dear Sir:—I have just received information that T. B. Johnson is making an effort to procure from the grand jury for the United States now in session at this place an indictment against the members of your municipal court for exercising their legal and constitutional rights, and discharging their sworn duty in acting in the matter of Jeremiah Smith's petition for habeas corpus. I could hardly have supposed that he would succeed had I not been informed that there is no doubt that he will accomplish his object. I give you this information that you may be able to act as circumstances may<sup>377</sup> require. Mr. Smith has not had a hearing, and will not until<sup>378</sup> tomorrow morning.

Yours truly,

H.T. HUGINS.

Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith, Nauvoo.

<sup>379</sup>Elders J[edediah]. M. Grant and <sup>380</sup> Geo[rge]. J. Adams preached at my house in the evening. Cloudy and cool day.

The captain of the steamer *Osprey* called this forenoon at the Printing Office to see me; I rode with him to his boat, which was at the upper landing. When I came up, Charles A. Foster called the passengers to come and<sup>381</sup> see the meanest man in the world<sup>382</sup>; Mr. Eaton stopped him, and told the passengers that it was Foster who was the meanest man in the world. Rollison attempted to draw a pistol, but Eaton silenced him, and kept them all down.

<sup>383</sup>David Harvey Redfield reported that last evening while on the hill, just before the police arrived, Francis M. Higbee said, while speaking of the printing press of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, if they lay their hands upon it or break it, they may date their downfall from that very hour; and in ten days there will not be a Mormon left in Nauvoo. What they do, they may expect the same in return. Addison Everett also heard him.

<sup>384</sup>Jason R. Luse reported that Ianthus Rolf said, while the press was burning, that before three weeks the Mansion House would be strung to the ground, and he would help to do it; and Tallman Rolf said, the city would be strung to the ground within ten days. Moses Leonard also heard him, Joshua Miller being also present.

<sup>385</sup>Bryant, (merchant of Nauvoo) said before he would see such things he would wade to his knees in blood.

<sup>386</sup>It is reported that runners have gone out in all directions to try to get up a mob, and the mobbers are selling their houses in Nauvoo, and disposing of their property<sup>387</sup>.

<sup>376.</sup> Source: Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 13.

<sup>377.</sup> Book F-1, 87: "<may>" (JG)

<sup>378.</sup> DHC 6:451: "till"

<sup>379.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 152-53 (WR) (APR, 490).

<sup>380.</sup> JSj [1844], 152: omits "Elders J. M. Grant and"; Book F-1, 87 (pencil): "Elder<s> < J. M. Grant &>" (RLC)

<sup>381.</sup> DHC 6:451: omits "come and"

<sup>382.</sup> JSj [1844], 152: omits "in the world"

<sup>383.</sup> Cf. H. Redfield's testimony in NCCM [1844], Loose Minutes, 11 June 1844; another similarly worded copy is located in WR Minutes, 11 June 1844 (JSHD, Bx 1, fd 22; transcription in vol. 8,VI.18).

<sup>384.</sup> Source: This paragraph from NCCM [1844], Loose Minutes, 11 June 1844, and WR Minutes, 11 June 1844 (JSHD, Bx 1, fd 22; transcription in vol. 8,VI.18). JSj [1844], 153, is worded differently: "Ianthus and Tallman Rolf said the city would be strung to the ground in 10 days & they would help do it (by Jason R. Luce, Moses Leonard & Joshua Miller)."

<sup>385.</sup> Source: This was part of H. Redfield's testimony not mentioned in [Si [1844], 153 (see note above).

<sup>386.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 153 (WR) (APR, 490).

<sup>387.</sup> JSj [1844], 153: omits "in Nauvoo, and disposing of their property"

## 22.

# JOSEPH SMITH ARRESTED

## 12-15 June 1844

[DN 7 (30 September 1857): 233-35 (cont.)]

<sup>2</sup>A.M. [William Clayton] went to Temple office then to President Joseph's and walked with him, O[rrin]. P. R[ockwell] and J[edediah] Grant to my house and then to Temple. P.M. at President Joseph's recording. [John] Saunders Died at 1½ o'clock.

<sup>3</sup>At half-past one I was arrested by David Bettisworth on the following writ:—

<sup>4</sup>State of Illinois, Hancock County, ss.

The People of the State of Illinois to all Constables, Sheriffs, and Coroners of said State, greeting: Whereas complaint hath been made before me, one of the Justices of the Peace within and for the county of Hancock aforesaid, upon the oath of Francis M. Higbee of said county, that Joseph Smith, Samuel Bennett, John Taylor, William W. Phelps, Hyrum Smith, John P. Green[e], Stephen Perry, Dimick B. Huntington, Jonathan Dunham, Stephen Markham, William Edwards, Jonathan Holmes, Jesse P. Harmon, John Lytle, Joseph W. Coolidge, Harvey D. Redfield, Porter Rockwell, and Levi Richards, of said county, did on the 10th day of June instant commit a riot, at and within the county aforesaid, wherein they with force and violence broke into the Printing<sup>5</sup> Office of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, and unlawfully, and with force burned and destroyed the printing press, type, and fixtures of the same, being the property of William Law, Wilson Law, Charles Ivins, Francis M. Higbee, Chauncey L. Higbee, Robert D. Foster, and Charles A. Foster.

These are therefore to command you forthwith to apprehend the said Joseph Smith, Samuel Bennet[t], John Taylor, William W. Phelps, Hyrum Smith, John P. Green[e], Stephen Perry, Dimick B. Huntington, Jonathan Dunham, Stephen Markham, William Edwards, Jonathan

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Wednesday, [June] 12 [1844].—At 10 a.m., in my office.

<sup>1.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 154 (WR) (APR, 490).

<sup>2.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 12 June 1844 (IC, 132).

<sup>3.</sup> Source: WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 12 June 1844 (IC, 132), with time assumed from preceding paragraph. JSj [1844], 154, says arrest occurred "this morning".

<sup>4.</sup> *Source*: Original in JSLP, Bx 4, fd 14, 9-10 (WC) (also located in NCRc, Bx 5, fd 29, images 4-5), which includes certification of arrest of JS and others on 13 June 1844 by D. Bettisworth (see below), or copy in JScSup, fd 9, 17-18 (JT), without certification (also located in NCRc, Bx 5, fd 29, images 6-7).

<sup>5.</sup> DHC 6:453: omits "Printing"

Holmes, Jesse P. Harmon, John Lytle, Joseph W. Coolidge, Harvey D.<sup>6</sup> Redfield, Porter Rockwell, and Levi Richards, and bring them before me or some other justice of the peace to answer the premises, and further to be dealt with according to Law.

Given under my hand and seal at Carthage in the county aforesaid this eleventh day of June, A.D. 1844.

THOMAS MORRISON, J.P. (Seal.)<sup>7</sup>

<sup>8</sup>After the officer got through reading the writ, I referred him to the clause in the writ, "before me or some other justice of the peace of said county," saying, ["]we are ready to go to trial before Esquire Johnson, or any justice in Nauvoo, according to the requirements of the writ["]; but Bettisworth swore he would be damned but he would carry them to Carthage before Morrison who issued the writ, and seemed very wrathy. I asked him if he intended to break the law, for he knew the privilege of the prisoners, and they should have it. I called upon all present to witness that I then offered myself (Hyrum did the same) to go forthwith before the nearest justice of the peace; and also called upon them to witness whether the officer broke the law or not.

<sup>9</sup>I felt so indignant at his abuse in depriving me of the privilege of the statute of Illinois in going before "some other justice," that I determined to take out a writ of habeas corpus, and signed the following petition:—

```
<sup>10</sup>State of Illinois,
City of Nauvoo,
```

To the Honorable Municipal Court in and for the said city of Nauvoo:—

Your petitioner, Joseph Smith, respectfully represents that he is now under arrest in the said city of Nauvoo.

That he is in the custody of one David Bettisworth, a constable in and for <sup>11</sup> said county of Hancock, who holds your petitioner, as he says, by virtue of a warrant issued by one Tho[ma]s. Morrison, an acting justice of the peace in and for the said county of Hancock, and State of Illinois, which warrant was issued upon the affidavits <sup>12</sup> of one Francis M. Higbee, charging your petitioner with being guilty of a riot, or of having committed a riot within the county aforesaid.

Your petitioner further represents that the warrant of arrest, by virtue of which the said David Bettisworth has made this arrest, does not disclose sufficiently clear and explicit, the charge they have preferred.

Your petitioner further avers that this proceeding against him has been instituted through malice, private pique, and corruption.

Your petitioner further avers that the design and intention of the said F. M. Higbee in commencing this prosecution, is to commit and carry out<sup>13</sup> more easily a conspiracy against the life of your petitioner; <sup>14</sup>that the said Higbee has publicly declared that it was his determination to do everything in his power to throw your petitioner into the hands of his enemies, and that there is a determination upon the part of said Higbee and his unhallowed coadjutors

<sup>6.</sup> Book F-1, 87 (darker ink): "D." overwrites an illegible letter

<sup>7. &</sup>quot;[Seal]" precedes name in DHC 6:454.

<sup>8.</sup> Source: WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 12 June 1844 (IC, 132-33; NTNLF, 412; DMQP, 20).

<sup>9.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1844], 154 (WR) (APR, 490-91), with elaboration.

<sup>10.</sup> Source: Original petition in JSLP, Bx 4, fd 14, 13-18 (WR).

<sup>11.</sup> MS petition, 1:"<for>"

<sup>12.</sup> Book F-1, 88: "affidavit"

<sup>13.</sup> MS petition, 1:"<out>"

<sup>14.</sup> DHC 6:455: omits "and"

to commit an unlawful act, and to set the rights and privileges of your petitioners at defiance, and bring down upon his head this corrupt and unhallowed prosecution.

Your petitioner further avers that he is not guilty of the charge preferred against him, that he seeks an investigation before an impartial tribunal, and fears not the result.

<sup>15</sup>Your petitioner would therefore ask your honorable body to grant him the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus, that this matter may be investigated upon legal principles, and that <sup>16</sup> the legal and constitutional rights of your petitioner may be determined by your honorable body; and your petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

JOSEPH SMITH.

Subscribed and sworn to this 12th day of June, 1844, before me.

WILLARD RICHARDS, M.C.C.N.

Whereupon the clerk issued the following:—

```
<sup>17</sup>State of Illinois,
City of Nauvoo,
```

The people of the State of Illinois to the Marshal of said city, greeting:—

Whereas application has been made before the Municipal Court of said city, that the body of one Joseph Smith, of the city aforesaid, is in the custody of David Bettisworth, constable of the county of Hancock and State aforesaid<sup>18</sup>.

These are therefore to command the said David Bettisworth, constable as aforesaid, to safely have the body of said Joseph Smith, of the city aforesaid, in his custody detained, as it is said, together with the day and cause of his caption and detention by whatsoever name the said Joseph Smith may be known or called, before the Municipal Court of the said city forthwith, to abide such order as the said court shall make in his behalf. And further, if the said David Bettisworth, or other person or persons having said Joseph Smith of said city of Nauvoo, in custody, shall refuse or neglect to comply with the provisions of this writ, you, the Marshal of said city, or other person authorized to serve the same, are hereby required to arrest the person or persons so refusing or neglecting to comply, as aforesaid, and bring him or them, together with the person or persons in his or their custody, forthwith before the Municipal Court, aforesaid, to be dealt with according to law. And herein fail not, and bring this writ with you.

Witness, Willard Richards, clerk of the Municipal Court at Nauvoo, this 12th day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-four.

[Seal]<sup>19</sup> WILLARD RICHARDS,

Clerk of the Municipal Court of the city of Nauvoo.

<sup>20</sup>While this was going on and the Marshal summoning the Municipal Court, Hyrum related the whole history of the difficulty with Wm. Law to the constable and a man with him, showing them what we believed on sealing of the covenant, that Law wanted to be sealed and Joseph told

<sup>15.</sup> MS petition, 1: adds "And further that the"

<sup>16.</sup> MS petition, 1:"<that>"

<sup>17.</sup> Source: Application for habeas corpus in NCRc, Bx 5, fd 29, 8-9 (WR). This is a printed form with names, places, and dates added in blanks. A notation on back reads: "Mr J Smith before the before the municipal court June 12[.] J P. Green City Marshal."

<sup>18.</sup> MS petition, 1: "<& state aforesaid> In a warrant issued by Thomas Morrison Justice of the peace on complaint of F. M. Highee State aforesaid"

<sup>19.</sup> MS petition, 1: omits "[Seal]"

<sup>20.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 12 June 1844 (IC, 132-33; DMQP, 20).

# him he was forbid which begun the hard feelings. He talked about 2 hours, then Joseph came in and told about [Joseph] Jackson.

At 5 p.m., I appeared before the Municipal Court on the above *habeas corpus*; the following is a copy of their docket:—

```
<sup>21</sup>Special Session, June 12th, 1844. 5 o'clock, p.m.
```

Present, Alderman N. K. Whitney, Orson Spencer, Geo[rge]. W. Harris, Gustavus Hills, Elias Smith, and Samuel Bennett, associate justices. The Mayor being on trial, Geo[rge]. W. Harris was elected president pro tem.

J[ohn]. P. Greene, Marshal, made his return on the writ of habeas corpus, "the body of Joseph Smith in court." <sup>22</sup>

David<sup>23</sup> Bettisworth made his return on the copy of the warrant which was attached to the petition as follows:—"I hold the body of Joseph Smith by virtue of a writ, of which the within is a copy. D[avid]. Bettisworth, constable."<sup>24</sup>

7th section of Addenda of City Ordinance read by Councilor Geo[rge]. P. Styles. Resolution of City Council, June 10th, 1844, declaring the<sup>25</sup> Printing Establishment of the *Nauvoo Expositor* a nuisance, read. Mayor's order to the Marshal to execute the same was also read<sup>26</sup>, and Lieut.-General's order of June 10th, 1844, to Major-Gen[eral]. Dunham to assist the Marshal to destroy said printing establishment.

Theodore Turley, sworn—said that the order of the Marshal was executed quietly and peaceably, there was<sup>27</sup> no riot or disturbance, no noise, no exultation; the Marshal endeavored to keep peace and silence, and the officers did also<sup>28</sup>. The two companies under command of Dunham and Markham, retired in perfect order; no exultation or shouting. Marched in front of the Mansion, and were dismissed.

J. R. Wakefield confirmed the statements of T[heodore]. Turley; said the Marshal stated his authority and demanded the keys of the building, which Higbee denied, and Marshal ordered the door to be forced, and the press was broken, and type pied in the street.

James Jackson sworn—confirmed the statements of previous witnesses; heard no noise on opening the door, most of the confusion he heard was Higbee and his company throwing blackguard language<sup>29</sup> to the posse, which they did not regard; saw the whole proceedings till they were dismissed—all was done in order. Higbee's blackguard language<sup>30</sup> was not answered to at all by the ranks; heard nothing said about shooting; heard some one damn the city authorities; understood it was Charles Foster. I am<sup>31</sup> a stranger in this place.

<sup>21.</sup> Source: RDft 8:60 directs scribe to copy transcript from NMCDB, 108-10 (WR). Cf. MS original in NCRc, Bx 5, fd 29, images 16-21 (JMc), endorsed by WR as a "true synopsis," 20 June 1844.

<sup>22.</sup> NMCDB, 108: adds "(which writ with the return thereon is on file)".

<sup>23.</sup> MS original, 1:"D."; NMCDB, 108:"D<avid>"

<sup>24.</sup> MS original, 1, reads: "attached to the petition. all of which are on file.—showing that said joseph Smith was arrested—on a writ issued by Thomas Morrison J.P. on complaint of Francis M. Higbee"; NMCDB, 108, reads: "all of which are on file <as follows (see file) I hold (copy) constable> showing that said Joseph Smith was arrested on a writ issued by Thomas Morrison J. P. on complaint of Francis M. Higbee."

<sup>25.</sup> DHC 6:456: omits "the"

<sup>26.</sup> MS original, 2: omits "was also read"; NMCDB, 108 (pencil): "{\was also read/}"

<sup>27.</sup> MS original, 2: omits "there was"; NMCDB, 108: "<there was>"

<sup>28.</sup> MS original, 2: replaces "also" with "the same"

<sup>29.</sup> MS original, 2: omits "language"; NMCDB, 109: "<language>"

<sup>30.</sup> MS original, 2: omits "language"; NMCDB, 109: "<language>"

<sup>31.</sup> MS original, 3: omits "I am"; NMCDB, 109: "was <I am>"

John Kay, Robert Clift, Augustus<sup>32</sup> A. Farnham<sup>33</sup>, Joseph A. Kelting,<sup>34</sup> H[enry].<sup>35</sup> G. Sherwood, Augustus Stafford, Cyrus Canfield, John Gleason, sworn.

H[enry]. G. Sherwood confirmed the statement<sup>36</sup> of previous witnesses. Pullin called for Dr. Foster, and the officer commanded silence. Francis M. Higbee's threats have been lavish towards Gen[eral]. Smith and Hyrum<sup>37</sup> for a long time; has threatened injury upon them and the<sup>38</sup> property of the Smiths; his conspiracies and threats have not been a little.<sup>39</sup>

O[rrin]. P. Rockwell sworn—some three or four weeks ago, said F[rancis]. M. Higbee said he would go his death against Joseph and Hyrum Smith; Francis said, "I know my course is 40 wrong, but if I stop I shall get hell, and if I go on I shall get only hell," and would do what he intended at the risk of his life, and would destroy the General, if possible; said the council had ordered the press destroyed, and "who lays his hands on the press it is death to them." Witness has frequently heard Higbee tell lies about the General to injure his character.

John Hughes, Joseph Dalton, William Clayton, and James Goff sworn<sup>41</sup>. John Hughes said Higbee said, "by God, all I want to live for is to see this city sunk down to the lowest hell, and by God it shall." This was just<sup>42</sup> previous to the Marshal's arriving on the 10th. <sup>43</sup>W[illia]m. Clayton said two years this June, Francis M. Higbee confessed he was concerned with J[ohn]. C. Bennett in his iniquity, and had a bad disorder; said he knew his character was ruined. From time to time since that witness knew Higbee had been threatening General Smith's character and property.

 $[...]^{44}$ 

Leonard Soby heard Higbee threaten to shoot Gen[eral]. Smith at Rolli[n]son's store, and Higbee said the destinies of this people are this day sealed in the archives of heaven, and there shall not be left one stone upon another on that Temple.

John P. McEwan<sup>45</sup>—Higbee said in reference to Joseph Smith, "God damn<sup>46</sup> him, I will shoot him; **and Hyrum Smith, God damn him, I will shoot him,**<sup>47</sup> and all that pertains to him, and before ten suns shall go over our heads, the Temple, Nauvoo House, and Mansion, shall all be destroyed, and it will be the total downfall of this community<sup>48</sup>."

Cyrus Canfield<sup>49</sup>: Higbee said he would never let things go till he had accomplished the downfall of Gen[eral]. Smith; that he did not value his life to produce the downfall of Gen[eral]. Smith.

```
32. MS original, 3: "A."; NMCDB, 109: "A<ugustus>"
```

<sup>33.</sup> MS original, 3: "Fairnham"

<sup>34.</sup> MS original, 3: omits "Joseph A. Kelting"

<sup>35.</sup> NMCDB, 109: "H<enry>"

<sup>36.</sup> DHC 6:457: "statements"

<sup>37.</sup> NMCDB, 109: "<& Hyrum>"

<sup>38.</sup> NMCDB, 109: "their"

<sup>39.</sup> NMCDB, 109: adds "Higbee represented that there should"

<sup>40.</sup> NMCDB, 109: "is" overwrites "was"

<sup>41.</sup> MS original, 3:"<sworn>"; NMCDB, 109:" William Clayton sworn and James Goff <sworn>"

<sup>42.</sup> MS original, 3: omits "This was"; NMCDB, 109: "<This was just>"

<sup>43.</sup> MS original, 3: adds "inst[ant]"

<sup>44.</sup> NMCDB, 109: "Joseph A [Kilting?] Higbee at Cincinnatti"

<sup>45.</sup> MS original, 4: adds "sworn"; NMCDB, 110: "McCuen < Ewan >"

<sup>46.</sup> DHC 6:457:"G— d—"

<sup>47.</sup> DHC 6:457: omits "and Hyrum Smith ... him"

<sup>48.</sup> NMCDB, 110: "<community>"

<sup>49.</sup> MS original, 4, NMCDB, 110: add "sworn"; Book F-1, 90: "sworn"

Joseph Dalton<sup>50</sup>: Higbee said if they laid their hands on the press, from that hour they might date their downfall; that ten suns should not roll over their heads till the city was destroyed.

Court decided that Joseph Smith had acted under proper authority in destroying the establishment of the *Nauvoo Expositor* on the 10th inst.; that his orders were executed in an orderly and judicious manner, without noise or tumult; that this was a malicious prosecution on the part of F[rancis]. M. Higbee, and that said Higbee pay the costs of suit, and that Joseph Smith be honorably discharged from the accusations and of the writ, and go hence without delay<sup>51</sup>.

## <sup>52</sup>Discharged at 8. Rain this night.

I received the following letter:—

```
53Eldorado, Union Co[unty]., Arkansas,
May 4th, 1844.

To Gen[eral].54 Joseph Smith, of Nauvoo, Illinois:
```

Reverend Sir:—Last winter, while in the State of Mississippi, I became acquainted with one of your missionaries who was laboring at the time in that State. Also, at the same time I had an opportunity of perusing some of your sacred books, and from what I have been able to learn, as well from reading as from observation, I am constrained to be very favorably impressed

towards the new doctrine; although to me it certainly appears quite novel, yet I cannot do otherwise than believe there is great reality in it, so much so indeed, that I am extremely anxious to become better informed on this all important, and truly vital matter.

And, moreover, I am not the only one in this part who is an ardent seeker after truth; indeed the subject is beginning to produce a great deal of inquiry and some excitement in this county; hundreds who never before heard of the new Revelation are opening their eyes, and staring and gaping to know more about it.

Some few days ago several emigrants arrived here from Mississippi, who speak in the highest terms of the Latter Day Saints. Their report has greatly increased the inquiry and excitement previously going the rounds in this quarter. I hear a number speak of visiting Nauvoo, some of taking their families with them, and so remain there. But it is the general wish of a great many here in Union County for you to send a minister here immediately to instruct us and lead us more fully into the light of this wonderful and new revealed religion, and direct us into the true road to salvation.

This is the only subject on which my thoughts dwell both day and night, for indeed, during my waking hours nothing diverts my meditation from this absorbing topic, and while asleep I dream of nothing else.

If you please, be so good as to send a laborer among us immediately, for indeed the harvest is great, and the laborers but few, or none at all. I have not the least doubt but that a Latter Day Saint would succeed here as well as the most sanguine could promise himself; his labors, I am sure, would be crowned with success, and the salvation of many a precious, yet perishing soul, might be rescued from death, and prove the rich fruits of the missionary's toil.

The principal denominations here are the Methodists, Baptists, and Campbellites. A great many of the people, however, are non-professors, the greater majority of whom are quite moral, and many of them religiously inclined.

<sup>50.</sup> Book F-1, 90: adds "sworn"

<sup>51.</sup> MS original, 5, NMCDB, 110: "de[la]y" or "day"

<sup>52.</sup> Source: From unused portion of JSj [1844], 154 (WR) (APR, 491).

<sup>53.</sup> Source: Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 7, 5-8.

<sup>54.</sup> MS letter, 1 (pencil): "His Holiness <Genl.>" (JG)

I shall look for a minister from you within two or three months; when he does come I will see that he is hospitably received and entertained.

Your obedient and humble servant,

WASHINGTON TUCKER.

To which I wrote the following reply:—

<sup>55</sup>Nauvoo, Ill[inois]., June 12th, 1844.

Sir:—Your letter, dated May 4th, has reached me, and its contents duly considered. A multiplicity of business keeps me from writing as freely to correspondents as I could wish; still my heart is large enough for all men, and my sensibilities keen enough to have compassion for every case when justice, mercy, virtue, or humanity, requires it; be pleased to accept my thanks for your very kind letter; study the Bible, and as many of our books as you can get; pray to the Father in the name of Jesus Christ, have faith in the promises made to the fathers, and your mind will be guided to the *truth*. An elder shall be sent as soon as the "Twelve" can make the necessary arrangements.

In the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ,

I am your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

Washington Tucker, Eldorado<sup>56</sup>, Arkansas.

The Editor of the Neighbor writes:

## <sup>57</sup>RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE.

A knot of base men, to further their wicked and malicious designs towards the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and to bolster up the intents of *blacklegs and bogus-makers*, and advocate the characters of murderers, established a press in this city last week, and issued a paper entitled the *Nauvoo Expositor*. The prospectus showed an intention to destroy the charter, and the paper was filled with libels and slanderous articles upon the citizens and city council from one end to the other.

"A burnt child dreads the fire"; the church as a body and individually has suffered till "forbearance has ceased to be a virtue"; the cries and pleadings of men, women and children, with the authorities were, "Will you suffer that servile, murderous <sup>58</sup>paper to go on, and vilify and slander the innocent inhabitants of this city, and raise another *mob* to drive and plunder us again as they did in Missouri?" Under these pressing cries and supplications of afflicted innocence, and in the character, dignity, and honor of the corporate powers of the charter, as granted to the city of Springfield, and made and provided as a part of our charter for legislative purposes, viz: "to declare what shall be a nuisance and to prevent and remove the same," the city council of Nauvoo on Monday the 10th inst[ant]., declared the establishment and Expositor a nuisance; and the city marshal at the head of the police in the evening took the press, materials and paper into the street and burnt them.

And in the name of freemen, and in the name of God, we beseech all men who have the spirit of honor in them, to cease from persecuting us, collectively or individually. Let us enjoy

<sup>55.</sup> Source: Copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 9-10 (JMc) (PWJS, 606).

<sup>56.</sup> MS letter, 1: "Edward"

<sup>57.</sup> Source: NN 2 (12 June 1844): [234].

<sup>58.</sup> NN 2:[234]: adds "intended"

our religion, rights and peace, like the rest of mankind. Why start presses to destroy rights and privileges, and bring upon us mobs to plunder and murder? We ask no more than what belongs to us—the *rights of Americans*.

<sup>59</sup>I copy from the St. Louis Gazette:

#### THE TEMPLE OF NAUVOO.

Ascending an acclivity somewhat abrupt, and turning to the right, you are at the site of the Temple. The foundation is entirely of stone, constructed in the most massive manner, and the <sup>60</sup>superstructure is to be of the same material and construction. The dimensions are perhaps 130 feet by 90, and the edifice is to have three stories of some 20 feet each in altitude. The spire is to be about one hundred feet higher than the walls, or 160 feet from the ground. The appearance presented by this edifice in the diagram model, which was shown me by the Prophet, is grand and imposing.

The tower, the casements, the doors, and all the prominent parts of the edifice are to be richly ornamented, both within and without, but in a style of architecture which no Greek, nor Goth, nor Frank ever dreamed. I will be bound to affirm; indeed, as I learned from the lips of the Prophet himself, the style of architecture is exclusively his own, and must be known henceforth and forever I suppose as the "Mormon order!"

The external layer of stone is dressed with considerable neatness, and each of the range of <sup>61</sup> pilasters by which it is ornamented, bears upon it a sculptural representation of the crescent, with the profile of a man's face in strong relief, much in the style of that edifying picture of the moon you may have been wont to admire, as well as myself, in the primer when a boy! The effect of this image is semi-solemn, semi-laughable, and certainly more than semi-singular.

In the workshop beside the structure, in which a large number of stone cutters are employed, may be seen divers other carvings on stone, designed for the holy edifice, still more novel than that I have named. Among them are suns, full moons, and half the constellations of the firmament, to say nothing of the human faces of expression weird enough for an English<sup>62</sup> obelisk. There are 75 or 100 of the fraternity zealously at work at the present time hewing stone or laying it for the Temple, all other public<sup>63</sup> improvements being in perfect abeyance that the<sup>64</sup> greatest and holiest of all may advance.

The walls of the structure are about two feet in depth, and the solidity of the buttresses and the port-hole aspect of the basement apertures for windows, led the pile more the appearance of a fortalice than a sanctuary. It has three entrances all on the west front. On each side of the main entrance is an apartment perfectly circular without window or loophole, or division of any kind, designed for some vestibular purpose, which none of our party could divine. At the eastern extremity is a large arched window, and here no doubt is to stand the altar.

The basement story, as you look down into it, reminds you more of a wine cellar, with its dozen apartments or crypts, each divided from the other by ponderous masonry.

<sup>59.</sup> Following introduction and article from the *St. Louis Gazette* appear in MSHiJS and *DN*, but omitted in DHC 6:460. *Source*: "The Temple," *NN* 2 (12 June 1844): [233].

<sup>60.</sup> NN 2:[233]: adds "same"; Book F-1, 92: "same"

<sup>61.</sup> Book F-1, 93: "<range of>" (JG)

<sup>62.</sup> NN 2:[233], Book F-1, 93: "Egyptian"

<sup>63.</sup> Book F-1, 93: "<public>" (JG)

<sup>64.</sup> NN 2:[233], Book F-1, 93: replace "the" with "this"

In the center of the basement, resting upon the backs of eight white oxen carved from wood with passable skill, stands the baptismal font, a rectangular box of some twelve feet square, and half as many in depth.

From each side of this box appear the heads and shoulders of two oxen up to their knees in brick work, with most inexpressive eyes, most extensive ears, a remarkable longitude of face, and a protrusion of horns perfectly prodigious with a single exception, one horn of one unhappy ox having been torn off by some more than usually rude grasp at the "altar!" The effect of all this is of a character somewhat mixed.

It is certainly a little startling in the dim religious duskiness of the spot, to stumble upon these eight white oxen, standing so still, and stiff, and stark, and solemn, with their great stony eyes staring sternly at you for the intrusion; and yet, the first inclination, after recovering from your surprise is to laugh, and that most heartily. The idea of this font seems to have been revealed to the prophet directly by the plan of the molten sea of Solomon's Temple, which we are told in the old scriptures, stood upon twelve oxen, three looking to the north, three to the south, three to the east, and three to the west; all their hinder parts inward.

This Mormon Temple, should it ever be complete—and it has been three years reaching its second floor, will certainly present one of the most extraordinary architectural structures since the era of the erection of the massive sanctuaries of the Nile—of descriptions of the ruins of which the spectator is by this reminded! Its interior structure and arrangement, we were informed by the prophet, had not been decided on—(he did not tell me "had not yet been revealed to him," as he did to many others) and indeed he was by no means certain he should erect the edifice externally in accordance with the plan proposed and published.

The view of the roofs and streets of the city beneath, the farms and fields away to the north and east, the river winding its dark and serpentine course in front, the long and low wooded island lying midway of the stream, the little village of Montrose, on the opposite shore, and far away in the distance, blue along the western horizon, the retreating, undulating hills of Iowa—all these objects are spread out like a map before the eye, at a coup d'oeil, from the walls of the Temple; and the scene is as grand as it is beautiful.

<sup>65</sup>Thursday, 13.—At nine, a.m., presided in Municipal Court, which sat in the Seventies' Hall<sup>66</sup>. Present, William Marks, N[ewel]. K. Whitney, Geo[rge]. W. Harris, Gustavus Hills, and Elias Smith, associate justices.<sup>67</sup> Hyrum Smith, John P. Greene, William W. Phelps, Stephen Markham, Harvey D. Redfield, John Lytle, Dimick B. Huntington, John Taylor, Levi Richards,<sup>68</sup> Stephen Perry, Jonathan H. Holmes, Jonathan Dunham, Samuel Bennett, and William W. Edwards were arrested on the complaint of Francis M. Higbee, before Thomas Morrison, J. P., of Carthage, by David Bettisworth, a<sup>69</sup> constable of Hancock County. They petitioned for and obtained a writ of habeas corpus. I sat as chief-justice, William Marks, N[ewel]. K. Whitney, Geo[rge]. W. Harris, Gustavus Hills, and Elias Smith, as associate justices.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>65.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1844], 155 (WR) (APR, 491), with details from NMCDB, 111-12 (WR) (transcription in vol. 8,VI.5). Cf. NCRc, Bx 5, fd 30.

<sup>66.</sup> JSj [1844], 155: "<at 70s Hall>"

<sup>67.</sup> Preceding sentence based on information from NMCDB.

<sup>68. &</sup>quot;Stephen Markham ... Levi Richards" from NMCDB.

<sup>69.</sup> DHC 6:461: omits "a"

<sup>70.</sup> Preceding sentence from NMCDB.

<sup>71</sup>Addison Everett and James Jackson gave their testimony under oath, when they were all honorably discharged from the accusations and arrest, the court deciding that said Higbee pay the costs; whereupon execution was issued for the amount.

<sup>72</sup>[In the]<sup>73</sup> evening, I attended meeting in the Seventies' Hall; Geo[rge]. J. Adams preached, and I made some observations afterwards, and related a dream which I had a short time since. I thought I was riding out in my carriage, and my guardian angel was along with me; we went past the Temple, and had not gone much further before we espied two large snakes so fast locked together that neither of them had any power. I inquired of my guide what I was to understand by that; he answered, "those snakes represent Dr. Foster and Chauncey L. Higbee—they are your enemies and desire to<sup>74</sup> destroy you, but you see they are so fast locked together that they have no power of themselves to hurt you." I then thought I was riding up Mullholland Street, but my guardian angel was not along with me. On arriving at the prairie, I was overtaken and seized by William and Wilson Law and others, saying, "Ah, ah! we have got you at last, we will secure you and put you in a safe place"; and without any ceremony, dragged me out of my carriage, tied my hands behind me, and threw me into a deep dry pit, where I remained in a perfectly helpless condition, and they<sup>75</sup> went away. While struggling to get out I heard Wilson Law screaming for help hard by; I managed to unloose myself so as to make a spring, when I caught hold of some grass which grew at the edge of the pit.

I looked out of the pit and saw Wilson Law at a little distances attacked by ferocious wild beasts, and heard him cry out, "Oh brother Joseph, come and save me." I replied, "I cannot, for you have put me into this deep pit." On looking out another way I saw William Law with outstretched tongue, blue in the face, and the green poison forced out of his mouth, caused by the coiling of a large snake around<sup>76</sup> his body; it had also grabbed him by the arm a little above the elbow, ready to devour him. He cried out in the intensity of his agony, "Oh brother Joseph, brother Joseph, come and save me, or I die." I also replied to him, "I cannot, William—I would willingly, but you have tied me and put me in this pit, and I am powerless to help you or liberate myself." In a short time after, my guide came and said aloud "Joseph, Joseph! what are you doing there?" I replied, "My enemies fell upon me, bound me, and threw me in." He then took me by the hand, drew me out of the pit, set me free, and we went away rejoicing.

<sup>77</sup>Two of the brethren arrived this evening from Carthage, and said that about 300 mobbers were assembled there, with the avowed intention of coming against Nauvoo. Also that Hamilton was paying a dollar per bushel for corn to feed their animals<sup>78</sup>, and Jacob B. Backenstos clerk of the court had trail against us. Rain.

<sup>79</sup>The following was published in the Warsaw Signal Office; I insert it as a specimen of the

<sup>71.</sup> Source: Based on NMCDB, 111-12 (WR) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.5). Cf. NCRc, Bx 5, fd 30.

<sup>72.</sup> Source: First part of paragraph ("evening ... observations afterwards") from JSj [1844], 155 (WR) (APR, 491). The remainder of this and next paragraph inserted by JG at eoln and in the margin of Book F-1, 94, sometime after he wrote this page, between ca. 9 Apr.-7 June 1856 (see MSHi Chronology), and before it was published on 30 Sept. 1857. It was taken from a statement by Miles Romney (see MR; and transcription in vol. 8, VI.34). See also DJ, 7 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.33).

<sup>73.</sup> DHC 6:461: adds "In the"

<sup>74.</sup> Book F-1, 94: "<desire to>" (JG)

<sup>75.</sup> Book F-1, 94: "<they>" (JG)

<sup>76.</sup> Book F-1, 94: "round"

<sup>77.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 155 (WR) (APR, 491), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>78.</sup> JSj [1844], 155: omits "to feed their animals"

<sup>79.</sup> Source: Following introduction apparently composed by compilers in RDft 8:60 (JG) about Nov. 1855 (see RDft Chronology).

unparalleled corruption and diabolical falsehood, of  $^{80}$  which the human race has become capable in this generation:—

<sup>81</sup>At a mass meeting of the citizens of Hancock County, convened at Carthage on the 13th day of June, 1844, Mr. Knox was appointed President, John Doty and Lewis F. Evans, Vice Presidents, and William Y. Head, Secretary.

Henry Stephens, Esq., presented the following resolutions passed at a meeting of the citizens of Warsaw, and urged the adoption of them as the sense of this meeting:—

#### PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.

WHEREAS, information has reached us, about which there can be no question, that the authorities of Nauvoo did recently pass an ordinance declaring a Printing Press and Newspaper published by the opponents of the Prophet, a nuisance, and in pursuance thereof, did direct the Marshal of the city, and his adherents, to enter by force the building from whence the paper was issued, and violently (if necessary) to take possession of the press and printing materials, and thereafter to burn and destroy the same. And WHEREAS, in pursuance of said ordinance, the Marshal and his adherents, together with a mob of Mormons, did after sunset on the evening of the 10th inst[ant]., violently enter said building in a tumultuous manner, burn and destroy the press and other materials found on the premises.

And WHEREAS, Hyrum Smith did in presence of the City Council, and the citizens of Nauvoo, offer a reward for the destruction of the printing press and materials of the *Warsaw Signal*,—a newspaper also opposed to his interest<sup>82</sup>.

And WHEREAS the liberty of the press is one of the cardinal principles of our Government, firmly guaranteed by the several constitutions of the States, as well as the United States.

And WHEREAS, Hyrum Smith has within the last week publicly threatened the life of one of our valued citizens, THO[MA]S. C. SHARP, the editor of the *Signal*.

Therefore, be it solemnly

Resolved, By the citizens of Warsaw in public meeting assembled, That, we view the recent ordinance of the city of Nauvoo, and the proceedings thereunder, as an outrage, of an alarming character, revolutionary and tyrannical in its<sup>83</sup> tendency, and being under color of law, as calculated to subvert and destroy in the minds of the community all reliance on the law.

Resolved, That as a community, we feel anxious, when possible, to redress our grievances by legal remedies; but the time has now arrived, when the law has ceased to be a protection to our lives and property; a mob at Nauvoo, under a city ordinance, has violated the highest privilege in our <sup>84</sup> Government, and to seek redress in the ordinary mode would be utterly ineffectual.

Resolved, That the public threat made in the council of the city, not only to destroy our Printing Press, but to take the life of its Editor, is sufficient, in connection with the recent outrage, to command the efforts and the services of every good citizen, to put an immediate stop to the career of the mad Prophet and his demoniac coadjutors. We must not only defend ourselves from danger, but we must resolutely carry the war into the enemy's camp. We do therefore declare, that we will sustain our Press and the Editor, at all hazards. That we will take full vengeance,—terrible vengeance, should the lives of any of our citizens be lost in the effort. That

<sup>80.</sup> Book F-1, 94: "<of>" (JG)

<sup>81.</sup> Source: Warsaw Signal "Extra" 1 (14 June 1844): [1]; or Warsaw Signal 1 (19 June 1844): [1].

<sup>82.</sup> DHC 6:463: "interests"

<sup>83.</sup> DHC 6:463: omits "its"

<sup>84.</sup> DHC 6:463: omits "our"

we hold ourselves at all times in readiness to co-operate with our fellow-citizens in this State, Missouri and Iowa, *to exterminate*, UTTERLY EXTERMINATE, the wicked and abominable Mormon leaders, the authors of our troubles.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed forthwith to notify all persons in our township suspected of being the tools of the Prophet, to leave immediately on pain of INSTANT VENGEANCE. And we do recommend the inhabitants of the adjacent townships to do the same, hereby pledging ourselves to render all the assistance they may require.

Resolved, That the time, in our opinion has arrived, when the adherents of Smith, as a body, should be driven from the surrounding settlements, into Nauvoo, That the Prophet and his miscreant adherents should then he demanded at their hands, and if not surrendered, A WAR OF EXTERMINATION SHOULD BE WAGED, to the entire destruction, if necessary for our protection, of his adherents. And we do hereby recommend this resolution to the consideration of the several townships, to the Mass Convention to be held at Carthage; hereby pledging ourselves to aid, to the utmost, the complete consummation of the object in view, that we may thereby be utterly relieved of the alarm, anxiety, and trouble, to which we are now subjected.

Resolved, That every citizen arm himself to be prepared to sustain the resolutions herein contained.

Mr. Roosevelt rose and made a brief but eloquent speech; and called upon the citizens throughout the country to render efficient aid in carrying out the spirit of the resolutions. Mr. Roosevelt then moved a committee of seven be appointed by the chair to draft resolutions expressive of our action in future.

Mr. Catlin moved to amend the motion of Mr. Roosevelt, so that the committee should consist of one from each precinct, which motion, as amended, was adopted.

The chair then appointed the following:—Col. Levi Williams, Rocky Run Precinct; Joel Catlin, Augusta; Sam[ue]l. Williams, Carthage; Elisha Worrell, Chili; Capt[ain]. Maddison, St. Mary's; John M. Ferris, Fountain Green; James Rice, Pilot Grove; John Carns, Bear Creek; C. L. Higbee, Nauvoo; Geo[rge]. Robinson, La Harpe; and Geo[rge]. Rockwell, Warsaw, were appointed said committee.

On motion of Mr. Sympson, Walter Bagby, Esq., was requested to address the meeting during the absence of the committee. He spoke long and eloquently upon the cause of our grievances, and expressed his belief that the time was now at hand when we were individually and collectively called upon to repel the innovations upon our liberties; and suggested that points be designated as places of encampment at which to rendezvous our forces—that we may be ready when called upon for efficient action.

Dr. Barnes, one of the persons who went with the officers to Nauvoo for the purpose of arresting the rioters, having just arrived, came into the meeting, and reported the result of their proceedings—which was, that the persons charged in the writs were duly arrested, but taken from the officers' hands on a writ of *habeas corpus* from the municipal court, and discharged, and the following potent words entered upon the records—HONORABLY DISCHARGED<sup>85</sup>.

On motion of O. C. Skinner, Esq., a vote of thanks was tendered to Dr. Barnes for volunteering his services in executing said writs.

Francis M. Higbee was now loudly called for. He stated his personal knowledge of the Mormons from their earliest history, throughout their hellish career in Missouri and this State—which has been characterized by the darkest and most diabolical deeds which has ever disgraced humanity.

The committee appointed to draft resolutions brought in the following report, which after some considerable discussion was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, the officer charged with the execution of a writ against Joseph Smith and others, for riot in the county of Hancock, which said writ said officer has served upon said Smith and others—and whereas said Smith and others refuse to obey the mandate of said writ—and whereas, in the opinion of this meeting it is impossible for said officer to raise a posse of sufficient strength to execute said writ—and whereas, it is the opinion of this meeting that the riot is still progressing, and that violence is meditated and determined on; it is the opinion of this meeting that the circumstances of the case require the interposition of executive power: Therefore,

Resolved, That a deputation of two discreet men be sent to Springfield to solicit such interposition.

2nd, *Resolved*, That said deputation be furnished with a certified copy of the<sup>86</sup> resolution—and be authorized to obtain evidence by affidavit<sup>87</sup> and otherwise in regard to the violence which has already been committed, and is still further meditated.

Dr. Evans here arose and expressed his wish that the above resolutions would not retard our operations—but that we would each one arm and equip ourselves forthwith.

The resolutions passed at Warsaw were<sup>88</sup> again read by Dr. Barnes, and passed by acclamation.

On motion of A. Sympson, Esq., the suggestion of Mr. Bagby appointing places of encampment was adopted, to wit: Warsaw, Carthage, Green Plains, Spilman's Landing, Chili and La Harpe.

On motion, O. C. Skinner and Walter Bagby, Esqs., were appointed a committee to bear the resolutions adopted by this meeting to his Excellency the Governor, requiring his executive interposition.

On motion of J. H. Sherman, a Central Corresponding Committee was appointed.

Ordered<sup>89</sup>, That J. H. Sherman, H. T. Wilson, Chaunc[e]y Robinson, W[illia]m. S. Freeman, Tho[ma]s. Morrison, F. M. Higbee, Lyman Prentiss and Stephen H. Tyler, be said committee.

On motion of Geo[rge]. Rockwell,

*Resolved*, That constables in the different precincts hold themselves in readiness to obey the officer in possession of the writs, whenever called upon, in summoning the posse.

On motion the meeting adjourned.

```
JOHN KNOX, President,
JOHN DOTY,
LEWIS F. EVANS,

Vice Presidents.
```

W.Y. Head, Secretary.

<sup>90</sup>Friday, 14.—A.M. conversing with a number of gentleman in the Bar room concerning the proceedings of our enemies. He prophesied in the name of the Lord that if they did mob us it would be a precedent to come down upon their own heads with fury and vengeance.

<sup>91</sup>Wrote to Governor Ford **explaining about the removal of the Nauvoo Expositor** as follows:—

<sup>86.</sup> Warsaw Signal, Book F-1, 96: replace "the" with "this"

<sup>87.</sup> DHC 6:465: "affidavits"

<sup>88.</sup> Warsaw Signal: "was"; Book F-1, 96 (pencil): "was<ere>" (US)

<sup>89.</sup> DHC 6:466: "Order"

<sup>90.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 14 June 1844 (IC, 133; DMQP, 20).

<sup>91.</sup> Source: [Sj [1844], 156 (WR) (APR, 491). Deleted material supplied here in bold type; italic added.

<sup>92</sup>Nauvoo, June 14th, 1844.

His Excellency Thomas Ford:—

Sir:—I write you this morning briefly to inform you of the facts relative to the removal of the press and fixtures of the *Nauvoo Expositor* as a nuisance.

The 8th and 10th instant were spent by the city council of Nauvoo, in receiving testimony concerning the character of the *Expositor*, and the character and designs of the proprietors.

In the investigation it appeared evident to the council that the proprietors were a set of unprincipled<sup>93</sup>, lawless, debauchees, counterfeiters bogus-makers, gamblers, peace-disturbers, and that the grand object of said proprietors was to destroy our constitutional rights and chartered privileges; to overthrow all good and wholesome regulations in society; to strengthen themselves against the municipality; to fortify themselves against the church of which I am a member, and destroy all our religious rights and privileges, by libels, slanders, falsehoods, perjury, &c.; and<sup>94</sup> sticking at no corruption to accomplish their hellish purposes, and that said paper of itself was libelous of the deepest dye, and very injurious as a vehicle of defamation; tending to corrupt the morals, and disturb the peace, tranquility, and happiness of the whole community, and especially that of Nauvoo.

After a long and patient investigation of the character<sup>95</sup> of the *Expositor*, and the characters and designs<sup>96</sup> of its proprietors, the constitution, the charter (see addenda to Nauvoo charter from the Springfield charter, sec. 7) and all the best authorities on the subject (see <sup>97</sup>Blackstone <sup>98</sup>iii, 5, and n. &c., &c.) The city council decided that it was necessary for the "peace, benefit, good order, and regulations" of said city, "and for the protection of property," and for "the happiness and prosperity of the citizens of Nauvoo," that said *Expositor* should be removed; and declaring said *Expositor* a nuisance, ordered the Mayor to cause them to be removed without delay, which order was committed to the Marshal by due process, and by him executed the same day, by removing the paper, press, and fixtures into the streets, and burning the same; all which was done without riot, noise, tumult, or confusion, as has already been proved before the municipality of the city; and the particulars of the whole transaction may be expected in our next *Nauvoo Neighbor*.

I send you this hasty sketch that your Excellency may be aware of the lying reports that are now being circulated by our enemies, that there has been a "mob at Nauvoo," and "blood and thunder," and "swearing that two men were killed,["] &c., &c., as we hear from abroad, are false—false as Satan himself could invent, and that nothing has been transacted here but what has been in perfect accordance with the strictest principles of law and good order on the part of the authorities of this city; and if your Excellency is not satisfied, and shall not be satisfied, after reading the whole proceedings, which will be forthcoming soon, and shall demand an investigation of our municipality before Judge Pope or any legal tribunal at the Capitol, you have only to write your wishes and we will be forthcoming; we will not trouble you to fill a writ or send an officer for us.

I remain as ever, a friend of truth, good order,

And your Excellency's humble servant,  ${\sf JOSEPH~SMITH}.$ 

<sup>92.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 11-14 (JMc) (PWJS, 604-5). Regarding this letter, WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 14 June 1844 (DMQP, 20), records: "He [JS] ordered Dr Richards to write a letter to the Governor giving him the particulars of the proceedings of the City Council in relation to declaring the press of the Expositor a nuisance." WR also recorded on 14 June 1844 that he "wrote letter to Governor Ford" (WRj 10:19).

<sup>93.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "men"

<sup>94.</sup> MS letter, 1: omits "&c.; and"; Book F-1, 97: "<and>" (pos. JG)

<sup>95.</sup> DHC 6:467: omits "of the character"

<sup>96.</sup> DHC 6:467: "character and design"

<sup>97.</sup> DHC 6:467: adds "Chitty's"

<sup>98.</sup> DHC 6:467: adds "B[oo]k"

### [DN 7 (7 October 1857): 241-43]

The following letters were also written:

<sup>99</sup>Nauvoo, June 14th, 1844.

To His Excellency Gov[ernor]. Ford:

Sir:—Though I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance with you, I take the liberty of stating to you, that I arrived here from the city of New York about a year since, where I was engaged in the practice of medicine for many years, that Gen[eral]. Smith's letter to you of this date has been read in my hearing, that the statement contained therein, in relation to the proceedings of the municipal authorities for the removal of the press whence issued a scandalous sheet entitled the *Nauvoo Expositor*, are correct, having been an eye- and ear-witness of them.

The whole affair was conducted by the city marshal and his posse in the most quiet and orderly manner, without the least noise, riot, or tumult; and when the nuisance was abated they immediately 100 retired and 101 were dismissed.

Having been a boarder in Gen[eral]. Smith's family for more than nine months, and having therefore had abundant opportunities of contemplating his character, and observing his conduct, I have concluded to give you a few of my "impressions" of him.

Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith is naturally a man of strong mental powers, and is possessed of much energy and decision of character, great penetration, and a profound knowledge of human nature. He is a man of calm judgment, enlarged views, and is eminently distinguished by his love of justice. He is kind and obliging, generous and benevolent, sociable and cheerful, and is possessed of a mind of a contemplative and reflective character; he is honest, frank, fearless, and independent, and as free from dissimulation as any man to be found.

But it is in the gentle charities of domestic life, as the tender and affectionate husband and parent, the warm and sympathizing friend, that the prominent traits of his character are revealed, and his heart is felt to be keenly alive to the kindest and softest emotions of which human nature is susceptible, and I feel assured that his family and friends formed one of the greatest consolations to him, while the vials of wrath were poured upon his head, while his footsteps were pursued by malice and envy, and reproach and slander were strewed<sup>102</sup> in his path, as well as during numerous and cruel persecutions, and severe and protracted sufferings in chains and loathsome prisons, for worshiping God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

He is a true lover of his country, and a bright and shining example of integrity and moral excellence in all the relations of life. As a religious teacher as well as a man he is greatly beloved by this people. It is almost superfluous to add that the numerous ridiculous and scandalous reports in circulation respecting him, have not the least foundation in truth.

In haste, I have the honor to be your Excellency's, most obedient and humble servant, JOHN M. BERNHISEL.

<sup>103</sup>City of Nauvoo, June 14th, 1844.

Honorable Gov[ernor]. Thomas 104 Ford:

Being a stranger in the city of Nauvoo, but fully acquainted with the facts as stated in

<sup>99.</sup> Source: MS copy in UC (JMB).

<sup>100.</sup> MS letter, 1: "<immediately>"

<sup>101.</sup> MS letter, 1 (pencil): "<&>"

<sup>102.</sup> DHC 6:468: "strewn"

<sup>103.</sup> Source: MS copy in UC.

<sup>104.</sup> DHC 6:469: omits "Thomas"

Gen. Smith's letter of June 14th<sup>105</sup>, I assert that they are true in every particular, and that the press in the minds of all unprejudiced people was a nuisance of the worst character, and that the authorities acted perfectly proper in destroying it; and in accomplishing the act there was no noise, tumult, or riot. Furthermore, having remained for a few weeks<sup>106</sup> at Gen[eral]. Smith's house, I think it my duty to state that I have seen nothing in his deportment, but what is correct in all his domestic relations, being a kind husband and an affectionate father, and all his affairs both domestic and official have not only been free from censure but praiseworthy, and ought to be imitated by every one desirous of order and peace.—

```
Yours, sir, most obediently,

J. R. WAKEFIELD, M.D.

107Post Office, Nauvoo, Ill.,

June 14th, 1844.
```

His Excellency Thomas Ford:

Dear Sir:—I address this letter to your Excellency by the hand of Mr. S[amuel]. James, in consequence of the difficulties now existing in this county, difficulties in which I have <sup>108</sup>had no concern, and fearing as I do that in the midst of an excitement so great as I have understood now exists in this county—I say understood, for it is by report only that I can <sup>109</sup> speak—there may be attempts made to prejudice your mind to take some measures of a violent character that may seriously affect the citizens of this place, and injure innocent and unoffending persons, which I am satisfied would grieve your Excellency, as well as every other thinking and humane man.

There have for a length of time difficulties existed between a number of the citizens of this place, which kept increasing; one of the parties had recourse to the *Warsaw Signal* as a medium through which they communicate their difficulties to the world. These productions were inflammatory to a high degree, and the party thus assailed charged the matter as libelous and highly abusive; to these exposures responses <sup>110</sup>appeared in the papers of this place, charging the matter <sup>111</sup> as being false and the authors as defamers and slanderers.

Things continued thus until a paper was established in this place called the *Nauvoo Expositor*. The first number of this paper made its appearance, and it was inflammatory and abusive to an extreme. This raised the excitement to a degree beyond control, and threatened serious consequences<sup>112</sup>.

At this particular juncture, all the authorities of the city feeling a common interest in the peace and quiet of the place, and fearing the worst consequences must follow if something were not done, the city council met and took the matter into consideration, and after deliberating on the subject and examining the charter, came to the conclusion to hazard all the consequences of declaring the press a nuisance, and accordingly ordered its removal. The city marshal, in obedience to this order, went and removed the press and destroyed it 113. This was done without tumult or disorder; when the press was destroyed, all returned home; and everything has been perfectly quiet ever since.

Within the last three days warrants have been issued from a justice of the peace in

<sup>105.</sup> MS letter, 1: "<of> <June 14th>"; first insertion in pencil.

<sup>106.</sup> MS letter, 1: "days < weeks>"

<sup>107.</sup> Source: MS copy in SRc, fd 6.

<sup>108.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "and have"

<sup>109.</sup> DHC 6:469: omits "can"

<sup>110.</sup> Book F-1, 99: adds erasure

<sup>111.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<the matter>"

<sup>112.</sup> DHC 6:470: "consequence"

<sup>113.</sup> MS letter, 2 (pencil): "<it>"

Carthage, calling for the bodies of the persons who destroyed the press. The officer having the matter in charge refuses the persons a hearing before any other justice of the peace than the one issuing the warrants; with this demand they refused<sup>114</sup> to comply, as there is a large assembly of persons assembled at Carthage making threats of violence; and they say, and I have no doubt <sup>115</sup>verily believe, that by going there their lives will be in danger, and from the intelligence which I received last evening from a person <sup>116</sup>no way connected with the affair, and one of undoubted veracity, I must think so myself. This gentleman informs me that he has been in Carthage since Monday last at the land sales, and he heard threatenings by the persons assembled there, that if they could get into Nauvoo that <sup>117</sup> they would murder indiscriminately, and those who wanted to escape must leave. This your Excellency <sup>118</sup>will<sup>119</sup> abhor as I do.

The citizens of this county who do not reside in Nauvoo, and those of other counties, have indeed no interest of a personal kind at stake in this matter; there are no persons disturbing them nor a<sup>120</sup> going to do so, and this great excitement does savor of something else to me than a regard for the laws. Why not let the parties, as in all other cases of the kind, settle their difficulties as the laws of the country in such cases have provided.

Have the citizens of Nauvoo ever interfered with cases of difficulty existing in other parts of the county, held public meetings to inflame the public mind in favor of one party, and prejudice it against the other party? Most assuredly they have not; why then must the citizens of this place be scourged with such attempts?

If the citizens of Hancock want the supremacy of the laws maintained, let these tumultuous assemblies disperse, and let the civil officers, if resisted, do as in other cases, call for aid instead of assembling in advance, and then call for persons to be brought into their midst as prisoners amidst threats and insults.

From the confidence I have in your Excellency's superior intelligence and sound discretion, I doubt not but your Excellency will arrive at just conclusions when the matter is submitted to your consideration, as I understand it is 121 about being.

I can see no need for executive interference in this case, but disperse all uncalled for assemblies, and let the laws have their regular course, which they can have if these assemblies will disperse; if not I fear the consequences.

I send this to your Excellency as confidential, as I wish not to take any part in the affair, or be known in it.

With consideration of high regard, I am, dear sir, your Excellency's most obedient servant, SIDNEY RIGDON.

<sup>122</sup>I read the doings of the city council to Dr. Wakefield, and gave him a volume of the *Times and Seasons*. About 4 p.m., I rode out with Dr. Bernhisel. Pleasant and warm day; towards night some clouds.

A Mr. <sup>123</sup> Norton was tried before Esq. Aaron Johnson, J.P., on a charge of firing Foster's printing office, and acquitted.

<sup>114.</sup> Book F-1, 99: "refuse"

<sup>115.</sup> DHC 6:470: adds "they"

<sup>116.</sup> DHC 6:470: adds "in"

<sup>117.</sup> DHC 6:470: omits "that"

<sup>118.</sup> MS letter, 3 (pencil): adds "\f"

<sup>119.</sup> DHC 6:470: replaces "will" with "would"

<sup>120.</sup> DHC 6:470: omits "a"

<sup>121.</sup> MS letter, 3: "<is>"

<sup>122.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 156 (WR) (APR, 491), with light editing. WR recorded that on this day he "read proceeding of city council to Dr Wakefield" (WRj 10:19).

<sup>123.</sup> JSj [1844], 156: omits "A Mr."; Book F-1, 100 (pencil): "\A Mr./" (pos. TB)

<sup>124</sup>Saturday, 15.—A.M. conversing with Dr. [Joseph] Wakefield and others in the Bar Room—telling a dream concerning his father killing a man who attempted to stab him. He also spoke concerning key words. The g[rand] key word was the first word Adam spoke and is a word of supplication. He found the word by the Urim and Thummim. It is that key word to which the heavens are <sup>125</sup> opened.

<sup>126</sup>At home. Two brethren came from Lima, and said that Col[onel]. Levi Williams had demanded the arms belonging to the Mormons in that neighborhood<sup>127</sup>; they wished my advice on the subject. <sup>128</sup> I told them that when they gave up their arms to give up their lives with them as dearly as possible.

It is reported that a company<sup>129</sup> of men were constantly training at Carthage. Mr. John M. Cane<sup>130</sup> from Warsaw said that several boxes of arms had arrived at Warsaw from Quincy; there was some considerable<sup>131</sup> excitement, but expected they were going to wait the meeting at Carthage, which was fixed for the<sup>132</sup> middle of next week.

The *Maid of Iowa* arrived at 2½ p.m., <sup>133</sup> while I was examining the painting of <sup>134</sup> "Death on the Pale Horse," by Benjamin West, which has been exhibiting in my reading room for the last three days. The *Maid* had lost her lighter <sup>135</sup> which was loaded at the time with corn and lumber, it having broken in two on a snag in the Iowa river, and a small robbery had been committed on board; search was made at the landing by the police.

This morning<sup>136</sup> Samuel James started for Springfield to carry letters and papers to Gov[ernor]. Ford concerning the destruction of the *Expositor* Press.

About 7 p.m., I rode out on horseback with O[rrin]. P. Rockwell.

I received the following letter:

<sup>137</sup>Fort Madison, June 15th, 1844.

Gen. Joseph Smith:

Dear Sir:—I have been informed that a writ was issued against the steam ferry *New Purchase* for wharfage on Tuesday last, but no such writ has been served or shown to me, and I am anxious to learn the facts of the case; if it is required I will pay wharfage with the greatest

<sup>124.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 15 June 1844 (IC, 133-34; DMQP, 20).

<sup>125.</sup> WCj [1843-44]:"is"

<sup>126.</sup> Source: Following five paragraphs from JSj [1844], 157 (WR) (APR, 491-92), with editing and elaboration. Deleted material supplied here in bold type. Cf. first two paragraphs with WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 15 June 1844 (IC, 134; NTNLF, 412): "A.M. at Prest J[oseph]'s—2 brethren came up from the Morley settlement saying that old Col. Williams' Company had been to demand their arms & they wanted to know if they must yield them. J[oseph]. told them not to do it while they lived. Various reports have come stating that the Warsawites have ordered the Saints to leave forthwith & threatening pretty bad."

<sup>127.</sup> JSj [1844], 157: omits "in the neighborhood"

<sup>128.</sup> Preceding sentence in JSj [1844], 157, is more specific: "Father [Isaac] Morley wanted to know what he should do."

<sup>129.</sup> JSj [1844], 157: replaces "a company" with "40 men"

<sup>130.</sup> DHC 6:471: "Crane". However, "Mr. John M. Crane from Warsaw" is apparently a misreading of JSj [1844], 157: "Mr Johnson came from Warsaw"

<sup>131.</sup> JSj [1844], 157: omits "considerable"

<sup>132.</sup> JSj [1844], 157: omits "which was fixed for the"

<sup>133.</sup> JSj [1844], 157: "about 2 or 3 oclock". Cf. CHOj 1:16, 15 June 1844 (TB).

<sup>134.</sup> DHC 6:471: omits "of"

<sup>135.</sup> JSj [1844], 157: replaces "lighter" with "flat load"

<sup>136.</sup> JSj [1844], 157: "<this morning>"

<sup>137.</sup> Source: Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 41.

of pleasure, but I would dislike to have cost to pay in addition. I expect to visit this place with my boat at least once a week during the season, you will confer a favor on me by informing me in relation to the ordinances regulating wharfage<sup>138</sup>, &c.

It has been rumored that the *New Purchase* was employed to convey to Nauvoo an armed force to attack the citizens in connection with other companies on account of the late difficulties at your place, but it is not true. I assure you that the boat will not be employed in any unlawful enterprise, and I further assure you that there is no unkind feeling existing in our place against the people of your place.—

I remain, yours, with respect,
A. LADD,
Captain of the *New Purchase*.

Gen. Joseph Smith, Nauvoo, Ill.

# 23.

# JOSEPH SMITH ON GODHEAD

# 16 June 1844

# [DN 7 (7 October 1857): 241-43 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>A conference was held at Franklin, Michigan. Present of the Twelve: W[ilford]. Woodruff and Geo[rge]. A. Smith; Elder Geo[rge]. A. Smith presided. Nine branches were represented comprising 170 members, 8 Elders, 5 Priests, 5 Teachers and 3 Deacons. There were ordained 1 High Priest, 9 Elders, 2 Priests and 1 Deacon, under the hands of Elders W[ilford]. Woodruff, Geo[rge]. A. Smith and C[harles]. C. Rich.

<sup>2</sup>Sunday [June] 16 [1844].—I preached at the stand at 10 a.m.; before I closed my remarks it rained severely. The following synopsis was reported by Elder Thomas Bullock, whom I had transferred from the duties of clerk of the *Maid of Iowa* to my office.

<sup>3</sup>MEETING IN THE GROVE, EAST OF THE TEMPLE, JUNE 16, 1844.

Prayer by Bishop<sup>4</sup> N[ewel]. K. Whitney.

Choir sang, "Mortals awake."

President Joseph Smith<sup>5</sup> read the 3rd<sup>6</sup> chap[ter]. of Revelations<sup>7</sup>, and took for his text

<sup>1.</sup> Book F-1, 101: adds "<[See Addenda page 1]>" (LH). This paragraph added in Book F-1, Addenda, 1 (LH). *Source*: Based on *T&S* 5 (15 July 1844): 580-81. Cf. WWj, vol. 4, 15-16 June 1844 (*WWj* 2:411-12).

<sup>2.</sup> Source: First two sentences from JSj [1844], 158 (WR) (APR, 492), with light editing and elaboration. Part about TB being transferred to JS's office added interlinearly and at *eoln* by TB in RDft 8:62 after Nov. 1855 (see RDft Chronology).

<sup>3.</sup> Source: Draft sermon in JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, 105-29 (LH, JG), which has text on every other line and emendations by TB. This twelve-page document concludes with the following penciled note: "read to the Prest. & approved Feb 27/[18]56 several additions made. April 11 [18]56 GAS" (TB). JG began copying this sermon on 29 Nov. 1855 (CHOj 18:215). This document was made from TB's original minutes in JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, 93-100 (WJS, 378-82), which according to a notation was "written by T Bullock at the time." Transcription of draft sermon in vol. 7, I.8, under date.

<sup>4.</sup> Draft, 1: "<Bishop>" (LH)

<sup>5.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: replace "President Joseph Smith" with "The Prophet"; Draft, 1: "The Prophet / President Joseph Smith\" (TB)

<sup>6.</sup> Draft, 1:"{\3rd/}<1st>" (US)

<sup>7.</sup> DHC 6:473: "Revelation"

1st chap[ter]. 8 6th verse, "And hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to him be glory and dominion forever and ever: Amen."

It is altogether correct in the translation. Now you know that of late some malicious and corrupt men<sup>9</sup> have sprung up and apostatized from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints<sup>10</sup>; and they declare that the Prophet believes in a plurality of Gods, and, lo and behold, we have discovered a<sup>11</sup> very great secret, they cry, ["]the Prophet says there are many Gods, and this proves that he has fallen<sup>12</sup>.["]

It has been my intention for a long time<sup>13</sup> to take up this subject, and lay it clearly before the people and<sup>14</sup> show what my faith is in relation to this interesting<sup>15</sup> matter. I have contemplated the saying of Jesus (Luke 17 ch[apter]. 26 v[erse].) "And as it was in the days of Noah, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of Man." And if it rains<sup>16</sup> I'll preach this doctrine, for the truth shall be preached<sup>17</sup>.

I will preach on <sup>18</sup> the plurality of Gods. I have selected this text for that express purpose <sup>19</sup>. I wish to declare I have always, and in all congregations when I have preached on the subject of the Deity <sup>20</sup>, it has been the plurality of Gods. It has been preached by the Elders <sup>21</sup> fifteen years.

I have always declared God to be a distinct personage, Jesus Christ a separate and distinct personage from God the Father, and that<sup>23</sup> the Holy Ghost was a distinct personage and a Spirit, and these three constitute three distinct personages and three Gods. If this is in accordance with the New Testament, lo and behold, we have three Gods anyhow, and they are plural, and who can contradict it<sup>24</sup>[?]

Our text says, "And hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father." The Apostles<sup>26</sup> have discovered that there were Gods above; for Paul says<sup>27</sup> God was the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. My object was to preach the Scriptures and preach the doctrine they

<sup>8.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: replace "and took ... 1st chap." with "text"; Draft, 1: "{& took for his text/} <1st Chap>"; first insertion by TB, second by LH.

<sup>9.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: omit "malicious and corrupt men"; Draft, 1: "<malicious and corrupt men>" (TB)

<sup>10.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: omit "from the Church ... Saints"; Draft, 1: "<from the Church ... Saints>" (TB)

<sup>11.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: omit "we have discovered"; Draft, 1: inserts "\we ["we" w.o. "a"] have/ <discovered a>" at eoln (TB)

<sup>12.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: omit "The Prophet says ... fallen"; Draft, 1: "<The Prophet says ... fallen>" (TB)

<sup>13.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: omit "for a long time"; Draft, 1: "<for a long time>" (TB)

<sup>14.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: omit "lay it clearly before the people and"; Draft, 1: "<lay it ... people and>" (TB)

<sup>15.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: replace "relation to this interesting" with "the"; Draft, 1: "<relation to> th $\setminus$ is/ ["is" w.o. "e"] <interesting>" (TB)

<sup>16.</sup> DHC 6:474: "does rain"

<sup>17.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: omit "this doctrine ... preached"; Draft, 1: "<this doctrine, <for the> truth shall be preached>" (TB)

<sup>18.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: omit "I will preach on"; Draft, 1: "<I will preach on>" (TB)

<sup>19.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: omit "for the express purpose"; Draft, 1: "<for that express purpose>" (TB)

<sup>20.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: omit "on this subject of the Deity"; Draft, 1: "<on this subject of the Deity>" (TB)

<sup>21.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: omit "by the Elders"; Draft, 1: "<by the Elders>" (TB)

<sup>22.</sup> DHC 6:474: adds "for"

<sup>23.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: omit "and that"; Draft, 1: "<& that>" (TB)

<sup>24.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: replace "and who can contradict it" with "any how"; Draft, [2]: "any how < & who can contradict it>" (TB)

<sup>25.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: omit ""And hath made ... Father.""; Draft, [2]: "\our text says/ < "And hath made ... Father.">" (IG)

<sup>26.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: "apost."; Draft, [2]: "apostates < les > "

<sup>27.</sup> TB minutes, [1]: omit "for Paul says"; Draft, [2]: "<for Paul says>" (TB)

contain<sup>28</sup>, there being a God above the Father of our<sup>29</sup> Lord Jesus Christ. I am bold to declare I have taught all the strong doctrines publicly, and always teach<sup>30</sup> stronger doctrines in public<sup>31</sup> than <sup>32</sup>in private.

John was one of the men, and Apostles declare they were made kings and<sup>33</sup> priests unto God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; it reads just so in the Revelations<sup>34</sup>; hence, the doctrine of a plurality of Gods is as prominent in the Bible as any other<sup>35</sup> doctrine; it is all over the face of the Bible, it stands beyond the power of controversy, "a wayfaring man though a fool need not err therein<sup>36</sup>."

Paul says there are Gods many and Lords many. I want to set it forth<sup>37</sup> in a plain and simple manner, but to us there is but one God, that is, *pertaining* to us, and he is in all and through all. But if Joseph Smith says there are Gods many and Lords many, they cry, "Away with him—crucify him,<sup>38</sup> crucify him."

Mankind verily say that the Scriptures are with them. Search the Scriptures, for they testify of things that these<sup>39</sup> apostates would gravely pronounce<sup>40</sup> blasphemy. Paul, if Joseph Smith is a blasphemer, you are. I say there are Gods many and Lords many, but to us only one; and we are to be in subjection to that one, and no man can limit the bounds or the eternal existence of eternal time. Hath he beheld the eternal world, and is he authorized to say that there is only one God? He makes himself a fool if he thinks or says so<sup>41</sup>, and there is an end of his career or progress<sup>42</sup> in knowledge; he cannot obtain all knowledge for he has sealed up the gate to it.

Some say I do not interpret the Scriptures the same as they do<sup>43</sup>; they say it means the heathen's<sup>44</sup> gods. Paul says there are Gods many and Lords many, and that makes a plurality of Gods in spite of the whims of all men<sup>45</sup>. Without a revelation I am not going to give them the knowledge of <sup>46</sup> the God of heaven<sup>47</sup>. You know and I testify that Paul had no allusion to the heathen gods<sup>48</sup>; I have it from God, and get over it if you can. I have a witness of the Holy Ghost, and a testimony<sup>49</sup> that Paul had no allusion to the heathen gods in the text. I will show from the Hebrew Bible that I am correct<sup>50</sup>; and the first word shows a plurality of Gods; and I

```
28. TB minutes, [1]: omit "they contain"; Draft, [2]: "<they contain>" (TB)
        29. Draft, [2]: "your"
        30. TB minutes, [1]: omit "teach"; Draft, [2]: "<teach>" (TB)
       31. TB minutes, [1]: omit "doctrines in public"; Draft, [2]: omits "doctrines" and inserts "<in public>" (TB)
       32. TB minutes, [1]: add "what I preach"
       33. Draft, [2]: "High < Kings and >" (JG)
        34. TB minutes, [1]: omit "in the Revelations"; Draft, [2]: "<in the revelations" (TB); DHC 6:474: "Revelation"
        35. TB minutes, [1]: omit "other"; Draft, [2]: inserts "\other/" at boln (TB)
        36. TB minutes, [1]: replace "err therein" with "fail"
        37. TB minutes, [1]: omit "forth"; Draft, [2]: "<forth>" (TB)
        38. TB minutes, [1]: omit one "crucify him"; Draft, [3]: "<crucify him>" (JG)
        39. TB minutes, [1]: omit "these"; Draft, [3]: "<these>" (JG)
        40. TB minutes, [1]: omit "gravely pronounced"; Draft, [3]: "<gravely pronounced>" (TB)
        41. TB minutes, [1]: omit "if he thinks or says so"
        42. TB minutes, [1]: omit "or progress"
        43. TB minutes, [2]: replace "they do" with "you"
        44. TB minutes, [2], Draft, [3]: "heathen"
        45. TB minutes, [2]: replace "in spite of the whims of all men" with "any how"; Draft, [3]: "any how <in spite
of the whims of all men>" (TB)
       46. TB minutes, [2]: omit "them the knowledge of"; Draft, [3]: "<them the knowledge of>" (TB)
        47. TB minutes, [2]: add "to them any how"; Draft, [3]: "to them any how"
        48. TB minutes, [2]: replace "the heathen gods" with "it"; Draft, [4]: "it < the heathen gods>" (JG)
        49. TB minutes, [2]: "test."; Draft, [4]: "test < testimony>" (JG)
```

50. TB minutes, [2]: omit "that I am correct"

want the apostates and learned men to come here and prove to the contrary, if they can<sup>51</sup>. An unlearned boy must give you a little Hebrew:—<sup>52</sup>Berosheit baurau Eloheim ait aushamayeem<sup>53</sup> vehau auraits—rendered by King James' translators—"In the beginning God<sup>54</sup> created the heavens and the earth." I want to analyze the word *Berosheit*<sup>55</sup>. *Rosh* the head; *Sheit* a grammatical termination; the *Baith* was not originally put<sup>56</sup> there when the inspired man wrote it, but it has been since added by an old Jew. *Baurau* signifies to bring forth;<sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> *Eloheim* is from the word *Eloi*—God, in the singular number; and by adding the word<sup>59</sup> *heim* it<sup>60</sup> renders it Gods. It read first<sup>61</sup>—"In the beginning the head <sup>62</sup> of the Gods brought forth<sup>63</sup> the Gods," <sup>64</sup> or as others have translated it<sup>65</sup>—"the head of the Gods called the Gods together." I want to show<sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> a little learning as well as other fools:

## <sup>69</sup>"A little learning is a dangerous thing.<sup>70</sup>

Drink deep or taste not the Pierian spring; <sup>71</sup>Shallow droughts intoxicate the brain<sup>72</sup>; But drinking deep will sober us again."<sup>73</sup>

All this confusion among professed translators<sup>74</sup> is for want of drinking another drought. The head God organized the heavens and the earth; I defy all the learning in the<sup>75</sup> world to refute me. "In the beginning the heads of the Gods organized the heavens and the earth." Now the learned priest and the people rage and the heathen imagine a vain thing. If we

- 51. TB minutes, [2]: omit "if they can"; Draft, [4]: "<if they can>" (JG)
- 52. Following discussion of Hebrew reads differently in Draft, [4]: "Berosheit &c. &c. In the beginning—[ros] heit, the head. It should read the heads <God> of the Gods <called the gods together> to organize the Gods. Eloheim Eloi God in singular number; heim, renders Gods." TB minutes, [2], read nearly the same, but without emendations. Next to this in the margin of the draft is a penciled note: "very scanty—wants much filling up see King Follett sermon" (JG) (cf. DHC 6:307; chap. 14). The present text is written in TB's handwriting on a slip of paper, which was once attached to p. 4 with sealing wax. Notations will compare the present text against TB's addendum.
  - 53. DHC 6:475: "aushamayen"
  - 54. TB addendum: "the Gods"
  - 55. TB addendum: "<Berosheit>"
  - 56. TB addendum: "<put>"
  - 57. TB addendum: "<br/>
    baurau signifies to bring forth—>"
  - 58. TB addendum: adds "It should read <In the beginning> the head God of the Gods called the Gods together"
  - 59. TB addendum: "<the word>"
  - 60. TB addendum: omits "it"
  - 61. TB addendum: "should read <first>"
  - 62. TB addendum: adds "God <one>"
  - 63. TB addendum: "called <brought forth>"
  - 64. TB addendum: adds "together"
  - 65. Book F-1, 102 (pencil): "rendered the translation < translated it>" (RLC)
- $66. \ TB$  addendum: "\or as others/ <have  $\frac{1}{3}$  rendered the translation the head of the Gods called the Gods together>."
  - 67. TB minutes, [2]: omit "to show"
  - 68. TB addendum: adds "you"
  - 69. TB minutes, [2]: replace following quote with "Popes quot[e]: Drink deep"
  - 70. Preceding line not in any source, but added in DHC 6:475.
  - 71. DHC 6:475: adds "There"
  - 72. Draft, [4]: "soul \brain/" (TB)
  - 73. This line added by TB in Draft, [4]; DHC 6:475: "And drinking largely sobers us up again."
  - 74. TB minutes, [2]: omits "among professed translators"; Draft, [4]: "<among professed translators>" (TB)
  - 75. DHC 6:475: omits "learning in the"

pursue the Hebrew text further it reads:—"Berosheit baurau Eloheim ait aushamayeem<sup>76</sup> vehau auraits"<sup>77</sup>—"The head one of the Gods said, let us make a man in our own image." I once asked a learned Jew "if the Hebrew language compels us to render all words ending in *heim* in the plural, why not render the first *Eloheim*<sup>78</sup> plural?" He replied, "that is the rule with few exceptions, but in this case<sup>79</sup> it would ruin the Bible." He acknowledged I was right. I came here to investigate these things precisely as I believe it<sup>80</sup>; hear and judge for yourselves, and if you go away satisfied, well and good.

In the very beginning the Bible shows<sup>81</sup> there is a plurality of Gods beyond the power of refutation. It is a great subject I am dwelling on; the word *Eloheim* ought to be in the plural all the way through—Gods. The heads of the Gods appointed one God for us; and when you take a<sup>82</sup> view of the subject, it sets one free to see all the beauty, holiness and perfection of the Gods. All I want is to get the simple naked<sup>83</sup> truth and the whole truth.

Many<sup>84</sup> men say there is one God—the Father, the<sup>85</sup> Son and the<sup>86</sup> Holy Ghost are only one God! I say, that<sup>87</sup> is a strange God anyhow—three in one and one in three! it is a curious organization<sup>88</sup>. "Father, I pray not for the world, but I pray for them which<sup>89</sup> thou hast given me<sup>90</sup>." "Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, *as we are*." All are to be crammed into one God according to sectarianism<sup>92</sup>; it would make the biggest God in all the world; he would be<sup>93</sup> a wonderful<sup>94</sup> big God; he would be a giant or a monster<sup>95</sup>. I want to read the text to you myself:—"I am agreed with the Father and the Father is agreed with me, and we are agreed as one." The Greek shows that it should be *agreed*. "Father, I pray for them which thou hast given me out of the world<sup>96</sup>, and not for those alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word, that they all may be *agreed*; as thou, Father, art <sup>97</sup> with me, and I with thee, <sup>98</sup> that they also may be agreed with us," and all come to dwell in unity, and in all the glory and everlasting burnings of the<sup>99</sup> Gods<sup>100</sup>; and then we shall see as we

```
76. DHC 6:475: "aashamayeen"
       77. TB minutes, [2]: omit "Berosheit ... auraits"; Draft, [5]: "<Berosheit ... auraits>" (TB)
        78. TB minutes, [2]: omit "Eloheim"; Draft, [5]: "< Eloheim >" (TB)
        79. TB minutes, [2]: omit "that is the rule ... case"; Draft, [5]: "<that is the rule ... case>" (TB)
        80. DHC 6:475: replaces "it" with "them"
       81. TB minutes, [2]: omit "the Bible shows"; Draft, [5] (pencil): "<the Bible shows" (TB); Book F-1, 103:
"<the bible shows>" (JG)
       82. DHC 6:476: replaces "a" with "[that]"
       83. TB minutes, [2]: "simple truth naked"; Draft, [5]: "<naked>" (JG)
       84. TB minutes, [2]: omit "Many"; Draft, [5]: "<Many>" (TB)
       85. TB minutes, [2]: omit "the"; Draft, [6]: "<the>" (JG)
       86. Draft, [6]: "<the>" (JG)
       87. TB minutes, [2]: replace "I say that" with "it"; Draft, [6]: "it < I say that>" (TB)
       88. TB minutes, [2]: replace "organization" with "thing any how"; Draft, [6]: "thing any how <organization>" (TB)
       89. TB minutes, [2]: replace "them which" with "those that"; Draft, [6]: "those that <them which>" (JG)
       90. TB minutes, [2]: replace "hast given me" with "givest me"; Draft, [6]: "givest me hast given me"
       91. TB minutes, [2]: replace preceding sentence with "&c &c."
       92. Draft, [6]: "<according to sectarianism>" (JG)
       93. TB minutes, [3]: replace "would be" with "is"; Draft, [6] (pencil): "is <would be>" (pos. TB)
       94. DHC 6:476: "wonderfully"
       95. Draft, [6]: "<or a monster>" (TB)
       96. Draft, [6]: "<out of the world>" (JG)
       97. Draft, [6]: adds "agreed"
       98. TB minutes, [3]: replace "and not for those alone ... with thee" with "&c &c."
         99. Draft, [6]: "<the>" (JG)
```

100. TB minutes, [3]: "of God"

are seen, and be as our<sup>101</sup> God, and he as <sup>102</sup>his Father. I want to reason a little on this subject<sup>103</sup>; I learned it by translating<sup>104</sup> the papyrus which is<sup>105</sup> now in my house. I learned a testimony<sup>106</sup> concerning Abraham, and he reasoned concerning the God of heaven; ["]in order to do that[,"] said he—"Suppose we have two facts, that supposes another fact may exist; two men on the earth, one wiser than the other, would logically<sup>107</sup> show that another who is wiser than the wisest *may* exist. Intelligences exist one above another, so that there is no end to them<sup>108</sup>."

If Abraham reasoned thus—if Jesus Christ was the Son of God, and John discovered that God the Father of Jesus Christ had a Father, you may suppose that HE had a Father also. Where was there ever a son without a Father? And where was there ever a father without first being a son?<sup>109</sup> Whenever did a tree or anything spring into existence without a progenitor? And everything comes in this way. Paul says that which is earthly is in the likeness of that which is heavenly; hence if Jesus<sup>110</sup> had a father, can we not believe that HE had a Father also<sup>111</sup>? I despise the idea of being scared to death at such a doctrine, for the Bible is full of it<sup>112</sup>.

I want you to pay particular attention to what I am saying <sup>113</sup>. Jesus said that <sup>114</sup> the Father wrought precisely in the same way as his Father had done before him <sup>115</sup>; as the Father had done before, he laid down his life and took it up <sup>116</sup>same as his Father had done before; he did as he was sent, to lay down his life and take it up again, and then was <sup>117</sup> committed unto him the keys, &c. I know it is good reasoning.

I have reason to think that the church is being purged; I saw Satan fall from heaven, and the way they ran was a caution. All these are wonders, and marvelous 118 in our eyes in these last days. So long as men are under the law of God they have no fears; they do not scare themselves.

I want to stick to my text to show that when men open their lips against these truths <sup>119</sup> they do not injure me, but injure themselves. To the law and to the testimony, for these principles are poured out <sup>120</sup> all over the Scriptures. When things that are of the greatest importance <sup>121</sup> are passed over by weak-minded men <sup>122</sup> without even a thought, I want to see truth <sup>123</sup> in all

```
101. TB minutes, [3]: omit "our"; Draft, [7]: "<our>" (JG)
        102. TB minutes, [3]: add "the God of"; Draft, [7]: "the God of"
        103. TB minutes, [3]: omit "a little on this subject"; Draft, [7]: "<a little on this subject>" (TB)
        104. Draft, [7]: "translations < ing >" (JG)
        105. TB minutes, [3]: omit "which is"; Draft, [7]: "<which is>" (JG)
        106. TB minutes, [3]: "test."; Draft, [7]: "text < testimony>" (JG)
        107. TB minutes, [3]: omit "logically"; Draft, [7]: "<logically>" (pos. TB)
        108. TB minutes, [3]: replace "them" with "it"; Draft, [7]: "them" overwrites "it" (US)
        109. Draft, [7]: "< And where was there ever ... Son?>" (TB)
        110. Draft, [7]: "\Jesus/"; "J" w.o. "I" (US)
        111. TB minutes, [3]: omit "also"
        112. TB minutes, [3]: omit "at such doctrine ... it"; Draft, [7]: "<at such doctrine ... it>" (TB)
        113. TB minutes, [3]: omit "to what I am saying"; Draft, [8] (pencil): "<to what I am saying>" (TB)
        114. TB minutes, [3]: replace "that" with "as"; Draft, [8]: "as <that>" (JG)
        115. TB minutes, [3]: omit "him"; Draft, [8] (pencil), Book F-1, 103: "<him>" (pos. TB/JG)
        116. DHC 6:477: adds "the"
        117. TB minutes, [3]: "was then"; Draft, [8]: "was then" and guideline reversing order
        118. DHC 6:477: "marvels"
        119. TB minutes, [3]: omit "against these truths"; Draft, [8]: "<against these truths>" (TB)
        120. TB minutes, [3]: replace "for these principles" with "they" and omits "out"; Draft, [8]: "\for/ the\se/
["se" w.o. "y"] <principles> are poured \out/" (JG)
        121. TB minutes, [4]: replace "of the greatest importance" with "great"; Draft, [8]: "<of the> great\est/
<importance>" (TB)
```

122. TB minutes, [4]: omit "by weak-minded men"; Draft, [8]: "< by weak minded men>" (TB)

123. TB minutes, [4]: replace "truth" with "all"; Draft, [8]: "all <truth>" (TB)

its bearings and hug it to my bosom. I believe all that God ever revealed, and I never hear of a man being damned for believing too much, but they are damned for unbelief.

They found fault with Jesus Christ because he said he was the Son of God, and made himself equal with God. They say of me<sup>124</sup> like they did of the Apostles of old, that I must be put down. What did<sup>125</sup> Jesus say? "Is it not<sup>126</sup> written in your law, I said, ye are Gods? If he called them Gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken, say ye of him whom the Father hath<sup>127</sup> sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest, because I said I am the Son of God?" It was through him that they drank of the spiritual rock; of course he would take the honor to himself. Jesus, if they were called Gods unto whom the word of God came, why should it be thought blasphemy that I should say I am the son of God?

Oh, poor, blind<sup>132</sup> apostates, did you never think of this before? These are the quotations that the apostates take from<sup>133</sup> the Scriptures. They swear that they believe the Bible, <sup>134</sup>the Book of Mormon, and the Doctrine and Covenants<sup>135</sup>; and then you will get from them<sup>136</sup> filth, <sup>137</sup>slander and bogus-makers plenty. One of the apostate<sup>138</sup> church official<sup>139</sup> members prophesied that Joseph should<sup>140</sup> never preach any more, and yet I am now preaching.

Go and read the vision in the Book of Covenants<sup>141</sup>; there is clearly illustrated<sup>142</sup> glory upon<sup>143</sup> glory, one glory of the<sup>144</sup> sun, another glory of the<sup>145</sup> moon, and a glory of the<sup>146</sup> stars, and as one star differeth from another star in glory, even so do they of the telestial world<sup>147</sup> differ in glory, and every man who reigns in celestial glory<sup>148</sup> is a God to his dominions. By the apostates admitting the testimony<sup>149</sup> of the Doctrine and Covenants they damn<sup>150</sup> themselves.

```
124. TB minutes, [4]: omit "of me"; Draft, [9]: "<of me>" (TB)
        125. TB minutes, [4]: omit "did"; Draft, [9]: "does < did>" (TB)
        126. TB minutes, [4]: replace "Is it not" with "It is"; Draft, [9]: "I\s/ ["s" w.o. "t"] is <it not>" (JG)
        127. DHC 6:477: "had"
        128. TB minutes, [4]: omit "If he called them Gods ... Son of God?"
        129. TB minutes, [4]: omit "spiritual"; Draft, [9]: "<spiritual>" (JG)
        130. TB minutes, [4]: omit "why"; Draft, [9]: "<why>" (JG)
        131. TB minutes, [4]: replace "blasphemy" with "incredible"
        132. TB minutes, [4]: omit "poor, blind"; Draft, [9]: "<poor blind>" (TB)
        133. TB minutes, [4]: replace "from" with "to"; Draft, [9] (darker ink): "to <from>" (pos. TB)
        134. TB minutes, [4]: add "&"; Draft, [9]: "and"
        135. TB minutes, [4]: replace "and the Doctrine and Covenants" with "&c"; Draft, [9] (darker ink): "&e <& the
Doctrine and Covenants>" (TB)
        136. TB minutes, [4]: omit "from them"; Draft, [9]: "<from them>" (TB)
        137. TB minutes, [4]: add "&"; Draft, [9]: "and"
        138. TB minutes, [4]: omit "apostate"; Draft, [9] (pencil): "<apostate>" (pos. TB)
        139. TB minutes, [4]: omit "official"; Draft, [9]: "<official>" (TB)
        140. DHC 6:477: "would"
        141. TB minutes, [4]: omit "in the Book of Covenants"; Draft, [10]: "<in the Book of Covenants>" (TB)
        142. TB minutes, [4]: omit "clearly illustrated"; Draft, [10]: "<clearly illustrated>" (TB)
        143. TB minutes, [4]: replace "upon" with "and"; Draft, [10]: "and <upon>" (TB)
        144. TB minutes, [4]: omit "one glory of the"; Draft, [10]: "<one glory of the>" (TB)
        145. TB minutes, [4]: omit "another glory of the"; Draft, [10]: "<another glory of the>" (TB)
        146. TB minutes, [4]: omit "a glory of the"; Draft, [10]: "<a glory of the>" (TB)
        147. TB minutes, [4]: replace "as one star differeth ... telestial world" with "so do they"; Draft, [10]: "so do they
<as one star differeth ... telestial world>" (TB)
        148. TB minutes, [4]: omit "in celestial glory"; Draft, [10]: "<in Celestial glory>" (TB)
```

test <to his dominions: by the apostates admitting the> <testimony>"; first insertion by TB, second by JG. 150. TB minutes, [4]: replace "they damn" with "damns"; Draft, [10]: "<they> damns" (TB)

149. TB minutes, [4]: replace "to his dominions ... testimony" with "and the test[imony]"; Draft, [10]: "and the

Paul, what do *you* say? They impeached Paul, and all went and left him. Paul had seven churches, and they drove him off from among them; and yet they cannot do it by me. I rejoice in that;<sup>151</sup> my testimony is good.

Paul says "there is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory. So is also the resurrection of the dead." They who obtain a glorious resurrection from the dead are expressly declared to be heirs of God and joint heirs with Jesus Christ, all having eternal power.

The Scriptures are a mixture of <sup>155</sup> very strange doctrines to the Christian world, who are blindly led by the blind <sup>156</sup>. I will refer to <sup>157</sup> another Scripture: "Now," says God when he visited Moses in the bush—(Moses was a stammering <sup>158</sup> sort of a boy like me) God said, "thou shalt be a God unto the children of Israel." God said, "thou shalt be a God unto Aaron, and he shall be thy spokesman." I believe <sup>159</sup>those Gods that God reveals as Gods to be sons of God, and all can cry "Abba, Father." Sons of God who exalt themselves to be Gods even from before the foundation of the world, and are <sup>160</sup>the only Gods I have a reverence for.

John said he was a king. "And from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful Witness and the First Begotten of the dead, and the Prince of the kings of the earth. Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to him be glory and dominion forever and ever: Amen." Oh thou God who art King of kings and Lord of lords, the sectarian world by their actions declare 162, "we cannot believe thee."

The <sup>163</sup> old Catholic Church traditions are <sup>164</sup> worth more than all you have said <sup>165</sup>; here is a principle of logic that most <sup>166</sup> men have no more sense than to adopt <sup>167</sup>. I will illustrate it by an old apple tree. Here jumps off a branch and says I am the true tree, and you are corrupt. If the whole tree is corrupt are not its branches corrupt? <sup>168</sup> If the Catholic religion is a false religion <sup>169</sup> how can any true religion <sup>170</sup> come out of it? If the Catholic Church is bad how can any good thing come out of it? The characters <sup>171</sup> of the old churches <sup>172</sup> have always been slandered by all apostates since the world began.

```
152. TB minutes, [4]: replace "from another star ... dead" with "&c."
153. TB minutes, [4]: omit "who obtain ... dead"
154. TB minutes, [4]: omit "powers"
155. TB minutes, [4]: omit "mixture of"
156. TB minutes, [4]: omit "to the Christian world ... blind"; Draft, [10]: "<to the Christian world ... blind>" (TB)
157. TB minutes, [4]: replace "will refer to" with "have"; Draft, [10]: "have <will refer to>" (TB)
158. TB minutes, [4]: replace "stammering" with "stuttering"; Draft, [10]: "stuttering <stammering>" (TB)
159. TB minutes, [5], Draft, [11]: add "in"
160. TB minutes, [5]: adds "all"
```

161. TB minutes, [5], abbreviate this quote: "J.C. who hath by his own blood made us K & P. to God."

162. TB minutes, [5], Draft, [11]: omit "the sectarian ... declare"; Book F-1, 104: "<the Sectarian ... declare>" (JG) 163. TB minutes, [5]: omit "The"; Draft, [11]: "\The/" (TB)

164. TB minutes, [5]: replace "traditions are" with "is"; Draft, [11]: "is < traditions are >" (TB)

165. TB minutes, [5]: omit "you have said"; Draft, [11]: "<you have said>" (TB) 166. TB minutes, [5]: omit "most"; Draft, [11]: "<most>" (TB)

167. TB minutes, [5]: omit "than to adopt"; Draft, [11]: "<than to adopt overlook adopt>" (TB)

168. TB minutes, [5]: omit "are not its branches corrupt"; Draft, [11]: "<are not its branches corrupt?>" (TB)

169. TB minutes, [5]: omit "If the Catholic religion is a false religion"; Draft, [11]: "<If the Catholic Churchbe corrupt religion is a false religion>" (TB)

```
170. TB minutes, [5]: replace "religion" with "thing"; Draft, [11]: "thing < religion>" (TB)
```

171. DHC 6:478: "character"

172. TB minutes, [5]: replace "churches" with "ones"

151. Draft, [10]: "<in> that\;/" (prob. JG)

I testify again, as the Lord lives<sup>173</sup>, God never will acknowledge any traitors or<sup>174</sup> apostates; any man who will betray the Catholics will betray you, and if he will betray <sup>175</sup>me he will betray you. All men are liars who say they are of the true church without the revelations of Jesus Christ and the priesthood of Melchizedek, which is after the order of the Son of God<sup>176</sup>.

It is in the order of heavenly things that God should always send a<sup>177</sup> new dispensation into the world, when men have apostatized from the truth and lost the priesthood; but<sup>178</sup> when men come out and build<sup>179</sup> upon other men's foundations, they do it on their own responsibility without authority from God; and when the floods come and the winds blow, their foundations will be found to be sand, and their whole fabric will crumble to dust.<sup>180</sup>

Did I build on any other<sup>181</sup> man's foundation<sup>182</sup>? I have got all the truth which the Christian world possessed<sup>183</sup>, and an<sup>184</sup> independent revelation<sup>185</sup> in the bargain, and God will bear me off triumphant. I will drop this subject; I wish I could speak for three or four hours, but it is not expedient on account of the rain. I will still go on and show you proof upon proofs; all the Bible is as equal in<sup>186</sup> <sup>187</sup> one part as another.

<sup>188</sup>[On account of the <sup>189</sup>rain it was impossible for Thomas Bullock<sup>190</sup> to report any more.]

<sup>191</sup>Judge Jesse B. Thomas came to Nauvoo and advised me to go before some justice of the peace of the county, and have an examination of the charges specified in the writ from Justice Morrison of Carthage, and if acquitted or bound over it would allay all excitement, answer the law, and cut off all legal pretext for a mob, and he would be bound to order them to <sup>192</sup> keep the peace.

Some forty gentlemen from Madison came down on a steamer to inquire into our difficulties. I met them at the Masonic Hall at 2 p.m., and gave them the desired information. Dr. Richards, the city recorder, read the minutes of the council, declaring the *Nauvoo Expositor* a nuisance. They expressed themselves satisfied. I then went to the Temple stand, and met some thousands of the brethren. I

```
173. TB minutes, [5]: omit "the Lord lives"; Draft, [12]: "<the Lord lives>" (TB)
```

<sup>174.</sup> TB minutes, [5]: omit "traitors or"; Draft, [12]: "<traitors or>" (TB)

<sup>175.</sup> Draft, [12]: adds "one"

<sup>176.</sup> TB minutes, [5]: omit "church without the revelations ... God"; Draft, [12]: "<without the revelations ... God>" (TB)

<sup>177.</sup> TB minutes, [5]: replace "It is in the order of heaven ... send a" with "God always sends a"; Draft, [12]: "God always sends a <It is in the order of Heaven ... send a>" (TB)

<sup>178.</sup> Draft, [12]: "<when men have apostatized from the <truth and lost the> Priesthood, but>" (TB)

<sup>179.</sup> Draft, [12]: "built <build>"

<sup>180.</sup> TB minutes, [5]: omit "they do it ... dust"; Draft, [12]: "<they do so <it on their own responsibility> without authority ... be on sand ... dust.>" (TB)

<sup>181.</sup> TB minutes, [5]: replace "any other" with "another"; Draft, [12]: "<any> another" (TB)

<sup>182.</sup> TB minutes, [5]: add "but my own"; Draft, [12]: "but my own"

<sup>183.</sup> TB minutes, [5]: omit "which the Christian world possessed"; Draft, [12]: "<[two illegible words]> <which the Christian world possessed>"; first insertion by JG, second by TB.

<sup>184.</sup> Draft, [12]: "[some?] <an>" (JG)

<sup>185.</sup> Draft, [12] (darker ink): "\revelation/" (JG)

<sup>186.</sup> TB minutes, [5], Draft, [12]: omit "in"

<sup>187.</sup> DHC 6:479: adds "support of this doctrine"

<sup>188.</sup> Brackets in Book F-1, 105, DN, and DHC 6:479. Source: Draft, [12], in JSAd, Bx 4, fd 6, image 129 (JG).

<sup>189.</sup> Draft, [12]: adds "heavy"

<sup>190.</sup> Draft, [12]: "the clerk < Thomas Bullock>" (TB)

<sup>191.</sup> Source: Following four paragraphs from JSj [1844], 158-59 (WR) (APR, 492-93), with editing, rearranging, and elaboration.

<sup>192.</sup> JSj [1844], 159: "<order them to>"

instructed them to keep cool, and prepare their arms for defense of the city; as it was reported that a mob was collecting in Carthage and other places. I exhorted them to be quiet and make no disturbance, and instructed the brethren to organize into the capacity of a public meeting, and send delegates to all the surrounding towns and villages to explain the cause of the disturbance, and show them that all was peace at Nauvoo, and that there was no cause for any mobs.

A messenger arrived, stating that the clerk of the county court expected to be driven out of Carthage tomorrow, and the only way to prevent the shedding of blood was to get the governor in person to come down with his staff.

I wrote to Governor Ford stating the facts as follows:—

<sup>193</sup>Nauvoo, Ill[inois]., June 16th, 1844.

His Excellency Thomas Ford:

Sir:—I am informed from credible sources, as well as from the proceedings of a public meeting at Carthage, &c., as published in the *Warsaw Signal* extra, that an energetic attempt is being made by some of the citizens of this and the surrounding counties to drive and exterminate "the Saints" by force of arms; and I send this information to your Excellency by a special messenger, Hugh McFall, adjutant-general, Nauvoo Legion, <sup>194</sup> who will give all particulars; and I ask at your hands immediate counsel and protection.

Judge Thomas has been here and given his advice in the case, which I shall strictly follow until I hear from your Excellency, and in all cases shall adhere to the Constitution and laws.

The Nauvoo Legion is at your service to quell all insurrections<sup>195</sup> and support the dignity of the common weal.

I wish—urgently wish your Excellency to come down in person with your staff, and investigate the whole matter without delay, and cause peace to be restored to the country; and I know not but this will be the only means of stopping an effusion of blood.

The information referred to above is before me by affidavit.—

I remain, sir, the friend of peace, and your Excellency's humble servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

His Excellency Thomas Ford. 196

I enclosed a copy of the following affidavit:

```
197State of Illinois,
Hancock county,
City of Nauvoo.

[ss.] [ss.]
```

June 16th, 1844. Personally appeared before me, Willard Richards, clerk of the municipal court of the city of Nauvoo, Thomas G. Wilson<sup>199</sup>, and after being duly sworn according to law, deposeth and saith, that during the<sup>200</sup> last evening, Robert Johnson of the county

<sup>193.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 15-18 (TB) (PWJS, 607-8).

<sup>194.</sup> MS letter, 1: "<General, Nauvoo Legion,>"

<sup>195.</sup> DHC 6:480: "insurrection"

<sup>196.</sup> DHC 6:480: omits this line

<sup>197.</sup> Source: Original in JSHD, Bx 2 (TB). JSHD folder contains the original and a copy, neither of which includes WR's second attestation.

<sup>198.</sup> MS affidavit, 1, DHC 6:480: add "ss."

<sup>199.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: "<Thomas G. Wilson>"

<sup>200.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: "<during the>"

aforesaid, told deponent that <sup>201</sup>fifteen hundred Missourians would assemble at Warsaw in said county, on the morning of the 17th inst[ant].; that the arms of the Quincy Greys had been sent up to Warsaw; that they had five <sup>202</sup>cannon at Warsaw; <sup>203</sup> that said Missourians and others who should join them would proceed to Carthage, and the Quincy Greys and other companies from Adams county were <sup>204</sup> to meet the Missourians in Carthage, at the time before stated; that from Carthage they were going round to the branches of the Church of Latter Day Saints in said county and inform them that they must deny Joseph's being a Prophet, and if they did not deny Joseph, they must leave immediately; and on Thursday next the whole mob were to proceed to Nauvoo and demand Joseph and Hyrum Smith and the city council of said city, and if Joseph and Hyrum and the city council were not given up, they would blow up the city and kill and exterminate all the inhabitants of said city.

THOMAS G. WILSON.

Subscribed and sworn to  $^{205}$ before me, Willard Richards, clerk. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal of the Municipal Court of said city, at the time and place above written.

[Seal of Municipal Court.]<sup>206</sup> WILLARD RICHARDS, Clerk M[unicipal]. C[ourt]. C[ity]. [of] N[auvoo].

I have compared the within affidavit with the original and find it a true copy.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal of court, at the city of Nauvoo this 16th day of June, 1844.

[Seal.]<sup>207</sup> WILLARD RICHARDS.
Clerk of the Municipal Court, City of Nauvoo.

<sup>208</sup>Br[other]. Butler<sup>209</sup> from Bear creek came in and made affidavit before the recorder that fifteen hundred Missourians were to cross the Mississippi to Warsaw the next morning on their way to Carthage. Wrote letter to Hugh McFall, adjunct gen[eral] of Legion, [requesting him] to carry letter to the governor; he declined going.

I received a letter from Father Morley:—

<sup>210</sup>President Joseph Smith:

Sir:—Believing it to be my duty to inform you of the proceedings of a wicked clan against the Saints in this place, I improve this opportunity. On yesterday George Baker in company with Joseph Barber, a Mr. [John]<sup>211</sup> Banks, Luther Perry, and one more, his name I have

<sup>201.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: adds "there"

<sup>202.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: adds "pieces of artil[lery]"

<sup>203.</sup> Book F-1, 106: "<that they had ... Warsaw,>" (JG)

<sup>204.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: "were" overwrites "is"

<sup>205.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: adds "this day and year above written"

<sup>206.</sup> MS affidavit, 1, has an embossed seal. DHC 6:481: moves seal to precede above paragraph

<sup>207.</sup> DHC 6:481: omits seal

<sup>208.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 158-59 (WR) (APR, 492-93). Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>209.</sup> JSj [1844], 158: apparently reads "Brother", not "Butler". The content of this brother's affidavit, as described in JSj is the same as Wilson's affidavit above. In preparing RDft 8:62, JG apparently misread JSj, and then added a penciled note in the margin: "Insert when found".

<sup>210.</sup> Source: Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 43-46.

<sup>211.</sup> Book F-1, 106: adds blank space; DN has a long dash for first name.

not got<sup>212</sup>, came to my house<sup>213</sup>. Mr. Baker came to my door and said he had some business, and wished to speak with me. I went out into my dooryard with him, and he came in company with a Mr. Banks and others; they informed me they were a committee appointed to inform me and our people, that they had three propositions to make to us; in the first place yourself and about seventeen others had broken the law and good order of society; that we, the Mormon people, must take up arms and proceed with them for your arrest, or take our effects and proceed immediately to Nauvoo, otherwise give up our arms and remain quiet until the fuss is over. We have until Monday morning next to make up our minds; we have made up our minds that we shall not comply with any of these proposals<sup>214</sup>, but stand in our own defense; we have no signature from the governor, or any official officer, to accept of such wicked proposals.

We are informed that the company must be at Col. Williams' tomorrow morning at eight o'clock  $^{215}$ to proceed to Nauvoo.

I have thought it my duty to inform you of the proceedings here.

This from your humble servant, ISAAC<sup>216</sup> MORLEY.

June 16th, 1844.217

We certify the above to be<sup>218</sup> true.

GARDNER SNOW, EDMUND DURFEE, IRA WILLSEY<sup>219</sup>.

I sent the following answer by Joseph S. Allen:—

<sup>220</sup>Headquarters, Nauvoo Legion, Lieut.-General's Office, Nauvoo, June 16th, 1844.

Col. Isaac Morley <sup>221</sup>to the Lieut. Gen[eral] of said Legion:

Sir:—In reply to yours of this date, you will take special notice of the movements of the mob party that is stirring up strife, and endeavoring to excite rebellion to the government and destroy the Saints, and cause all the troops of said Legion in your vicinity to be in readiness to act at a moment's warning, and if the mob shall fall upon the Saints by force of arms defend them at every hazard, unless prudence dictate the retreat of the troops to Nauvoo, in which case the mob will not disturb your women and children; and if the mob move towards Nauvoo, either come before them or in their rear, and be ready to co-operate with the main body of the Legion. Instruct the companies to keep cool, and let all things be done decently and in order.

Give information by affidavit before a magistrate and special messengers to the governor

<sup>212.</sup> MS letter, 1: "<got>"

<sup>213.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<came to my house>"

<sup>214.</sup> Book F-1, 107 (pencil): "prospects < proposals>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>215.</sup> MS letter, 1: "AM"; Book F-1, 107: "a.m."

<sup>216.</sup> MS letter, 1: "I"; Book F-1, 107 (pencil): "I\saac/" (pos. RLC)

<sup>217.</sup> MS letter, 1: moves date to end of certification below

<sup>218.</sup> DHC 6:482: replaces "to be" with "is"

<sup>219.</sup> Book F-1, 107 (pencil): "Ke<Wi>llsey" (pos. RLC)

<sup>220.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 19-20 (WR) (PWJS, 609). Deleted material added in bold type.

<sup>221.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "[illegible]"

of what has occurred, and every illegal proceeding that shall be had on the subject without delay. Also notify me of the same, and demand instruction and protection from the governor.

JOSEPH SMITH, Lieut. Gen. Nauvoo Legion.

#### Col Isaac Morley.

I insert the minutes of a public meeting:

<sup>222</sup>A public meeting was held in the city of Nauvoo, on Sunday evening the 16th inst. Mr. John Taylor was unanimously called to the chair, and W[illia]m. Clayton appointed clerk. The chairman stated briefly the object of the meeting, whereupon it was unanimously "Resolved, That inasmuch as many false reports are being circulated through this county by designing characters, for the purpose of bringing persecution upon the peaceable citizens of this city, we will use our endeavors to disabuse the public mind, and present a true statement of facts before them as speedily as possible.

Resolved, That for the more speedy accomplishment of this object, this meeting appoint delegates to go to the different precincts throughout the county to lay a true statement of facts before the public."

The following delegates were then appointed:

To Warsaw precinct, Messrs. Joseph A. Kelting, Hugh McFall and John T. Barnett. Rocky Run precinct, Messrs. Anson Call, E. Horner, Nicholas Boscow and David Evans. Carthage precinct, Messrs. Lewis Robinson, Jeremiah Hatch, jun., and Dr. Robinson. Lima precinct, Messrs. William Allen, Elam<sup>223</sup> Luddington and Charles Warner. La Harpe and Pilot Grove, Messrs. Benjamin Warrington and Hiram Kimball. Spilman's Landing and Appanoose, Messrs. Elijah R. Swackhammer and Truman Gillett, jun. St. Mary's and Chili, Messrs. Philander Colton and —— <sup>224</sup> Averett. Fountain Green and Macedonia, Messrs. Moses Cla[i]re and Andrew H. Perkins. Augusta and Plymouth, Messrs. Peter Slater, Darwin Chase and John McIllwrick. On motion, meeting adjourned sine die.

JOHN TAYLOR, President.

W[ILLIA]M. CLAYTON, Secretary.

And I issued the following:

## <sup>225</sup>PROCLAMATION.

Mayor's Office, Nauvoo, June 16th, 1844.

As there are a number of statements in circulation which have for their object the injury of the "Latter Day Saints," all of which are false and prompted by black-hearted villains, I therefore deem it my duty to disabuse the public mind in regard to them, and to give a plain statement of facts which have taken place in the city within a few days past, and which has<sup>226</sup> brought upon us the displeasure of the unprincipled and the uninformed, and seems to afford

<sup>222.</sup> Source: "Public Meeting," NN 2 (19 June 1844): [239].

<sup>223.</sup> NN 2:[239]: "E."; Book F-1, 108: "E.\lam/" (US)

<sup>224.</sup> NN 2:[239] has a long dash; Book F-1, 108: adds blank space; DHC 6:483: omits long dash

<sup>225.</sup> Source: NN 2 (19 June 1844): [239].

<sup>226.</sup> DHC 6:484: replaces "has" with "have"

an opportunity to our enemies to unite and arouse themselves to mob; and already they have commenced their hellish operations by driving a few defenseless Mormons from their houses and homes in the vicinity of Warsaw and Carthage.

A short time since a press was started in this city which had for its object the destruction of the institutions of the city, both civil and religious; its proprietors are a set of unprincipled scoundrels who attempted in every possible way to defame the character of the most virtuous of our community, and change our peaceful and prosperous city into a place as evil and polluted as their own black hearts. To rid the city of a paper so filthy and pestilential as this, became the duty of every good citizen who loves good order and morality. A complaint was made before the city council, and after a full and impartial investigation it was voted—without one dissenting voice—a public NUISANCE, and to be immediately destroyed; the peace and happiness of the place demanded it, the virtue of our wives and daughters demanded it<sup>227</sup>, and our consciences demanded it at our hands as conservators of the public peace.

That we acted right in this matter we have the assurance of one of the ablest expounders of the laws of England, viz. <sup>228</sup>, Blackstone—the constitution of the State of Illinois and our own chartered rights.

If then our charter gives us the power to decide what shall be a nuisance and cause it to be removed, where is the offense? What law is violated? If then no law has been violated, why this ridiculous excitement and bandying with lawless ruffians to destroy the happiness of a people whose religious motto is "peace and good will toward all men?"

Our city is infested with a set of blacklegs, counterfeiters and debauchers<sup>229</sup>, and that the proprietors of this press were of that class the minutes of the Municipal Court fully testify, and in ridding our young and flourishing city of such characters we are abused by not only villainous demagogues, but by some who from their station and influence in society, ought rather to raise than repress the standard of human excellence.

We have no disturbance or excitement among us, save what is made by the thousand-and-one idle rumors afloat in the country. Everyone is protected in his person and property, and but few cities of a population of twenty thousand people in the United States, hath<sup>230</sup> less of dissipation or vice of any kind than the city of Nauvoo.

Of the correctness of our conduct in this affair, we appeal to every high court in the State, and to its ordeal we are willing to appear at any time that His Excellency Governor Ford shall please to<sup>231</sup> call us before it. I, therefore, in behalf of the Municipal Court of Nauvoo, warn the lawless, not to be precipitate in any interference in our affairs, for as sure as there is a God in Israel, we shall ride triumphant over all oppression.

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor.

I received a letter from my uncle John Smith:

```
<sup>232</sup>Macedonia, Illinois,
Sunday, June 16th, 1844.
```

President Smith:

Dear Sir:—We send you br[other]s. Perkins<sup>233</sup>, two faithful brethren, who will give you

```
227. NN 2:[239]: omits "it"; Book F-1, 108: "<it>" (US)
```

<sup>228.</sup> DHC 6:484: "namely."

<sup>229.</sup> Book F-1, 109: "debauchees"

<sup>230.</sup> DHC 6:485: "have"

<sup>231.</sup> DHC 6:485: omits "to"

<sup>232.</sup> Source: Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 39-40.

<sup>233.</sup> MS letter, 1: "Bro Perkins's"; Book F-1, 109 (pencil): "Bro\s/ Perkins's"

all the information which is within our knowledge, of the proceedings of our enemies; and as we have not heard or received communication from Nauvoo as regards the course we should pursue, we now ask your counsel, and you will please forward per br[other]. Perkins. We should have sought your counsel sooner only on account of high water. Please communicate in writing the course we in this part of the county<sup>234</sup> should pursue. The brethren in these parts are in good faith, spirits and health generally, and may be relied on.—

Respectfully,

JOHN SMITH.

p[e]r J. E. Johnson[,] Clk.<sup>235</sup>

General Joseph Smith.

<sup>236</sup>Monday, 17.—I wrote the following to my uncle John Smith:

<sup>237</sup>Nauvoo, June 17th, 1844.

Uncle John:

Dear Sir:—The brethren from Ramus arrived here this morning; we were glad to see them, and to hear that you were all alive in the midst of the ragings of an infatuated and blood thirsty mob. I write these few lines to inform you that we feel determined in this place not to be dismayed if hell boils over all at once. We feel to hope for the best, and determined to prepare for the worst; and we want this to be your motto in common with us "that we will never ground our arms until we give them up by death." "Free trade and sailor's rights, protection of persons and property, wives and families."

If a mob annoy you, defend yourselves to the very last, and if they fall upon you with a superior force, and you think you are not able to compete with them, retreat to Nauvoo. But we hope for better things, but remember if your enemies do fall upon you be sure and take the best and most efficient measures the emergency of the case may require.

Remember the front and the rear of your enemies, because if they should come to Nauvoo to attack it<sup>238</sup> unlawfully, and by mob force, a little annoyance upon the rear with some bold fellows would be a very good thing to weaken the ranks of an enemy.

It is impossible to give you correct information what to do beforehand, but act according to the emergency of the case; but never give up your arms, but die first.

The brethren will give you information of the conversation between us. We have sent to the governor, and are about to send again; and we want you to send affidavits and demand the attention of the governor, and request protection at his hand in common with the rest of us, that by our continual wearying, we may get him to come in<sup>239</sup> and investigate the whole matter.

I now conclude with my best wishes, and must refer you to the brethren for further information.

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor of the city of Nauvoo, and Lieut.-General of the Nauvoo Legion.

<sup>234.</sup> DHC 6:485: "country"

<sup>235.</sup> This line added here from MS letter, 1; Book F-1, 109: "pr. J. E. Johnson, Clerk"

<sup>236.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 160 (WR) (APR, 493).

<sup>237.</sup> Source: Original in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 25-26 (WC) (PWJS, 610-11).

<sup>238.</sup> MS letter, 1: replaces "it" with "Nauvoo"

<sup>239.</sup> DHC 6:486: omits "in"

# [DN 7 (14 October 1857): 249-50]

<sup>240</sup>My brother Hyrum wrote the following letter to Pres[iden]t. B[righam]. Young:

<sup>241</sup>City of Nauvoo, June 17th, 1844.

Dear Brother B[righam]. Young:

There has been for several days a great excitement among the inhabitants in the adjoining counties. Mass meetings are held upon mass meeting, drawing up resolutions to utterly exterminate the Saints. The excitement has been gotten up by the Laws, Fosters and the Higbees, and they themselves have left the city and are engaged in the mob. They have sent their runners into the State of Missouri to excite them to murder and bloodshed, and the report is that a great many hundreds of them will come over to take an active part in murdering the Saints. The excitement is very great indeed.

It is thought best by <sup>242</sup>myself and others for you to return without delay, and the rest of the Twelve and all the Elders that have gone out from this place, and *as* MANY MORE GOOD FAITHFUL *men as feel disposed to come up with them.* Let wisdom be exercised, and whatever they do, do it without a noise. You know we are not frightened, but think it best to be well prepared and be ready for the onset, and if it is extermination—extermination it is of course.

Communicate to the others of the Twelve with as much speed as possible, with perfect stillness and calmness. A word to the wise is sufficient, and a little powder, lead and a good rifle can be packed in your luggage very easy without creating any suspicion.

There must be no excuses made, for wisdom says that a strict compliance with this<sup>243</sup> request will be for our safety and welfare.

<sup>244</sup>In haste, I remain yours in the firm bonds of the new and everlasting covenant,

HYRUM SMITH.

[P.S.]<sup>245</sup> Large bodies of armed men, cannon and munitions of war are coming on from Missouri in steamboats. These facts are communicated to the governor, and President of the United States, and you will readily see that we have to prepare for the onset.

In the bonds of the new and everlasting covenant, I remain yours,

JOSEPH SMITH.

<sup>246</sup>This morning [17th of June]<sup>247</sup> I was arrested, together with Samuel Bennett, John Taylor,

<sup>240.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1844], 160 (WR) (APR, 493), which reads: "<Hyrum wrote letters to the Twelve—but they were not sent.>". Later, MSHiJS mentions JS advising H. Smith not to send his letter to B.Young (DHC 6:494; chap. 24), which also was apparently based on this passage in JSj. WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 17 June 1844 (DMQP, 20), reads: "A.M at Prest. J[oseph]'s wrote a letter for Hyrum to the Twelve requesting them to come home without delay. Also a letter to Uncle John for J[oseph]s encouraging them to stand firm & not give up their arms if the mob came upon them."

<sup>241.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 21-24 (WC; postscript, WWP; JS signature in pencil, pos. TB). The letter is a folded sheet, which includes on the last page a list of the twelve and their locations in WR's handwriting, as well as the following note: "sent by express by A[aron]. M York to the Ill. River." Although dated 17 June 1844, the letter was not sent until 20 June, when WR recorded that he "wrote twelve to come home" (JSj [1844], 166; APR, 495; cf. DHC 6:519; chap. 26). Above WR's notation on the same page is another by JMc: "Copy of a Letter to the Twelve, filed June 20th 1844."

<sup>242.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "by brother Joseph and"

<sup>243.</sup> DHC 6:487: replaces "this" with "our"

<sup>244.</sup> This paragraph and HS's name canceled in MS letter, 2, with penciled note in left margin: "(to be in)" (pos. TB).

<sup>245.</sup> DHC 6:487: adds "P.S."

<sup>246.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 160 (WR) (APR, 493), with editing and elaboration.

<sup>247.</sup> DHC 6:487: adds date in brackets

W[illiam]. W. Phelps, Hyrum Smith, John P. Greene, Dimick B. Huntington, Jonathan Dunham, Stephen Markham, Jonathan H. Holmes, Jesse P. Harmon, John Lytle, Joseph W. Coolidge, David H.<sup>248</sup> Redfield, O. P. Rockwell and Levi Richards, by constable Joel S. Miles, on a writ issued by Daniel H. Wells, on complaint of W. G. Ware for a riot on the 10th inst. in destroying the *Nauvoo Expositor* press. At 2 p.m., we went before Justice Wells at his house, and after a long and close examination, <sup>249</sup> we were discharged. The following is a copy of the minutes of this trial:

### <sup>250</sup>FOR THE NEIGHBOR.

```
State or Illinois, county of Hancock. ss.
```

Justice's Court, June 17th, 1844; Daniel H. Wells, justice of the peace, presiding.

State of Illinois *vs.* Joseph Smith, Samuel Bennett, John Taylor, W[illiam]. W. Phelps, Hyrum Smith, John P. Greene, Stephen Perry, Dimick B. Huntington, Jonathan Dunham, Stephen Markham, Jonathan H.<sup>251</sup> Holmes, Jesse P.<sup>252</sup> Harmon, John Lytle, Joseph W. Coolidge, Harvey D[avid].<sup>253</sup> Redfield, O[rrin]. Porter Rockwell and Levi Richards.

Defendants were brought before the court by Joel S. Miles, constable of the county aforesaid, by virtue of a warrant issued by the court on complaint of W. G. Ware, for a "riot committed in the city of Nauvoo, county aforesaid, on or before<sup>254</sup> the 10th day of June, 1844, by forcibly entering a brick building in said city, occupied as a printing office, and taking therefrom by force, and with force of arms, a printing-press, types and paper, together with other property belonging to William Law, Wilson Law, Robert D. Foster, Charles A. Foster, F[rancis]. M. Higbee, Chaunc[e]y L. Higbee and Charles Ivins, and breaking in pieces and burning the same in the streets."

George P. Stiles, Esq., appeared as counsel for the defense and Edward Bonney<sup>255</sup>, Esq., for the prosecution.

W. G. Ware sworn: Said he was present when the city council passed an order for the destruction of the press; went up to the Temple and heard the Marshal read the order of the mayor; did not know how they got into the building; the press was taken out and destroyed.

Defendants' counsel objected to witness' stating who voted for the passage of the bill in the council, and read Burns' definition of a riot, and said there could be no accessory.

Councilor Bonney<sup>256</sup> read from the statute page 173, and plead<sup>257</sup> there might be an accessory to a riot. Court decided there might be an accessory to<sup>258</sup> any crime either before or after the fact.

Witness knew some who voted for the order in the city council; heard Gen. Dunham give orders for the destruction of the press; Dunham, Redfield, and Richards took an active part in the destruction of the press. Did not know all the persons.

<sup>248.</sup> DHC 6:487: "H. David."

<sup>249.</sup> JSj [1844], 160: omits "at his house ... examination"

<sup>250.</sup> Source: "Extra," NN 2 (21 June 1844): [241], which was issued at 5 a.m. according to its heading. WR reports that he "wrote all night to make out Extra Neighbor—Bullock helped" (WRj 10:19). Cf. rept. in NN 2 (26 June 1844): [244].

<sup>251.</sup> NN 2:[241]: omits "H."; Book F-1, 111: "<H>" (JG)

<sup>252.</sup> NN 2:[241]: incorrectly reads "C."

<sup>253.</sup> DHC 6:488: "H. David."

<sup>254.</sup> NN 2:[241], Book F-1, 111: replace "before" with "about"

<sup>255.</sup> NN 2:[241], DHC 6:488: "Bonny"; Book F-1, 111: "Bonn\e/y"

<sup>256.</sup> NN 2:[241], DHC 6:488: "Bonny"; Book F-1, 111 (pencil): "Bonn<e>y"

<sup>257.</sup> DHC 6:488: "pleaded"

<sup>258.</sup> Book F-1, 111: "<a riot. Court decided there <might be> an accessa <o>ry to>" (JG); "<o>" in pencil.

Cross-examined: City council considered the press a nuisance and ordered it to be abated; was present at the execution of the mayor's orders; no unnecessary noise; all was done peaceably; saw no disorder; heard no language by the prisoners calculated to disturb the peace.

Henry<sup>259</sup> O. Norton sworn: Was at the printing office; heard Marshal Greene give orders to open the door. Markham carried out the press and type; recollected Dunham; *could not identify any others*; no contention between the marshal and Higbee; marshal asked Charles A. Foster for the key which he refused to give; heard no threats concerning the destruction of the press at<sup>260</sup> any time.

O. F. Moesseur sworn: Saw many of the people gather around the printing office; went over, back, and over again; could not identify any person; heard no loud talking or noise.

P.T. Rolfe sworn: was at work in the printing office last Monday night, *C[hauncey]*. *Highee came in* and said the council was about to destroy the press, *and took some papers from the desk*; Marshal Greene came with a company and demanded the key. Foster and Highee forbid<sup>261</sup> him; door was opened by Lytle, as witness thought; the press and fixtures were destroyed; <sup>262</sup>some paper and a desk belonging to Dr. Foster containing several thousand dollars of property, \$4,000 auditor's warrants and other valuable papers.

Cross-examined: Did not know the amount of warrants and <sup>263</sup> papers; presumed they were destroyed. **Did not know they were destroyed.** <sup>264</sup> Did not know whether they were destroyed; was from the office long enough to have them taken out. Said Greene, Dunham, Markham, Holmes, Perry, Edwards, and Harmon helped <sup>265</sup>move the press. Never knew anything against Joseph Smith personally.

B. Warrington sworn: Was present at the council when the bill passed to destroy the press. Joseph Smith objected to calling in question the doings of the city council, and referred to the proceedings of Congress to show that all legislative bodies have a right to speak freely on any subject before them; and that Congress is not responsible for a riot which might arise on the execution of their order by the marshal; that the execution of such order could not be a riot, but a legal transaction; that the doings of the city council could only be called in question by the powers above them; and that a magistrate had not that power; that the city council was not arraigned here for trial; but individuals were arraigned for a riot. If the city council had transcended their powers they were amenable to the supreme court, and that Judge Thomas had decided that an action could not lie if no riot had been committed.

Councilor Bonney<sup>266</sup> said if the act was committed under an ordinance of the city they might show it in justification.

Court decided that the gentlemen arraigned were arraigned<sup>267</sup> in their individual capacities<sup>268</sup>, and could not be recognized by the court in their official capacity.

Witness said that all he heard the prisoners say was said as councilors. Testimony on the prosecution closed.

Councilor Stiles moved that the prisoners be dismissed for want of a case being made out.

```
259. NN 2:[241]: "H."; Book F-1, 111: "H\enry/" (JG)
260. DHC 6:489: omits "at"
261. DHC 6:489: "forbade"
262. DHC 6:489: adds "and"
263. NN 2:[241]: replaces "and" with "or"
264. NN 2:[241]: adds preceding bolded text
265. DHC 6:489: adds "to"
266. NN 2:[241], DHC 6:489: "Bonny"; Book F-1, 112 (pencil): "Bonn<e>y"
267. Book F-1, 112: "<were arraigned>" (JG)
```

268. DHC 6:490: "capacity"

Councilor Bonney $^{269}$  read the riot act, and plead $^{270}$  a case had been made out. Motion overruled by the court.

Dr. Wakefield, Willard Richards and Edward Wingott sworn.

Dr. J. R. Wakefield (of New York) said he went on the hill after the order passed the council, saw some portion of the Legion collected, walking quietly along as though they were walking to the "Dead March in Saul"; there was no noise or tumult. Higbee asked the marshal his authority; marshal stated his authority from the mayor for abating the nuisance. Higbee set them all at defiance; some twelve men were called out who went up stairs and opened the door; did not know how the door was opened; there was not more than one thump. Marshal Greene asked one of the officers if anything was destroyed except what belonged to the press? and the officer replied, ["]No!["] All was done in perfect order, as peaceably as people move on a Sunday; was present all the time; all that was done, was done in their official capacity as officers of the city.

Councilor Bonney<sup>271</sup> objected to the testimony, as it was not before the court that there was any city.

Court decided that any knowledge in possession of the court was testimony in the court.

E. Wingott (of Boston) concurred in Dr. Wakefield's statements; was by the door when it was opened, and knew that nothing more than a *knee* was put against it; all was done quietly; was present in the city council when the order passed; nothing said in council except what was said in capacity of councilors and aldermen; was by the door all the time when the press and type, and things used in connection with the press, was<sup>272</sup> destroyed. There was no other property taken from the building.

Cross-examined: Did not know the name of the man who opened the door; knew O[rrin]. P. Rockwell.

Willard Richards read the resolutions of the city council of the 10th inst[ant]., declaring the press a nuisance, &c., and the mayor's order to the marshal to destroy the press; and the lieutenant-general's order to Major-Gen[eral]. Dunham to assist the marshal with the Legion, if needed, to abate the nuisance; and the marshal's return that the press and type were destroyed, (as published in the *Neighbor*, June 19.)

Court queried about the destruction of the desk.

Dr. Wakefield was again called up; heard marshal tell the officers and men to hurt no property except the press, type and fixtures: and after the abatement marshal inquired if his order had been obeyed, and the officers said it had.

E. Wingott called again: Heard Mr. Foster ask Higbee for the key of the office, and afterwards saw him deliver the key to Mr. Higbee; there was nothing destroyed but what pertained to the press.

Addison Everett (of New York) sworn: Saw the press and type taken out and burned; saw no other property burned; desk might have been taken away<sup>273</sup> before; should not have seen it if it had been; saw no desk burned; does not believe any desk was burned.

Joel S. Miles sworn: Foster said his docket was not burned. Witness was sure that Dr. Foster said he had taken other papers out of the desk.

W. G. Ware called again: Saw Charles Foster coming from the office, and go into Foster's

<sup>269.</sup> NN 2:[241], DHC 6:490: "Bonny"; Book F-1, 112 (pencil): "Bonn<e>y"

<sup>270.</sup> DHC 6:490: "pleaded"

<sup>271.</sup> NN 2:[241], DHC 6:490: "Bonny"; Book F-1, 112 (pencil): "Bonn<e>y"

<sup>272.</sup> DHC 6:490: "were"

<sup>273.</sup> Book F-1, 113 (pencil): "out <away>" (pos. RLC)

house with books under his arm; looked like account books; saw nothing but the press and fixtures brought out except a chair, and the marshal ordered it <sup>274</sup>carried back.

E. Wingott recalled: Stood close by the door; could see all that was done, did not believe a desk could be brought out and he not see it.

Dr. Wak[e]field recalled: Joseph Smith and Hyrum were not on the hill at all that evening. Joseph W. Coolidge was discharged by the court and sworn: Charles Foster asked Francis Higbee for the key to the office: Higbee hesitated; Foster said he wanted to get a desk that had some valuable papers in it; Foster got the key and went in; did not see him remove the desk; might have removed it and witness not see it; there was no desk burned.

The councilors submitted the case without plea, and the court discharged the prisoners.

274. DHC 6:491: adds "to be"

# 24.

# JOSEPH SMITH'S ADDRESS TO NAUVOO LEGION

17-18 June 1844

[DN 7 (14 October 1857): 249-50 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>[Monday, June, 17, 1844 (cont.)] Edward Hunter, Philip B. Lewis and Major John Bills started with the affidavit of Tho[ma]s. G. Wilson, and my letter, &c., to take to Governor Ford. I charged Edward Hunter, under oath, to tell Governor Ford everything<sup>2</sup> he knew concerning me, good or bad, as he has known me for several years; and I said to him "Br[other]. Hunter, you have always wished you had been with us from the commencement; if you will go to Springfield, and do this business for me now in this time of danger, it shall be as though you had been in Missouri, and had always been with us."

Stephen Markham made the following affidavit:

<sup>3</sup>State of Illinois, City of Nauvoo.

On the 17th day of June, 1844, came Stephen Markham before me, Willard Richards, recorder of said city, and after being duly sworn, deposeth and saith that from the public papers, especially the Warsaw papers, and from reports from the various precincts, a mob may be expected to make an immediate attack upon<sup>4</sup> the citizens and city of Nauvoo, on account of the gatherings at the various precincts, and threats to exterminate the Latter Day Saints.

STEPHEN MARKHAM.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 17th day of June, 1844.

WILLARD RICHARDS, Recorder of the City of Nauvoo.

<sup>1.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1844], 160 (WR) (APR, 493), with editing and elaboration. The part about Hunter is a later insertion at *eoln*, interlinearly, and in the margin of RDft 8:63; the source is undetermined, but it may have been a reminiscence passed orally to the compilers. A note on a slip of paper containing a draft of JS's charge to Hunter is located in JSHD, Bx 1, fd 61 (US): "June 17th <1844> Bishop Edward Hunter, was dispatched by me with a message from me to Governor Ford and <when> I charged him under oath to tell the Governor every thing that he knew concerning me good or bad, as he has known me for several years past." Hunter repeated the story in his 1871 autobiography (E. Hunter 1963, 324).

<sup>2.</sup> DHC 6:492: replaces "everything" with "all"

<sup>3.</sup> Source: MS copy in UC (WR).

<sup>4.</sup> MS copy (pencil): "of <upon>"

As soon as the affidavit came to my knowledge, I issued the following

#### <sup>5</sup>PROCLAMATION!

Nauvoo, June 17th, 1844.

To John P. Greene, Marshal of the city of Nauvoo. &c.:

Sir:—Complaint having been made to me on oath that a mob is collecting at sundry points to make an attack on this city, you will therefore take such measures as shall be necessary to preserve the peace of said city, according to the provisions of the charter and the laws of the State; and with the police and <sup>6</sup>Legion see that no violent act is committed. Gen[eral]. Dunham is hereby instructed to cooperate<sup>7</sup> with the marshal in keeping the peace according to law.

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor.

And also:

```
<sup>8</sup>Headquarters, Nauvoo Legion, Nauvoo, June 17th, 1844.
```

To Major General in command, Jonathan Dunham:

Complaint having been <sup>9</sup>on oath that a mob is preparing to make an attack upon this city and citizens of Nauvoo, and having directed the marshal to keep the peace, you are hereby commanded to order the Nauvoo Legion to be in readiness to assist said marshal in keeping the peace, and doing whatever may be necessary to preserve the dignity of the State and city.

JOSEPH SMITH, Lieut.-Gen[eral]. N.L.

Also:

```
<sup>10</sup>Headquarters Nauvoo Legion,
June 17th, 1844.
```

To Major-General in command, Jonathan Dunham:

You are hereby instructed to execute all orders of the marshal<sup>11</sup>, and perform all services with as little noise and confusion as possible, and take every precaution to prevent groups of citizens, &c., from gathering on the bank of the river on the landing of boats or otherwise, and allay every cause and pretext of excitement as well as suspicion, and yet let your operations be efficient and decided.

JOSEPH SMITH, Lieut.-Gen. N.L.

<sup>12</sup>I also issued an order to Col. A. P. Rockwood to call out my guard and staff immediately to my headquarters, and I also ordered the Legion to parade tomorrow at 10 a.m.

<sup>5.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 72 (WWP). Cf. differently worded "Copy" in JScSup, fd 9, 19-20 (WR).

<sup>6.</sup> DHC 6:493: adds "the"

<sup>7.</sup> DHC 6:493: replaces "cooperate" with "act"

<sup>8.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 35-36 (WR).

<sup>9.</sup> DHC 6:493: adds "made"

<sup>10.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 27-30 (WR). Cf. second MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 31-32 (WR).

<sup>11.</sup> MS order: "<of \the/ Marshal>"; omitted in second MS copy.

<sup>12.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1844], 161 (APR, 493).

<sup>13</sup>Headquarters, Nauvoo Legion, Lieut.-General's Office, June 17th, 1844.

To Col. A. P. Rockwood:

You are hereby commanded to notify my<sup>14</sup> guard and staff, to appear at headquarters, without delay, armed and equipped according to law for military duty and inspection, with powder and ball.

JOSEPH SMITH, Lieut.-General N.L.

<sup>15</sup>I advised my brother Hyrum not to mail his letter to Pres[iden]t. Young at present.

<sup>16</sup>I directed my clerk<sup>17</sup> Thomas Bullock to remain in the Masonic Hall, and take affidavits of the men who are constantly coming in with news of the movements of the mob, and preserve copies to forward to the governor.

I received the following letter:

<sup>18</sup>Burlington, Iowa Territory, June 17th, 1844.

Dear Sir:—I write to inform you that Jeremiah Smith arrived here yesterday in safety, and free from arrest. He desires through me to thank you for your kindness and attention to him while at Nauvoo.

I wrote from Springfield to apprize you that an effort was making to procure an indictment against the members of your municipal court for the part they acted in trying the habeas corpus petitions. Through the efforts of myself and Dr. Hickok that result was prevented, and T. B. <sup>19</sup> Johnson exposed. The boat is casting off, and I must close. Dr. Dunlop will write to apprize you of the William and Wilson<sup>20</sup> Law's proceedings here. You will hear from me again soon.—Yours truly,

H. T. HUGINS.

Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith, Nauvoo, Ill.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>22</sup>Thus it appears that the U.S. district court acknowledges the jurisdiction of the municipal court of Nauvoo in trying the merits of writs of habeas corpus.

<sup>23</sup>It is reported the mob is still increasing in numbers at Carthage and other places.

<sup>13.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 33-34 (WR).

<sup>14.</sup> Book F-1, 114 (pencil): "the <my>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>15.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1844], 160 (WR) (APR, 493). For H. Smith to B. Young, see DHC 6:486-87 (chap. 23).

<sup>16.</sup> *Source*: This paragraph inserted interlinearly by TB in RDft 8:64, sometime between Nov. 1855 and Aug. 1856 (see RDft Chronology), and apparently based on his reminiscence.

<sup>17.</sup> Book F-1, 115:"<my clerk>" (JG)

<sup>18.</sup> Source: Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 47-50.

<sup>19.</sup> MS letter, 1: omits "B."; Book F-1, 115 (pencil): "<B>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>20.</sup> MS letter, 1: omits "William and Wilson"; Book F-1, 115: "<William & Wilson>" (JG)

<sup>21.</sup> MS letter, 1: omits this line

<sup>22.</sup> This paragraph appears in MSHiJS and *DN*, but omitted in DHC 6:494. *Source*: Apparently commentary provided by compilers of MSHiJS.

<sup>23.</sup> *Source*: Following five paragraphs from JSj [1844], 160-61 (WR) (*APR*, 493), with light editing, rearranging, and elaboration. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

It is reported that William and Wilson Law have laid a plan to burn the printing office of the *Nauvoo Neighbor* this night; I therefore stationed a strong police round the premises and throughout the city.

The captain of the steamer Osprey called upon me.

About 11 p.m., a Negro came into my office with an open letter without any date or name, and said that Dr. Foster gave it to him at Madison to give Henry O.<sup>24</sup> Norton. In that letter Foster said that Dunham and Richards swore in my presence<sup>25</sup> that they would kill him (Foster) in two days; and that there was a man in Madison would swear he had heard them say so at my house.

I closed the issuing of orders about 12 at night, ready to retire to rest. Pleasant weather<sup>26</sup>.

To refute the lying slanders of the *Warsaw Signal* as published in the proceedings of a meeting held at Carthage on the 13th inst[ant]., I insert the following certificate:

#### <sup>27</sup>TO THE PUBLIC.

We whose names are undersigned having seen in the *Warsaw Signal*, containing the proceedings of a meeting held at Carthage on the 13th inst[ant]., many statements calculated to arouse the indignation and wrath of the people against the citizens of Nauvoo, do certify that Hyrum Smith did not make any threats, nor offer any reward against the *Signal*, or its editor, in the city council:

JOHN TAYLOR, G[EORGE]. W. HARRIS, AARON JOHNSON, PHINEHAS RICHARDS, WILLIAM BOLES, THOMAS SMITH, GEO[RGE]. P. STILES, EDWARD HUNTER, W. W. PHELPS, MOSES F. CLARE<sup>28</sup>, ALANSON RIPLEY, LEVI RICHARDS, ORSON SPENCER, ADDISON EVERETT, JOHN P. GREENE, PHILIP B. LEWIS.

Nauvoo, June 17, 1844.<sup>29</sup>

A Nauvoo Neighbor Extra was issued with the following editorial:

#### <sup>30</sup>TO THE PUBLIC.

As a soft breeze in<sup>31</sup> a hot day mellows the air, so does the simple truth calm the feelings

<sup>24.</sup> JSj [1844], 161: omits "Henry O."; Book F-1, 115: "<Henry O>" (JG)

<sup>25.</sup> JSj [1844], 161: "in presence of Temple"

<sup>26.</sup> JSj [1844], 161: replaces "weather" with "night"; Book F-1, 115 (pencil): "night < weather >" (prob. RLC)

<sup>27.</sup> Source: NN 2 (19 June 1844): [238].

<sup>28.</sup> DHC 6:495:"CLARK"

<sup>29.</sup> In NN 2:[238], this line appears before names.

<sup>30.</sup> Source: NN 2 (19 June 1844): [238].

<sup>31.</sup> DHC 6:496: "on"

of the irritated; and so we proceed to give the proceedings of the city council relating to the removal of the *Nauvoo Expositor* as a nuisance. We have been robbed, mobbed, and plundered with impunity some two or three times, and as every heart is more apt to know its own sorrows, the people of Nauvoo had ample reason, when such characters as the proprietors and abettors of the *Nauvoo Expositor* proved to be before the city council, to be alarmed for their safety.

The men who got up the press were constantly engaged in *resisting* the authority or threatening something. If they were fined an appeal was taken, but the slander went on<sup>32</sup>, and when the paper came, the course and the plan to destroy the city was marked out. The destruction of the city charter and the ruin of the Saints, was the all-commanding topic.

Our lives, our city, our charter, and our characters are just as sacred, just as dear and just as good as other people's; and while no friendly arm has been extended from the demolition of our press in Jackson county, Missouri, without law to this present day, the city council with all the law of nuisance, from Blackstone down to the Springfield charter, knowing that if they exceeded the law of the land, a higher court could regulate the proceedings—abated the Nauvoo Expositor.

The proceedings of the council show, as sketched<sup>33</sup>, that there was cause for<sup>34</sup> alarm. The people when they reflect will at once say that the feelings and rights of men ought to be respected. All persons otherwise, who, without recourse to justice, mercy, or humanity, <sup>35</sup>come out with inflammatory publications, destructive resolutions, or more especially *extermination*, show a want of feeling and <sup>36</sup> a want of respect, and a want of *religious toleration*, that honorable men will deprecate among Americans, as they would the pestilence, famine, or horrors of war. It cannot be that the people are so lost to virtue as to coolly go to murdering men, women, and children. No; candor and common sense forbid it.

<sup>37</sup>Dr. Richards and Thomas Bullock sat up all last night writing the proceedings of the city council for the press.

<sup>38</sup>Tuesday, 18.—At 8 a.m., the Legion assembled according to orders, and organized at 9 a.m., under acting Major-General Jonathan Dunham; the first cohort under the command of Col[onel]. Stephen Markham, acting brigadier-general; and the second cohort under Colonel Hosea Stout, acting brigadier-general.

<sup>39</sup>Just before, I was informed that there were several boxes of arms landed at the upper stone house, which were secured by the marshal. Soon after, it was discovered that the arms (40 stand) had been sent by H[enry]. G. Sherwood<sup>40</sup> and the marshal bought them for the city.

About 1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> p.m. <sup>41</sup>, I proclaimed the city under martial law, and caused the following orders to be issued from the mayor's office<sup>42</sup>:

<sup>32.</sup> Book F-1, 116 (pencil): "out <on>" (US)

<sup>33.</sup> DHC 6:496: adds "out"

<sup>34.</sup> NN 2:[238]: replaces "for" with "of"

<sup>35.</sup> NN 2:[238]: adds "to"

<sup>36.</sup> DHC 6:496: omits "and"

<sup>37.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:19 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>38.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 162 (WR) (APR, 493-94), and NLHi, [7] (HSt) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.21). Cf. NLHi Dft, [10]; JHHM, 1 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.22).

<sup>39.</sup> Source: Following two paragraphs from JSj [1844], 162 (WR) (APR, 493-94), with light editing.

<sup>40.</sup> Book F-1, 116: replaces name with a blank space; "<q[uer]y. H G Sherwood>" appears in pencil in margin (pos. RLC).

<sup>41.</sup> JSj [1844], 162: "<about 2 oclock>". RDft 8:65 (JG): "1¾" w.o. "2"

<sup>42.</sup> JSj [1844], 162: "<and caused writen orders to issue in his name>"

#### <sup>43</sup>PROCLAMATION.<sup>44</sup>

Mayor's Office, City of Nauvoo, June 18th, 1844.

To the Marshal or the City of Nauvoo:<sup>45</sup>

From the<sup>46</sup> newspapers <sup>47</sup>around us, and the current reports as brought in from the surrounding country, I have good reason to fear that a mob is organizing to come upon this city, and plunder and destroy said city<sup>48</sup>, as well as murder the citizens; and by virtue of the authority vested in me<sup>49</sup> as mayor, and to preserve the city and lives of the citizens, I do hereby declare the said city, within the limits of its incorporation, under martial law. The officers, therefore, of the Nauvoo Legion, the police, as well as all others will strictly see that no persons or property pass in or out of the city without due orders.

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor.

By W. W. Phelps, Clerk.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>51</sup>About 2 p.m. the Legion was drawn up in the street close by the mansion; I stood in full uniform on the top of the frame of a building.

 $[...]^{52}$ 

<sup>53</sup>Judge Phelps read the *Warsaw Signal* Extra of the 17th, wherein all the "old citizens" were called upon to assist the mob in exterminating the leaders of the Saints and driving away the people. Gen[eral] J[oseph] Smith called upon all men from the Rocky Mountains to the [Atlantic] Ocean to come to his assistance.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>55</sup>I addressed the Legion for about 1½ hours; <sup>56</sup>the following synopsis of this address was compiled by Geo[rge]. A. Smith from the verbal reports of Joseph G. Hovey, William G. Sterrett, Robert Campbell<sup>57</sup> and many others, who heard the Prophet on the occasion:

<sup>58</sup>It is thought by some that our enemies would be satisfied with my destruction; but I

- 43. Source: MS copy in JScSup, fd 7, 49 (WWP).
- 44. MS order: "Proclamation" appears below date
- 45. MS order: "\To the Marshall of the City of Nauvoo./"
- 46. MS order: "<the>"
- 47. MS order: "<that>"
- 48. MS order: "<said city>"
- 49. MS order: "\me/"
- 50. MS order: adds this line; Book F-1, 117: "By W. W. Phelps, Clerk"
- 51. Source: JSj [1844], 162 (WR) (APR, 494), with light editing and change to first person.
- 52. Except for four lines of text, Book F-1, 117, is blank. Next to this blank is a penciled note in the left margin that reads: "insert sketch by Robt Campbell" (JG). RDft 8:65 also directs scribe to "Insert sketch by Robt Campbell" (JG). British Lithographer Robert Campbell's sketch has not been located. However, see below for amalgamated version.
- 53. Source: Following two paragraphs from JSj [1844], 162 (WR) (APR, 494), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.
- $54. \ RDft \ 8:65: adds "and I \ called \ upon \ all \ honest \ men \ from \ the \ Rocky \ Mountains \ to \ the \ Atlantic \ Ocean \ to-come \ to \ his < my> \ assistance."$
- 55. Source: JS's speaking for one and half hours mentioned in NLHi, [7] (HSt) (transcription in vol. 8,VI.21). Cf. NLHi Dft, [10].
  - 56. DHC 6:497 brackets remainder of paragraph, which was added interlinearly by TB in RDft 8:65.
  - 57. RDft 8:65: "Edwin D. Wolley < William G. Sterrett, Robert Campbell,>" (TB)
- 58. Source: Apparently, British Lithographer Robert Campbell's sketch (which has not been located) was later supplemented by GAS from the "verbal reports" of Hovey, Sterrett, and others, which were then amalgamated by JG

tell you<sup>59</sup> that as soon as they have shed my blood, they will<sup>60</sup> thirst for the blood of every man in whose heart dwells a single spark of the spirit of the fullness of the gospel. The opposition of these men is moved by the spirit of the adversary of all righteousness; it is not only to destroy me, but every man and woman who dares believe the doctrines that God hath inspired me to teach to this generation.

We have never violated the laws of our country<sup>61</sup>; we have every right to live<sup>62</sup> under their protection, and are entitled to all the privileges guaranteed by our State and national Constitutions. We have turned the barren bleak prairies and swamps of this State into beautiful towns, farms and cities by our industry; and the men who seek our destruction and cry thief, treason, riot, &c., are those who themselves violate the laws, steal and plunder from<sup>63</sup> their neighbors, and seek to destroy the innocent, heralding forth lies to screen themselves from the just punishment of their crimes by bringing destruction upon this innocent people. I call God, angels and all men to witness that we are innocent of the charges which are heralded forth through the public prints against us by our enemies; and while they assemble together in unlawful mobs to take away our rights and destroy our lives, they think to shield themselves under the refuge of lies which they have thus wickedly fabricated.

We have forwarded a particular account of all our doings to the governor; we are ready to obey his commands, and we expect that protection at his hands which we know to be our just due.

We have taken the counsel of Judge Thomas, and have been tried before a civil magistrate on the charge of riot;<sup>64</sup> not that the law required it, but because the judge advised it as a precautionary measure to allay all possible pretext for excitement; we were legally<sup>65</sup> acquitted by Esq. Wells who is a good judge of law. Had we been before the circuit, the supreme, or any other court of law in the State or nation, we should<sup>66</sup> have been acquitted, for we have broken no law.

<sup>67</sup>Constable Bettisworth comes<sup>68</sup> here with a writ requiring us to go before Mr.

on 3-15 Oct. 1855 (CHOj 18:155-67), and inserted by TB at the bottom of RDft 8:65 and 65a between 15 Oct. 1855 and 26 Jan. 1856 (see RDft Chronology). The latter date is when JG possibly began transcribing the sermon into Book F-1, 118-20 (CHOj 18:274, 280-81; MSHi Chronology). For some reason, GAS did not use WC's contemporary account, which reads: "He [JS] briefly explained the object of the mob and showed that they waged a war of extermination upon us because of our religion. He called upon all the volunteers who felt to support the constitution from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean to come with their arms, ammunition & defend the constitution. He called upon them as the Lieutenant General of the N[auvoo]. L[egion] and Illinois Militia in the name of the Constitution of the U.S. the people of the State of Ill[inois]. and the citizens of Nauvoo. He called upon the Citizens to defend the lives of their wives & children, fathers and mothers, brothers & sisters from being murdered by the mob. He urged them in strong terms not to shed innocent blood,—not to act in the least on the offensive but invariably in the defensive and if we die—die like men of God and secure a glorious resurrection. He concluded by invoking the Great God to bless the people. ... In the above address he advised all to arm themselves those who had no rifles, get swords, scyth[e]s and make weapons of some kind. He informed them that he had 5000 Elders, minute men who would come with volunteers as soon as he would inform them. He said there were many from Iowa waiting to come when requested" (WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 18 June 1844; WJS, 383-84; DMQP, 20-21).

<sup>59.</sup> RDft 8:65: "< I told the brethren I tell you>"

<sup>60.</sup> RDft 8:65:"would <will>"

<sup>61.</sup> RDft 8:65: "<of our country>"

<sup>62.</sup> RDft 8:65: "been <every right to live>"

<sup>63.</sup> RDft 8:65: omits "from"; Book F-1, 118: "<from>" (JG)

<sup>64.</sup> RDft 8:65: "<on the charge of riot>"

<sup>65.</sup> RDft 8:65:"<legally>"

<sup>66.</sup> DHC 6:498: "would"

<sup>67.</sup> RDft 8:65a: adds "Mr."

<sup>68.</sup> DHC 6:498: "came"

Morrison, "or some other justice of the peace of the county<sup>69</sup>," to answer to the charge of riot; we acknowledged ourselves his prisoners, and were<sup>70</sup> ready to go before any magistrate in any<sup>71</sup> precinct in this part of the county, <sup>72</sup>or anywhere else where our lives could be protected from the mob, who have published the resolutions for our extermination, which you have just heard read.<sup>73</sup> This is a privilege<sup>74</sup> the law guarantees to us, and which the writ itself allows. <sup>75</sup>He breaks<sup>76</sup> the law, and refuses<sup>77</sup> us this privilege, declaring that we shall<sup>78</sup> go before Morrison in Carthage, *and no one else*, when he knew that a numerous mob was collecting there, who are publicly pledged to destroy our lives<sup>79</sup>.

It was under these circumstances that we availed ourselves of the legal right of the ancient, high and constitutional privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, and were brought before the municipal court of this city, and discharged from the illegal detention under which we were held by Constable Bettisworth. <sup>80</sup> All mob-men, priests, thieves and bogus makers, apostates and adulterers, who combine to destroy this people now <sup>81</sup> raise the hue and cry throughout the State that we resist the law, in order to raise a pretext for calling <sup>82</sup> together thousands more <sup>83</sup> of infuriated mob-men to murder, destroy, plunder and ravish the innocent.

We are American citizens; we live upon a soil for the liberties of which our fathers periled their lives, and spilt their blood upon the <sup>84</sup>battlefield; those rights so dearly purchased shall not be disgracefully<sup>85</sup> trodden under foot by lawless marauders, without at least a noble effort on our part to sustain our liberties<sup>86</sup>.

Will you all stand by me to the death, and sustain at the peril of your lives the laws of our country, and the liberties and privileges which our fathers have transmitted unto us, sealed with<sup>87</sup> their sacred blood? (["]Aye,["] shouted thousands.) He then said "it is well, if you had not done it I would have gone out there (pointing to the west) and would have raised up a mightier people.["]<sup>88</sup>

I call upon all men, from Maine to the Rocky Mountains, and from Mexico to British America, whose hearts thrill with horror<sup>89</sup> to behold the rights of freemen trampled under

```
69. RDft 8:65a: "<of the county>"
```

<sup>70.</sup> RDft 8:65a: "<his prisoners and were>"

<sup>71.</sup> RDft 8:65a:"the <any>"

<sup>72.</sup> Book F-1, 118: adds "which is a privilege the law guarantees to us, and which the writ itself allows. Hebreaks the law, and refuses us this privilege"

<sup>73.</sup> RDft 8:65a: "<in this part of the county, <or any where else,> where our lives could be protected from <the> Mob, violence who have published <the> resolutions for my <our> extermination, which you have just heard read.>"

<sup>74.</sup> RDft 8:65a: "which < This is a privilege>"

<sup>75.</sup> RDft 8:65a: "&"

<sup>76.</sup> DHC 6:498: "broke"

<sup>77.</sup> DHC 6:498: "refused"

<sup>78.</sup> DHC 6:498: "should"

<sup>79.</sup> RDft 8:65a: "<declaring that we shall go before Morrison  $\dots$  a <numerous> mob  $\dots$  sworn <who are publically pledged> to destroy our lives>"

<sup>80. &</sup>quot;It was under these circumstances ... Bettisworth" appears in left margin of RDft 8:65a.

<sup>81.</sup> RDft 8:65a: "<now>"

<sup>82.</sup> RDft 8:65a: "murmuring <calling>"

<sup>83.</sup> RDft 8:65a:"<more>"

<sup>84.</sup> RDft 8:65a: adds "bloody"

<sup>85.</sup> RDft 8:65a: "tamely < meanly > < disgracefully > "

<sup>86.</sup> RDft 8:65a: replaces "our liberties" with "them"

<sup>87.</sup> RDft 8:65a: "by <with>"

<sup>88.</sup> RDft 8:65a: omits "He then said ... people"; Book F-1, 119: "<He then said ... people>" (JG)

<sup>89.</sup> RDft 8:65a: omits "with horror"; Book F-1, 119 (pencil): "<with horror" (pos. RLC)

foot, to come to the deliverance of this people from the cruel<sup>90</sup> hand of oppression, cruelty, anarchy, and misrule, to which they have been long<sup>91</sup> made subject. Come all ye lovers of liberty, break the oppressor's rod, loose the iron grasp of mobocracy, and bring to condign punishment all those who trample under foot the principles of our<sup>92</sup> glorious Constitution and the people's rights. <sup>93</sup>(Drawing his sword and presenting it to heaven he said)—I call God and angels to witness, that I have unsheathed my sword with a firm and unalterable determination that this people shall have their legal rights, and be protected from mob violence, or my blood shall be spilt upon the ground like water, and my body consigned to the silent tomb. While I live I will never tamely submit to the dominion of cursed<sup>94</sup> mobocracy; I would welcome death rather than submit to this oppression, and it would be sweet—oh, sweet to rest in the grave rather than submit to this oppression, agitation, annoyance, confusion, and alarm upon alarm any longer.<sup>95</sup>

I call upon all friends of truth and liberty to come to our assistance; 96 and may the thunders of the Almighty and the forked lightnings of heaven and pestilence, and war and bloodshed, come down on those ungodly men who seek to destroy my life and the lives of this innocent people.

I do not regard my own life; I am ready to be offered a sacrifice for this people<sup>97</sup>, for what can our enemies<sup>98</sup> do? Only kill the body and their power is then at an end.<sup>99</sup> Stand firm, my friends; never flinch; Do not seek to save your lives; for he that is afraid to die for the truth will lose eternal life. Hold out to the end, and we shall be resurrected, and become like Gods and reign in celestial kingdoms, principalities, and eternal dominions, while this cursed mob will sink to hell, the portion of all those who shed innocent blood.

God has tried you; you are a good people, therefore I love you with all my heart<sup>100</sup>; greater love hath no man than that he should<sup>101</sup> lay down his life for his friends. You have stood by me in the hour of trouble, and I am willing to sacrifice my life for your preservation.

May the Lord God of Israel bless you for ever and ever, I say it in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, and in the authority of the holy priesthood which he hath conferred upon me.

The people said, ["]Amen.["]

<sup>102</sup>Hyrum said that the statement of Sharp<sup>103</sup> in the *Warsaw Signal*, that he (Hyrum) had threatened to take his life was false as hell, and<sup>104</sup> there was not a syllable of truth in it.

<sup>90.</sup> DHC 6:499: omits "cruel"

<sup>91.</sup> RDft 8:65a: "<long>"; DHC 6:499: "long been"

<sup>92.</sup> DHC 6:499: omits "principles of our"

<sup>93.</sup> DHC 6:499: replaces parentheses with brackets

<sup>94.</sup> RDft 8:65a: "<cursed>"

<sup>95. &</sup>quot;I would welcome death ... longer." added interlinearly and in right margin of RDft 8:65a.

<sup>96. &</sup>quot;I call upon all friends ... assistance;" added in right margin of RDft 8:65a.

<sup>97.</sup> RDft 8:65a: "<a sacrifice for this people>"

<sup>98.</sup> RDft 8:65a: replaces "our enemies" with "they"; Book F-1, 119 (pencil): "they <our enemies>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>99.</sup> RDft 8:65a: "<& their power is then at an end>"

<sup>100.</sup> RDft 8:65a:"all <with all my heart>"

<sup>101.</sup> RDft 8:65a, Book F-1, 119: "shall"

<sup>102.</sup> *Source*: Undetermined. This paragraph appears at the end of JS's sermon in RDft 8:65a, perhaps indicating it is likewise reminiscent. For the claim that Hyrum Smith "publically threatened the life of one of our valued citizens, Thomas C. Sharp, the editor of the *Signal*," see DHC 6:463 (chap. 22).

<sup>103.</sup> Book F-1, 119 (pencil): "Sharp's"

<sup>104.</sup> DHC 6:500: omits "and"

<sup>105</sup>About 3½ p.m.<sup>106</sup>, I took the command, and with my staff rode in front of the Legion, marched up Main Street, and returned to our former parade ground. The number on parade was very large considering the number of Elders who had been sent on missions. After dismissing the Legion to their several commands, I returned home and gave orders to the several commanders, only to receive official communications through my aides-de-camp, the proper official channel. I appointed Edward Bonn[e]y one of my aids-de-camp.

<sup>107</sup>Truman Gillett, jun., made the following affidavit:

```
\begin{array}{c}
    \text{108} \text{State of Illinois,} \\
    \text{City of Nauvoo.}
\end{array}
 [ss.] [ss.]
```

June 18th, 1844.—Personally appeared, Truman Gillett, jun., before me, Willard Richards, recorder of the city of Nauvoo, and after being duly sworn deposeth and saith, that on or about the first day of June, 1842, while passing up the Ohio river on <sup>110</sup>steamboat <sup>111</sup>Massachusetts, deponent overheard two men, one a resident of Missouri and the other of Ohio, as reported, conversing together concerning incidents on the Upper Mississippi, when one said to the other—"If Law could have succeeded in getting an introduction for us to Jo Smith, damn him, we would have gagged him and <sup>112</sup> nabbed him, and damn him, all hell could not have rescued him from our hands."

The next morning deponent got in conversation with the man before mentioned from Missouri who stated that he had been on the Upper Mississippi on business, that he stopped at Nauvoo on his way down with some twelve or fourteen other men, who laid a plan to kidnap *Jo* Smith, that some of the company queried about getting access to him, but one of them said he knew they could if he could find W[illia]m. Law. They called on William Law in the evening to get an introduction<sup>113</sup> to their great Prophet, and Law went with them to the gate where<sup>114</sup> they were stopped by the police, "and it was well for him that we did not succeed in getting an introduction<sup>115</sup> to him."

Deponent said "Did William Law know your business?" and he said "Yes!" Deponent asked "What have you against Joseph Smith?—did he ever injure you?" The man replied "No, but he has others." "Did you ever see him?" "Yes, I was one who helped to run the Mormons from Missouri," and related many circumstances concerning the Missouri mob.

Deponent said to the man he was acquainted with William Law, considered he was an honorable man, and was led to doubt his being engaged with them in a conspiracy against Joseph Smith; he replied, "God damn<sup>116</sup> you it is true whether you believe it or not," and repeatedly

<sup>105.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 162 (WR) (APR, 494), and NLHi, [8] (HSt), with editing and elaboration (transcription in vol. 8,VI.21). Cf. NLHi Dft, [10]. Source for the appointment of Bonney, which was added interlinearly in RDft 8:66 (JG), is JSc, Bx 5, fd 6, 36-37 (WWP).

<sup>106.</sup> JSj [1844], 162: "about 3"

<sup>107.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1844], 163 (WR) (APR, 494).

<sup>108.</sup> Source: Original in UC (WR; signed by Gillett). Cf. "Extra," NN 2 (21 June 1844): [241].

<sup>109.</sup> DHC 6:500: adds "ss."

<sup>110.</sup> MS affidavit, 1, DHC 6:500: add "the"

<sup>111.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: adds "to"

<sup>112.</sup> MS affidavit, 1 (pencil): "on <and>"

<sup>113.</sup> MS affidavit, 1 (pencil): "interview <introduction>"

<sup>114.</sup> MS affidavit, 1 (pencil): "when" emended to "where"

<sup>115.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: "introduction" overwrites "interview"

<sup>116.</sup> DHC 6:501: "G-d d-n"

affirmed it. Deponent did not *believe* the statements of the man from Missouri as mentioned above <sup>117</sup>, until after hearing the recent developments before the city council.

TRUMAN GILLETT, jun.

Sworn and subscribed at the time and place above written before me.

[Seal]

WILLARD RICHARDS, Recorder C.N.

<sup>118</sup>At 8 p.m., wrote the following:

<sup>119</sup>Nauvoo, June 18th, 1844.

H.T. Hugins, Esq.:

Sir:—I received your communication from Burlington per Capt[ain]. Anderson. Also Dr. Hickock's from Springfield, and <sup>120</sup>feel grateful for your favors, and congratulate you and Mr. Smith also.

The enemy, or mob, is prowling in the southern and eastern part of the county, and threatening us with extermination; and we ask the friends of peace and good government everywhere to use their influence in suppressing the spirit of mobocracy, and sustain us in our righteous course.

So far as you can conscientiously speak in our behalf, and lend your influence in our favor for the public good, your favors will be highly appreciated.

Please show this to Dr. Hicko[c]k and such confidential friends as you think proper. Also request Mr. Dunlop to direct his letter to me.

The bearer, Dr. Wakefield, will give you all particulars.

In haste, I remain, your friend, respectfully,

JOSEPH SMITH.

<sup>121</sup>I sent the letter by Dr. Wakefield to Burlington.

Nine [p.m.]<sup>122</sup> messengers arrived from Carthage, and report that the mob had received intelligence from the governor, who would take no notice of them; and the mob<sup>123</sup> damned the governor as being as bad as "Jo[e] Smith". They did not care for him, and they were just as willing he would not help them, as if he would<sup>124</sup>.

There was a body of 50 armed men in Carthage, and a mob meeting at Fountain Green which attracted considerable attention.

Shadrach Roundy, a policeman, reported at ten p.m., after I had retired, that a man by the name of Norton<sup>125</sup> had threatened to shoot me; an examination was immediately had, but no proof <sup>126</sup> found.

<sup>117.</sup> MS affidavit, 2: "<from Missouri as mentioned above>"

<sup>118.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 163 (WR) (APR, 494).

<sup>119.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 37-38 (WR).

<sup>120.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "I"

<sup>121.</sup> Source: Following four paragraphs from JSj [1844], 163 (WR) (APR, 494), with editing and elaboration. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>122.</sup> Brackets this editor's.

<sup>123.</sup> JSj [1844], 163, DHC 6:502: replace "the mob" with "they"

<sup>124.</sup> JSj [1844], 163: omits "as if he would"

<sup>125.</sup> Possibly Henry O. Norton, who later joined other apostates in Carthage in threatening JS's life and was otherwise involved in the legal prosecution that lead to the arrest of JS and HS (DHC 6:560; chap. 29; 6:562; chap. 30; 7:146).

<sup>126.</sup> DHC 6:502: adds "was"

<sup>127</sup>This evening I appointed Theodore Turley armorer-general of the Legion. I insert the following affidavit:

<sup>128</sup>June 18th, 1844. <sup>129</sup>

State of Illinois,  
Hancock county, 
$$^{130}$$
 [ss.]  $^{131}$  City of Nauvoo.

Personally appeared before me, Aaron Johnson, a justice of the peace, Cyrus Canfield and Gilbert Belknap of Hancock county, and being duly sworn, depose and say, that on yesterday, Jackson, having entered into conversation with your deponents, among other things, declared that the governor of Illinois was as big a scoundrel as Joseph Smith, and that he is the d-dest scoundrel that was ever suffered to live—that they did not care for the governor, and had rather that the governor would side with Smith—that they (the mob) were coming to Nauvoo with a sufficient force to take 134 Smith, and if the people endeavored to prevent them, they should kill the people; and that if Smith had left Nauvoo, they had determined to destroy the mansion and other buildings. And your deponents further say that one John Eller declared that he had lived in Missouri and was at the massacre of the Mormons at Haun's Mill; that he had killed one Mormon, and 135 that he had left Missouri on purpose to fight the Mormons, 136 and would hunt a Mormon as he would a deer. And your deponents further say that they heard that 137 about one hundred persons had already arrived from Missouri, and were expecting a<sup>138</sup> many more from that State. And your deponents further say, that they heard in Carthage that they had already received a number of guns and ammunition, and provisions from St. Louis, in order to prosecute their attack upon Nauvoo; and further your deponents say not.

> CYRUS CANFIELD, GILBERT BELKNAP.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this eighteenth day of June, 1844.

AARON JOHNSON, A Justice of the Peace.

<sup>127.</sup> Source: Based on NLHi, [7] (HSt) (transcription in vol. 8,VI.21). Cf. NLHi Dft, [11].

<sup>128.</sup> Source: MS copy in UC (TB). Has notation at bottom of page: "(a Sure copy)".

<sup>129.</sup> DHC 6:502: moves dateline below place lines

<sup>130.</sup> DHC 6:502: moves "Hancock County" to precede date

<sup>131.</sup> DHC 6:502: adds "ss."

<sup>132.</sup> DHC 6:502-3: omits "at Carthage"

<sup>133.</sup> DHC 6:503: omits dash

<sup>134.</sup> MS affidavit: "<take>"

<sup>135.</sup> MS affidavit: "<that he had killed one Mormon and>"

<sup>136.</sup> MS affidavit: "<to fight Mormons,>"

<sup>137.</sup> MS affidavit: "<they heard that>"

<sup>138.</sup> DHC 6:503: replaces "a" with "as"

## 25.

# THREATENED INVASION OF NAUVOO 19-20 June 1844

#### [DN 7 (14 October 1857): 249-50 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>Wednesday, [June] 19 [1844].—The Legion assembled on the parade-ground. A company of the Legion came in from Green Plains about 11 a.m.; I met them at the front of my mansion, and an escort came down from the parade-ground below the Temple and escorted them to the ground.

At 1 p.m., a company of volunteers arrived from Iowa, and were also escorted to the parade-ground.

<sup>2</sup>On Sunday the 16th a committee of the mob, headed by James Charles, a constable of Hancock county,<sup>3</sup> went to the house of Captain Chester Loveland, who lives four miles southeast of Warsaw, and required him to call out his company to join the posse of David Bettisworth to go to Nauvoo and arrest me and the city council; he peremptorily refused to comply with their request; the same posse returned on the 17th with an order as they stated from the governor, which Loveland believed (and no doubt correctly) to be a forgery, and therefore still refused to go on any terms; the posse then reported his refusal to Col[onel]. Williams, who appointed a committee of twelve to lynch, tar and feather Captain Loveland on the 18th, which committee went that evening and arrived about midnight.

Loveland, who had been informed of Williams's order, prepared himself for defense and kept watch; as soon as they came, and he saw their number, and that they were provided with tar bucket, bag of feathers and a bundle of withes, in addition to their fire-arms, he blew out his light and placed himself in a suitable position to defend the door (which he had fastened) and the window. They went round<sup>4</sup> his house several times, tried his door, rapped, called him by name, and consulted together; some were for breaking the door, others thought it too dangerous; they knew he must be in there, for they were near his door when the light was blown out. Finally their courage failed; and notifying him to leave the country immediately, they took their departure. During this trying time Loveland did not speak.

<sup>1.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 164 (WR) (APR, 494), with light editing and elaboration. Cf. JHHM, 1 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.22).

<sup>2.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph based on CL (transcription in vol. 8, VI.23).

<sup>3.</sup> Book F-1, 121: "<of Hancock Co.,>" (JG)

<sup>4.</sup> DHC 6:505: "around"

<sup>5</sup>In the afternoon I gave orders to Gen[eral]. Dunham to have a picket-guard under Col. Markham posted on all the roads leading out of the city; also an inner guard under Major Jesse P. Harmon posted in all the streets and alleys in the city, and also on the river bank. I also gave orders to have all the powder and lead in the city secured, and to see that all the arms were in use, and that all vacant<sup>6</sup> arms be put in the hands of those who could use them.

#### [DN 7 (21 October 1857): 257-59]

I insert the affidavit of Anson Call, David Evans, and William E. Horner:—

<sup>7</sup>June 19th, 1844.<sup>8</sup>

Personally appeared before me, Aaron Johnson, justice of the peace<sup>11</sup> of said county<sup>12</sup>, Anson Call, David Evans, and William E. Horner, of Hancock County, and State aforesaid, and being duly sworn depose and say, that on Monday, the 17th instant, we started for Rocky Run precinct, and arrived yesterday; we then went to Col. Williams' of that place, and there soon assembled twenty or thirty men; we were informed that Colonel Williams had<sup>13</sup> gone to Lima to get the Colonel there to bring on his regiment; we then informed them that we were delegated on behalf of the people of Nauvoo to transact business with them.

They informed us they had a committee set apart to do their business, and that **one of their committee was then present**<sup>14</sup>, one was absent, and the other two would shortly be here; that while a person was seeking the two men we observed to the people that General Smith was willing to be tried in any State for any crime or supposed crime that he had ever committed, except in the State of Missouri.

One of the persons objected to General Smith being tried by the Municipal Court in Nauvoo, and declared that nothing else would do, but for him to be taken upon the old writ, and by the same person who took him in custody before, and tried at the place where the writ was issued.

It was then observed that Judge Thomas had advised General Smith <sup>15</sup>to enter into bonds to be tried before the Circuit Court, and this would allay all the excited feelings of the people.

It was then moved by one of their company<sup>16</sup> and sanctioned by the people, that a committee should wait on the judge who gave General Smith that<sup>17</sup> advice, and give him a coat of

<sup>5.</sup> Source: NLHi, [7]-[8] (HSt), with editing (transcription in vol. 8, VI.21). Cf. NLHi Dft, [10]-[11].

<sup>6.</sup> DHC 6:505: replaces "vacant" with "unclaimed"

<sup>7.</sup> Source: Original in UC (TB; signed); also MS copy (TB). Cf. NLc, fd 12.

<sup>8.</sup> DHC 6:505: moves this line below place lines

<sup>9.</sup> DHC 6:505: moves "Hancock County," to precede date

<sup>10.</sup> DHC 6:505: adds "ss."

<sup>11.</sup> MS affidavit (lighter ink): "\Aaron Johnson Justice of the Peace/"

<sup>12.</sup> MS affidavit: "<of s[ai]d. county>"

<sup>13.</sup> MS affidavit: replaces "had" with "was"

<sup>14.</sup> DHC 6:506: omits "one of ... present"

<sup>15.</sup> MS affidavit: adds "to be taken and tried before any Justice found"

<sup>16.</sup> MS affidavit (lighter ink): "a young man <one of their company>"

<sup>17.</sup> DHC 6:506: replaces "that" with "this"

tar and feathers, when one John Elliott of notoriety agreed to find the<sup>18</sup> tar and feathers for that purpose<sup>19</sup>.

After some further conversation, a man whom they called<sup>20</sup> Lawyer Stephens came in from Warsaw and asked where Colonel Williams was; he was told that he had<sup>21</sup> gone to Lima; they then observed to the lawyer that we were delegates from Nauvoo, when he replied, "we are expecting delegates too at Warsaw," and he said the people were talking of introducing them to the Mississippi river; and, says he, "Gentlemen, you can do with your delegates what you think proper."

A Mr. Crawford, one of the committee, observed that he went against such proceedings, and advised them as a body to keep cool; they then told the lawyer the advice that the Judge of the<sup>22</sup> Circuit Court had given to General Smith, when he said it was unlawful advice, and it was a second time moved and assented to, that a committee should wait on Judge Thomas, and give him a coat of tar and feathers. The remainder of the committee having come in, they stated to us that they had written to the Governor to obtain aid from other counties, and if the Governor did not send them aid, they were too weak to go themselves now, but were summoning all the people that would come into the county until they got force enough to come up and take Joseph Smith with the first warrant, and take him to the place where the writ was first issued, and nothing less than that would satisfy the people.

ANSON CALL, DAVID EVANS, WM. E. HORNER.

Sworn and subscribed to this 19th day of<sup>23</sup> June, 1844.

AARON JOHNSON, J.P.

<sup>24</sup>From the best information they could learn, there were two hundred armed men at Rocky Run precinct, two hundred at Warsaw, two hundred in Missouri, and the whole receiving constant additions.

<sup>25</sup>At 9 p.m. I was at home; the city all quiet.

<sup>26</sup>Thursday, 20.—At daybreak I went with my staff and Major-Gen[eral]. Dunham to the prairie, to view the situation of the ground, and to devise plans for the defense of the city, and select the proper locations to meet the mob, and made arrangements for provisions for the city, instructing my agent to pledge my farms for the purpose.

<sup>27</sup>At 10 a.m., Dr. <sup>28</sup> Southwick from Louisiana arrived and reported that there was not much

<sup>18.</sup> MS affidavit: "<find the>"

<sup>19.</sup> MS affidavit: "accordingly <for that purpose>"

<sup>20.</sup> MS affidavit (lighter ink): "<a man who they called>"

<sup>21.</sup> MS affidavit: replaces "had" with "was"

<sup>22.</sup> MS affidavit: "<Judge of the>"

<sup>23.</sup> MS affidavit: omits "day of"

<sup>24.</sup> Source: Based on "David Evans & William E. Horner's Report," 19 June 1844, in NLc, fd 12, 3 (TB) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.24).

<sup>25.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 165 (WR) (APR, 494), with light editing.

<sup>26.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1844], 166 (WR) (APR, 495), and NLHi, [8] (HSt), with editing and elaboration (transcription in vol. 8,VI.21). Cf. NLHi Dft, [11].

<sup>27.</sup> Source: Following two paragraphs from JSj [1844], 166 (WR) (APR, 495), with light editing.

<sup>28.</sup> Book F-1, 123 (pencil): "Mr < Dr >" (pos. RLC)

excitement in St. Louis—that a cannon had arrived at Warsaw from Quincy, and that it had been reported to him that there was great excitement in Upper Missouri<sup>29</sup>.

At 11, I reviewed the Legion<sup>30</sup> facing the Mansion, and went to parade on the banks of the river.<sup>31</sup> insert the affidavit of Carlos W. Lyon:—

 $\begin{array}{c}
3^{3}\text{State of Illinois,} \\
\text{City of Nauvoo,}
\end{array}$ [ss.]<sup>34</sup>

On the 20th day of June, 1844, came before me, Willard Richards, recorder of the city aforesaid, Carlos W. Lyon, and after being duly sworn deposeth and saith, that while at St. Louis, Mo., on Monday, the 17th inst[ant]., it was a common topic that they were furnishing arms and ammunition to be sent by steamboat to Warsaw, Illinois, and said if the people of Warsaw need five hundred men to give notice by the steamer *Boreas*, and the men should be sent from St. Louis to Warsaw, and that your said affiant also saw a cannon landed from the steamer *Mermaid* at Warsaw, and further he saith not.

CARLOS W. LYON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 20th day of June, 1844.

WILLARD RICHARDS, Recorder of the City of Nauvoo.

Wrote to John Tyler, President of the United States as follows:—

<sup>35</sup>City of Nauvoo, Illinois, June 20th, 1844.

Sir:—I have just enclosed to the Governor of the State of Illinois copies of the enclosed affidavits and extra. I am sorry to say that the State of Missouri, not contented with<sup>36</sup> robbing, driving, and murdering many of the Latter Day Saints, are now joining the mob of this State for the purpose of the<sup>37</sup> "utter extermination" of the Mormons, as they have resolved. And now, sir, as President of the United States, will you render that protection which the Constitution guarantees in case of "insurrection and rebellion," and save the innocent and oppressed from such horrid persecution?

With great respect I have the honor to be, Your obedient servant, JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor.

John Tyler, President of the U. S., Washington, D.C.

I here insert affidavits of Hiram B. Mount and John Cunningham:—

<sup>29.</sup> JSj [1844], 166: replaces "in Upper Missouri" with "at Far West &c."

<sup>30.</sup> JSj [1844], 166: replaces "Legion" with "troops"

<sup>31.</sup> Cf. JHHM, 1 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.22).

<sup>32.</sup> JSj [1844], 166: "Recorder [WR] took affidavit of Carlos W. Lyons"

<sup>33.</sup> Source: MS affidavit in UC.

<sup>34.</sup> DHC 6:507: adds "ss."

<sup>35.</sup> Source: MS copy in JScSup, fd 14, 36-37 (WWP).

<sup>36.</sup> MS letter: inserts "\with/" at boln

<sup>37.</sup> MS letter: "<the>"

<sup>38</sup>June 20th, 1844.<sup>39</sup>

 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{State of Illinois,} \\ \text{Hancock County,} \\ \text{City of Nauvoo,}^{41} \end{array} \right\} \quad [\text{ss.}]^{40}$ 

Personally appeared before me, Aaron Johnson, an acting justice of the peace in and for the county of Hancock<sup>42</sup>, Hiram B. Mount and John Cunningham, who being duly sworn, depose and say, that George Baker, John Banks, Joseph Barber, and two others, came to your deponents on Saturday, the 15th inst., at Morley Settlement in said county, and demanded our arms; we replied that we had none, when they required of us to go with them to Nauvoo, to take Joseph Smith and other prisoners, and they promised to supply us with arms; second, if we would not do so, that we were required to leave our homes<sup>43</sup> and go to Nauvoo; we must either go against Smith, or take part with him.

They then told us they intended to go to Nauvoo to take Smith, and if they could not take him they would take some of the head men of Smith's clan, and hold them under bonds of death until Smith was delivered up to them; and your deponents further say, that [John] Banks told them if they could not get volunteers enough, they would get a force that would take him.

HIRAM B. MOUNT, JOHN CUNNINGHAM, His mark. X

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of June, 1844, before me.

[L.S.] AARON JOHNSON, J.P.

<sup>44</sup>Also the affidavit of Allen T. Wait:—

<sup>45</sup>June 20th, 1844. <sup>46</sup>

 $\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{State of Illinois,} \\ \text{Hancock County,} \\ \text{City of Nauvoo,}^{48} \end{array} \right\} \quad [\text{ss.}]^{47}$ 

Personally appeared before me, Aaron Johnson<sup>49</sup>, an acting justice of the peace in and for said county, Allen T.<sup>50</sup> Wait, of Morley Settlement in said county, and being first duly sworn deposeth and saith that on Saturday morning he was at the house of Colonel Levi Williams, when he told me that I must take up arms, and go and fight against Joseph Smith, or I must leave the place immediately, or else I must give up my arms, and stay at home.

He also said they would take Smith by law if they could, or if the Governor would not

<sup>38.</sup> Source: UC (signed).

<sup>39.</sup> DHC 6:508: moves this line below place lines

<sup>40.</sup> DHC 6:508: adds "ss."

<sup>41.</sup> DHC 6:508: moves this line to precede date

<sup>42.</sup> MS affidavit: "Nauvoo < Hancock>"

<sup>43.</sup> MS affidavit: "<homes>"

<sup>44.</sup> DHC 6:509: omits this line

<sup>45.</sup> Source: Original in UC (signed).

<sup>46.</sup> DHC 6:509: moves this line below place lines

<sup>47.</sup> DHC 6:509: adds "ss."

<sup>48.</sup> DHC 6:509: moves "City of Nauvoo," to precede date

<sup>49.</sup> MS affidavit (different ink): "\Aaron Johnson/"

<sup>50.</sup> MS affidavit (pencil): "<T.>"

grant a writ to take him, they would take him anyhow; he also said that if the people would not give Smith up, they would lay the whole city of Nauvoo in ashes.

I inquired what they would do with those people of Nauvoo who would not fight[?] he said they must make some signal, or else they must share the same fate, they must all perish, men, women and children.

I then left in order to go home, when Captain Harrison P. Crawford overtook me, and told me if the Governor would not help them they did not care for the Governor anyhow. He said Governor Ford was an unconstitutional man, he had issued two illegal writs, and they were done so on purpose; and any such man ought not to hold any office whatever, and they intended to proceed against the Mormons, whether they got any authority from the Governor or not.

ALLEN<sup>51</sup> T.<sup>52</sup> WAIT.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of June, 1844, before me,

[L.S.] AARON JOHNSON, J.P.

Likewise the affidavit of Isaac Morley, Gardner Snow, John Edmiston and Edmund Durfee:—

<sup>53</sup>June 20th, 1844.<sup>54</sup>

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{State of Illinois,} \\ \text{Hancock County,} \\ \text{City of Nauvoo,}^{56} \end{array} \right\} \quad [ss.]^{55}$$

Personally appeared before me, Aaron Johnson<sup>57</sup>, an acting justice of the peace in and for said <sup>58</sup>county, Isaac Morley, Gardner Snow, John Edmiston, and Edmund Durfee, all of Hancock County aforesaid, and being first duly sworn, depose and say, that on Saturday, the 15th day of June, 1844, at Morley Settlement in said county, certain persons, to wit; George Baker, farmer; John Banks, Esq., Luther Perry, constable; Joseph Barber, farmer; and another person whose name we do not know, called upon your deponent, Isaac Morley, when John Banks said they waited on him to make three propositions, viz.<sup>59</sup>: 1st, that we were to take up arms, join with, and go along with them to Nauvoo to arrest one Joseph Smith and others, about 17 in number living in Nauvoo; 2nd, to remove our effects to Nauvoo; or, 3rd, to give up our arms to them and remain neutral, and said Isaac Morley was required to notify all the brethren in the neighborhood, and report to the said committee, which of these propositions we accepted, by 8 o'clock on Monday morning following, and that one of the above resolutions was to be complied with within that time.

On the same day said Joseph Barber and Luther Perry went to where your deponent, Edmund Durfee, was at work in a field in the same neighborhood, and said they had come to notify him that said Durfee must comply with one of the above propositions; if not that said Durfee would smell thunder.

And all your deponents further depose and say, that they have been compelled to leave their homes and flee to Nauvoo for protection; for we were afraid to stay there on account of

<sup>51.</sup> DHC 6:509: "ALLAN"

<sup>52.</sup> MS affidavit (pencil): "<T.>"

<sup>53.</sup> Source: Original in UC (signed).

<sup>54.</sup> DHC 6:510: moves this line below place lines

<sup>55.</sup> DHC 6:510: adds "ss."

<sup>56.</sup> DHC 6:510: moves this line to precede date

<sup>57.</sup> MS affidavit (different ink): "\Aaron Johnson/"

<sup>58.</sup> MS affidavit: adds "eity"

<sup>59.</sup> DHC 6:510: "namely"

the mobs threatening to "utterly exterminate" us according to a *Warsaw Signal Extra* of June 14th, 1844, if we stayed at home; and further your deponents say not.

ISAAC MORLEY, GARDNER SNOW, JOHN EDMISTON, EDMUND DURFEE.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of June, 1844, before me,

[L.S.] AARON JOHNSON, J.P.

Also the affidavit of Solomon Hancock, W[illia]m. Garner, and John G. Lofton:—

60 June 20th, 1844.61

State of Illinois, Hancock County, City of Nauvoo,  $^{63}$  [ss.] $^{62}$ 

Personally appeared before me, Aaron Johnson, an acting justice of the peace<sup>64</sup>, Solomon Hancock, William Garner, and John G. Lofton, who being first duly sworn, depose and say, that on Saturday, the 15th day of June, 1844, at Morley Settlement in said county, certain persons, to wit.; John Clark, John Crawford, Jeremiah Bentley<sup>65</sup>, and three others, all farmers, came to your deponents, and made three several propositions to them, to wit, 1st, that we were to take up our arms and join with them in going to Nauvoo to take Joseph Smith and others prisoners. 2nd, to remove with our effects to Nauvoo immediately, or, 3rd, to give up our arms to Colonel Levi Williams, and remain neutral.

We were ordered to give in our decision on Monday then next by 8 o'clock in the morning, and if we would not agree to their decision, we must abide *the consequences*. And in consequence of mobs gathering in the neighborhood, we have been obliged to leave our homes in order to save our lives, and are come to Nauvoo for protection.

Solomon Hancock further deposeth and saith, that said John Clark did on Tuesday, 18th inst[ant]., inform your deponent that one of their party had<sup>66</sup> gone to St. Louis, and had obtained three cannon, and were expecting three companies of volunteers<sup>67</sup> from St. Louis to join them in going to Nauvoo to exterminate the Mormons; and further your deponents say not.

SOLOMON HANCOCK, WILLIAM GARNER, JOHN G. LOFTON.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of June, 1844, before me,

[L.S.] AARON JOHNSON, J.P.

Also the affidavit of James Guymon<sup>68</sup>:—

<sup>60.</sup> Source: Original in UC (signed).

<sup>61.</sup> DHC 6:511: moves this line below place lines

<sup>62.</sup> DHC 6:511: adds "ss."

<sup>63.</sup> DHC 6:511: moves this line to precede date

<sup>64.</sup> MS affidavit (different ink): "\Aaron Johnson an acting Justice of the Peace/"

<sup>65.</sup> DHC 6:511: "Bently"

<sup>66.</sup> MS affidavit: replaces "had" with "was"

<sup>67.</sup> MS affidavit (pencil): "soldiers < volunteers>"

<sup>68.</sup> DHC 6:511: "Guyman"

<sup>69</sup>June 20th, 1844.<sup>70</sup>

$$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{State of Illinois,} \\ \text{Hancock County,} \\ \text{City of Nauvoo,}^{72} \end{array} \right\} \quad [\text{ss.}]^{71}$$

Personally appeared before me, Aaron Johnson<sup>73</sup>, an acting justice of the peace in and for said county, James Guymon<sup>74</sup>, of Green Plains Precinct in said county, and being first duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that on Saturday morning, the 15th inst[ant]., he was at Rocky Run precinct when one Captain Wyers, captain of an "Independent Anti-Mormon Minute Men Company," came to a house where your deponent was staying; he inquired for a drum—he wanted either to borrow it or buy it until this<sup>75</sup> affray with the Mormons was over.

I asked him how he was going to proceed to take Smith; he then said Missouri had offered to send over two thousand men to come over to assist and take him.

I asked whether it was legal for them to come over here; he replied when they came over the constables were going to summons them, and also to summons every man who was <sup>76</sup> in, or would come into the county.

I asked if it was according to law to proceed that way, and he replied it was, and he went in for the law and democracy. He said they had sent two men to the Governor to order the militia out in their favor to help to take those criminals, and if he would not do just right they would execute him by taking his<sup>77</sup> head from his shoulders.

I replied, "you said you was a democracy man and went for the law"; I said, "do you call that democracy or mobocracy?"

He said if they went that far, and if the Governor ordered the militia against them, instead of in favor of them, he would turn mob, and the militia would join him, and they would take the Governor's head from his shoulders; he repeated it two or three times.

I enquired if it was law to go and drive those innocent Mormons who were living in the neighborhood, or tyrannically compel them to do things not agreeable to their will; he allowed that in this case it was.

I asked what he was going to do with these<sup>78</sup> old settlers who would neither take up arms and fight against Smith, nor in favor of him; when he replied they must fight either for one side or the other, or they must share the same fate as the Mormons.

Your deponent further saith that he is not a Mormon, and does not belong to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; and further saith not.

JAMES GUYMON<sup>79</sup>.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of June, 1844, before me,

[L.S.] AARON JOHNSON, J.P.

Also the affidavit of Obadiah Bowen:—

<sup>69.</sup> Source: Original in UC (signed).

<sup>70.</sup> DHC 6:511: moves this line below place lines

<sup>71.</sup> DHC 6:511: adds "ss."

<sup>72.</sup> DHC 6:511: moves this line to precede date

<sup>73.</sup> MS affidavit (different ink): "\Aaron Johnson/"

<sup>74.</sup> DHC 6:511: "Guyman"

<sup>75.</sup> DHC 6:512: "the"

<sup>76.</sup> MS affidavit: replaces "was" with "were"; Book F-1, 126 (pencil): "was" overwrites "were"

<sup>77.</sup> MS affidavit (pencil): "hi\m/ ["m" w.o. "s"] <by taking his>"

<sup>78.</sup> MS affidavit, Book F-1, 126: "those"

<sup>79.</sup> DHC 6:512: "GUYMAN"

80June 20th, 1844.81

State of Illinois,  
Hancock County,  
City of Nauvoo, 
$$^{83}$$
 [ss.] $^{82}$ 

Personally appeared before me, Aaron Johnson<sup>84</sup>, an acting justice of the peace in and for said county, Obadiah Bowen, of Morley Settlement in said county, and being first duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that on Saturday, the 15th instant, John Clark rode up to where I was at work in Morley Settlement, and said he was afraid the Mormons would come and destroy their property, ["]and,["] said he, ["]if I have any destroyed by any person, I shall make my resort upon the nearest Mormons, and take their property in place of that which shall be taken away,["] wherever he could find it, so long as it was a Mormon's; and that on Tuesday, the 18th inst[ant]., as I was coming from my house to the road leading to Lima, a mob was at the forks of the road standing still, and consulting together; I came on the road about twenty rods ahead of them; in a few moments Colonel Levi<sup>85</sup> Williams, John Clark, and five others rode along the same road after me.

I heard them talking about shooting the Mormons, when Clark said, "it is no disgrace to shoot a Mormon anyhow," when they all laughed; they overtook me, and Colonel Williams asked me where I lived; I replied in Morley's Settlement; he asked me if I was a Mormon, when Clark said it was no odds, he is on their part.

Colonel Williams then threatened me, and said I must be sure and be at his house by nine o'clock in the morning, if not, I must either get out of Morley Settlement, or be served the same sauce as the Mormons; he gave me to understand <sup>86</sup>they were going to make a total destruction of Morley Settlement tomorrow, and I had better get out of it.

He then talked about Joseph Smith, when I replied I understood Joseph Smith had a fair trial, and was bound over to the Supreme Court; he said ["]if he is <sup>87</sup>not, we do not care; it is illegally done["]; and he should go ahead—he should gather the troops, and there would be 2,000 men landed tomorrow from Missouri; he said they were volunteers, they should meet next day at Carthage, and then go against Joseph Smith and demolish the city of Nauvoo; for have him at any rate they would. He was in a very great passion, and let out a great many oaths and <sup>88</sup> other things that I have not mentioned.

In consequence of their threats, and to save our lives, we were obliged to leave our homes in a very stormy night, and had to cross a dangerous stream that was swollen by the rain, and was unable to protect myself from great sufferings and hardships, and came to the city of Nauvoo for protection.

OBADIAH BOWEN.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of June, 1844, before me,

[L.S.] AARON JOHNSON,
Justice of the Peace. 90

<sup>80.</sup> Source: Original in UC (signed).

<sup>81.</sup> DHC 6:512: moves this line below place lines

<sup>82.</sup> DHC 6:512: adds "ss."

<sup>83.</sup> DHC 6:512: moves "City of Nauvoo," to precede date

<sup>84.</sup> MS affidavit (darker ink): "\Aaron Johnson/"

<sup>85.</sup> MS affidavit: "<Levi>"

<sup>86.</sup> DHC 6:513: adds "that"

<sup>87.</sup> MS affidavit: adds "or is"

<sup>88.</sup> MS affidavit (darker ink): "<oaths and>"

<sup>89.</sup> DHC 6:513: adds "[said]"

<sup>90.</sup> DHC 6:513: "J.P."

Also the affidavit of Alvah Tippit[t]s:—

<sup>91</sup>June 20th, 1844. <sup>92</sup>

State of Illinois,
Hancock County,
City of Nauvoo, 94 [ss.] [ss.]

Personally appeared before me, Aaron Johnson<sup>95</sup>, a justice of the peace in and for the said county, Alvah<sup>96</sup> Tippet[t]s, of Warsaw, in Hancock county, and state aforesaid, and being first duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that on Wednesday, June, the 12th, at Green Plains, one Colonel Levi Williams came to your deponent about<sup>97</sup> sunrise, and ordered me out of the house that<sup>98</sup> very day.

I replied he was very hasty; he again ordered me out of the house, and said if I spoke a word he would put me<sup>99</sup> out of the house immediately.

I then took away part of my goods and left the house accordingly, because I was afraid to stay there another night.

The next day I went back after the remainder of my property, and called at the house of 100 Col. Levi Williams for some things belonging to me.

When I arrived there, John Williams, the son of said Levi Williams, aged about 28 years, abused me for placing confidence in Joseph Smith and the people of Nauvoo; he then took me by the back of my neck<sup>101</sup> and pushed me away<sup>102</sup>, and said he would not have such stuff in his house; the second time he pushed me by the neck, and his foot to my back; he pushed me several times, and kicked me; again when in the street he kept kicking and pushing me, and abusing me with his tongue. I am<sup>103</sup> sixty-one years old; I did not say anything to him to cause this abuse; but it was all on account of my believing that Joseph Smith and the people of Nauvoo would do nothing<sup>104</sup> but what was according to law.

ALVAH TIPPET[T]S.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of June, 1844, before me,

[L.S.] AARON JOHNSON, Justice of the Peace.

<sup>105</sup>I had sent orders to Captain Almon W. Babbitt, commander of the company at Ramus, to come immediately with his company to Nauvoo and help to defend the place, and this morning my

<sup>91.</sup> Source: Original in UC (signed).

<sup>92.</sup> DHC 6:514: moves this line below place lines

<sup>93.</sup> DHC 6:514: adds "ss."

<sup>94.</sup> DHC 6:514: moves "City of Nauvoo," to precede date

<sup>95.</sup> MS affidavit (different ink): "\Aaron Johnson/"

<sup>96.</sup> MS affidavit (pencil): "Alva<h>"

<sup>97.</sup> MS affidavit (pencil): "about at <about>"

<sup>98.</sup> MS affidavit (pencil): "this <that>"

<sup>99.</sup> MS affidavit: "<me>"

<sup>100.</sup> MS affidavit: "<of>"

<sup>101.</sup> MS affidavit (pencil): "<head> <neck>"

<sup>102.</sup> MS affidavit: "away" overwrites "out"

<sup>103.</sup> MS affidavit (pencil): "my age is <I am>"

<sup>104.</sup> MS affidavit: "<would do nothing>"

<sup>105.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph partly based on TB Notes, 1 (vol. 7, II.5).

brother-in-law, William McLeary, informs me that when the letter was read to the company, <sup>106</sup>Babbitt refused to come, and said it was a foolish move, and objected to any of the company coming. The company were <sup>107</sup> marshaled into line, when Babbitt said ["]if any of you go, not one will ever get to Nauvoo alive["]; when immediately my uncle John Smith stepped in front of the line and said, "every man that goes at the call of the Prophet shall go and return safe, and not a hair of his head shall be lost, and I bless you in the name of the Lord."

The company immediately threw the command upon Uriah H. Yager, who accepted of it<sup>108</sup>, and started for Nauvoo, although many of them were destitute of boots or shoes; the company had not traveled five miles before they suddenly came upon double their number of the mob, who had two red flags flying, and who had paraded their company, and taken a position in a wood that commanded the road. The company from Macedonia opened file about 10 feet apart, and marched past them within rifle shot, while the mob fired several guns at them, the balls whizzing past their heads. They came here at daybreak this morning, and I directed the Quartermaster to furnish those who needed with shoes.

I wrote the following letter:—

<sup>109</sup>Nauvoo, June 20th, 1844.

Brothers Ballantyne & Slater:—On information from you by J. McIllrick, I would advise that your families remain where they are and be quiet, as the mob will not be likely to disturb them; but any amount of wheat or provisions you may have you had better remove without delay to Nauvoo, as it will be better for you to bring it here and have your pay, than to leave it for the mob to consume and destroy.

I remain, your brother in Christ Jesus,
JOSEPH SMITH.

Ballantyne & Slater, Doyles Mills, near Plymouth, Ill.

<sup>110</sup>I here insert the affidavit of John P. Greene and John M. Bernhisel:—

```
111 State of Illinois,
City of Nauvoo. 112
County of Hancock, [ss.] 113
```

On the 20th day of June, 1844, personally appeared before me, Aaron Johnson, a justice of the peace within and for said county, John P. Greene, marshal of said city, and John M. Bernhisel; and after being duly sworn, depose and say, that a body of citizens in a mass meeting <sup>114</sup>convened on the 13th <sup>115</sup>inst[ant]. at Carthage, <sup>116</sup>resolved to exterminate the Latter Day

<sup>106.</sup> Book F-1, 127: adds "Captain"

<sup>107.</sup> DHC 6:515: "was"

<sup>108.</sup> Book F-1, 128 (pencil): "the command <it>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>109.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 39-40 (WR).

<sup>110.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 166 (WR) (APR, 495).

<sup>111.</sup> Source: Original in UC (WR; signed).

<sup>112.</sup> DHC 6:516: moves this line below "County of Hancock" and makes it flush with right margin

<sup>113.</sup> DHC 6:516: adds "ss."

<sup>114.</sup> MS affidavit (pencil): adds "(as per hand bill)"

<sup>115.</sup> MS affidavit: (pencil): adds "& 14th"

<sup>116.</sup> MS affidavit: adds "and"

Saints of the said city of Nauvoo, and that <sup>117</sup> for that purpose, according to the <sup>118</sup> purport of the *Warsaw Signal* Extra, dated June 14th <sup>119</sup>, 1844, bodies of armed men are coming from the State of Missouri, and also from the Territory of Iowa, and that cannon and ammunition are being transported from the State of Missouri to Illinois for the purpose of utterly<sup>120</sup> exterminating the Latter Day Saints. And your affiants would further state that these bodies of armed men, cannon, arms, and munitions of war are transported in steamboats navigating the waters of the United States, and that the name of one of these boats is the "Die Vernon!"

JOHN P. GREENE, JOHN M. BERNHISEL.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 20th<sup>121</sup> day of June, 1844,

[L.S.] AARON JOHNSON, J.P.

<sup>122</sup>Dr. Richards wrote the following:—

<sup>123</sup>Mayor's Office, Nauvoo, June 20th, 1844.

Dear General:—Yours of the 14th of April was received at a late date; a multiplicity of business on account of the peculiar state of affairs has prevented a reply till now. Your views about the nomination<sup>124</sup> of Gen[eral]. Smith for the Presidency are correct; we will gain popularity and extend influence; but this is not all, we mean to *elect him*, and nothing shall be wanting on our part to accomplish it; and why? Because we are satisfied—fully satisfied, that this is the best or only method of saving our free institutions from a total overthrow.

You will discover by this day's extra *Nauvoo Neighbor*, and previous papers which I shall forward with this, that we are already being surrounded by an armed mob, and if we can believe a hundredth part of their statements, we have no alternative but to fight or die. All the horrors of Missouri's murders are crowding thick upon us<sup>125</sup>, and the citizens of this county declare in mass-meetings, "no peace till the Mormons are utterly exterminated from the earth." And for what?

A band of thieves, counterfeiters, bogus-makers, gamblers, debauchers, murderers, and all that's vile, established a printing-press in this city for the purpose of carrying on all their hellish plans, and overthrowing every principle of righteousness; and after publishing one number, called the *Nauvoo Expositor*, filled on every column with lies and libel the most dark and damnable it were possible for men or demons to invent<sup>126</sup> on the earth or in the shades of Gehenna<sup>127</sup>, calculated to destroy every chartered right to our peaceful city, and constitutional principles to our nation, being destitute of every vestige of truth, and without one redeeming quality either in the paper or the characters of its publishers.

The City Council on the 10th inst[ant]., ordered the press and fixtures to be abated as a

<sup>117.</sup> DHC 6:516: omits "that"

<sup>118.</sup> MS affidavit: "<the>"

<sup>119.</sup> MS affidavit (pencil): "19<14>th"

<sup>120.</sup> Book F-1, 128: "<utterly>" (JG)

<sup>121.</sup> MS affidavit (different ink):"\20th/"

<sup>122.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1844], 166 (WR) (APR, 495).

<sup>123.</sup> Source: MS copy in WRc, Bx 3, fd 2, 30-34 (WR).

<sup>124.</sup> MS letter, 1: "Election < nomination>"

<sup>125.</sup> MS letter, 1:"<us>"

<sup>126.</sup> DHC 6:517: omits "to invent"

<sup>127.</sup> Book F-1, 129 (pencil): "J<G>ehenna" (pos. JG)

nuisance<sup>128</sup>, which order was executed by the proper authorities without delay, without noise, tumult, or confusion.

The proprietors immediately evacuated their houses and the city, and the night following <sup>129</sup>fired one or more of their buildings, just as they did in Missouri, thinking to raise the <sup>130</sup> hue-and-cry that <sup>131</sup>*Mormons* had done it, and by that means bring a mob on us without a moment's delay; but our vigilant police discovered the fire and abated that also.

Chagrined at their disappointment, and drunk with madness, they next went to Carthage, the county seat and headquarters of mobocracy, and swore that Joseph and about seventeen others had committed a riot, and sent a warrant for their apprehension. They offered to go before any magistrate in the vicinity and answer to the charge; the officer would not consent, but would take them to Carthage; they had threatened their lives at Carthage, and did not consider it safe to go thither, and prayed out a writ of habeas corpus from the municipal court, and were set free.

This only enraged the mob the more, and another writ was issued by a county magistrate in the vicinity, not a Mormon, before whom they were brought, and every exertion made to convict them, but the magistrate discharged them.

This does not satisfy them; they are determined to have "Jo Smith" brought before themselves for trial at the headquarters of mobocracy, swearing that all they want is to get him out of the city, and they will shoot the "damned rascal<sup>132</sup>."

Cannon, ammunition, and men are passing over the Mississippi from Missouri to Illinois, and the mob is collected by hundreds at different points in the county, swearing everlasting vengeance; and when their oaths and writs<sup>133</sup> will end, God knows.

We have sent messengers to the Governor, but had no returns, and shall dispatch messages to the President of the United States next boat.

If the virtuous part of the <sup>134</sup> community, the state, the nation, will come to the rescue of innocence, and the rights our fathers bled to purchase, that our peace and happiness may be secured to us in common with others, it is all we ask; but if they will not, and the mob goes on, we say a dishonorable life is worse than an honorable death, and we are ready for the onset; and we call upon all patriots far and near to lend a helping hand to put down the mob and restore peace.

If this is not done immediately, and the mob attempts<sup>135</sup> to execute their threats, you may soon have the opportunity of beholding that glorious "vision in the west" you have so<sup>136</sup> sublimely contemplated in your letter.

<sup>137</sup>I write you at this time at the request of the Prophet, and I invite you to come to our assistance with as many volunteers as you can bring, and if the mob cannot be dispersed, and the government will not espouse our righteous cause, you may soon—very soon, behold the second birth<sup>138</sup> of our nation's freedom; for to<sup>139</sup> live without the free exercise of thought, and the privilege of worshiping God according to the dictates of our consciences, *we will not!* We

```
128. MS letter, 2: "<as a nuisance>"
```

<sup>129.</sup> MS letter, 2: adds "attempted to"

<sup>130.</sup> DHC 6:517: replaces "a" with "the"

<sup>131.</sup> DHC 6:517: adds "the"

<sup>132.</sup> MS letter, 3: "rascal" overwrites illegible

<sup>133.</sup> MS letter, 3: "and when their oaths and writs" overwrites illegible words

<sup>134.</sup> Book F-1, 129 (pencil): "<the>" (US)

<sup>135.</sup> DHC 6:518: "attempt"

<sup>136.</sup> DHC 6:518: omits "so"

<sup>137.</sup> MS letter, 3: adds "And"

<sup>138.</sup> MS letter, 4: "<birth>"

<sup>139.</sup> DHC 6:518: omits "to"

will die rather, and go where the wicked cease to trouble; but we firmly believe there are virtuous men and patriots enough yet left to sustain those principles which alone are worth living for. Will you come?

Here is Oregon. Here is California. Where is *your* ambition? Patriotism? Your "separate and independent empire," if you sit calmly still, and see the most virtuous and noble people that ever trod upon the footstool of Jehovah ground to powder by a miscreant mob, and not stretch forth your potent arm for their defense in all the majesty of a God? If you do not, your turn may come next, and where will it cease?<sup>140</sup>

Let the first blow be struck upon us from this hour, and the<sup>141</sup> field is open for every honest patriot<sup>142</sup> from the east to the west sea, and from the river Mississippi to the ends of the earth.

General<sup>143</sup>, will you stand neutral? Come, <sup>144</sup>and you will know for yourself<sup>145</sup>. I close in haste, with good wishes to yourself and family.

W. RICHARDS.

General J. A. Bennett, Arlington House, N.Y.

<sup>140.</sup> MS letter, 4: "<& If so your <do not your > turn may come next, and where will it cease >"

<sup>141.</sup> DHC 6:518: replaces "the" with "this"

<sup>142.</sup> MS letter, 4: "<patriot>"

<sup>143.</sup> MS letter, 4: "General" overwrites illegible

<sup>144.</sup> MS letter, 4: adds "and see"

<sup>145.</sup> MS letter, 4: "<for yourself>"

### 26.

# CONSPIRACIES ON JOSEPH SMITH'S LIFE

20-22 June 1844

#### [DN 7 (21 October 1857): 257-59 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>[Thursday, June 20, 1844 (cont.)] I wrote to those of the Twelve Apostles who are absent on missions, to come home immediately, viz.<sup>2</sup>: Brigham Young, Boston; Heber C. Kimball, Washington; Orson Hyde, Philadelphia; Parley P. Pratt, New York; Orson Pratt, Washington; Wilford Woodruff, Portage, N[ew].Y[ork].; William Smith, Philadelphia; George A. Smith, Peterboro; John E. Page, Pittsburgh; and Lyman Wight, Baltimore. Also to Amasa Lyman, Cincinnati, O[hio]., and George Miller, Richmond, Madison Co[unty]., K[entuck]y. I sent the letters by express by Aaron M. York to the Illinois river, on account of the stoppage of the mails.

<sup>3</sup>At 8 p.m., Thomas Bullock came and read to me the affidavits of Isaac Morley, Gardner Snow, John Edmiston, Edmund Durfee, Solomon Hancock, Allen T. Waite, James Guymon<sup>4</sup>, Obadiah Bowen, Alvah Tippetts, Hiram B. Mount, and John Cunningham, with the affiants; and afterwards the affidavits were all sworn to before Aaron Johnson, Esquire.

Ten p.m., John Pike and Henry Gates went to the quarters of the Major-General, and informed him they had seen a number of men driving about 300 head of cattle in the direction of the mob camp; the drovers reported themselves as having come from Missouri, and were about nine miles from Nauvoo.

<sup>5</sup>I gave directions to Theodore Turley to commence the manufacture of artillery<sup>6</sup>; he asked me if he should not rent a building, and set some men to repairing the small arms which were out

<sup>1.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 166 (WR) (APR, 495), with location of Twelve and Bishop George Miller from a list provided by WR on last page of H. Smith to B.Young, 17 June 1844 (JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 24; cf. DHC 6:486-87; chap. 23), which ends with WR's note: "sent by express by A[aron]. M York to the Ill[inois]. River." A similar list of names and locations (except G. Miller) is located on a slip of paper in JSHD, Bx 2 (JMc) (previously in BY collection).

<sup>2.</sup> DHC 6:519: "namely"

<sup>3.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from TB Notes, 1 (transcribed in vol. 7, II.5).

<sup>4.</sup> DHC 6:519: "Guyman"

<sup>5.</sup> Source: First sentence from JSj [1844], 166 (WR) (APR, 495), remainder from NLHi, [8], with editing (transcription in vol. 8,VI.21). Cf. NLHi Dft, [11]; TT [1855], 3-4 (transcription in vol. 8,VI.25).

<sup>6.</sup> JSj [1844], 166: replaces "the manufacture of artillery" with "Making cannon"

of order; I told him in confidence that there would not be a gun fired on our part during this fuss. I extract the following from a letter from R[obert]. D. Foster, dated "Carthage, June 20th, 1844," to John Proctor, sen., Nauvoo:—

<sup>7</sup>In haste I drop you this line to inform you that I should have been home long ago but I learn that a gag law is now in force in that city. now I hope that you will be faithful over your stewardship and then I will reward you accordingly Sarah is almost worn out she is in Burlington at the National Hotel and Sam and Chas is there but I am in Carthage and I do intend to have my rights in Nauvoo. I wish you to see and keep all my things right, if there is any attempt upon my property let me know even by express if necessary for my benefit and I will come. if they kill me I wish Jenny would go to Burlington to my wife to take are of Dick or else send Hannah. Sam will get a cash job there and likely stay there during summer if Jenny or Hannah go their passage will be paid there by my wife or Brother who meet every boat, now they might be better there than where they are but they must please themselves about going, those men must be brought to Justice, there is no escape from this, that is certain. the innocent will not be harmed I am against *mobs* but the Law must be magnified at all hazards.

We have a hundred barrels of flour here for the folks, and Nauvoo has no means to live only from the country, and that is cut off sure; there are thousands of armed<sup>8</sup> men ready now, and thousands more coming from Missouri, and the country around<sup>9</sup>. Tell John to sleep in the barn, and take care of fire and robbery, and all my things there, as I shall be home soon. Tell Amos Davis to keep his eyes open, as we learn that consecration law will soon commence on him; this we know, and he had<sup>10</sup> better look out sharp; let him read this sheet. Tell Norton Gibbs and all my boys that I should be glad to see them a minute, but I cannot come; they must be patient and faithful and I will be there, and reward every man according to his desert; and I won't forget the perjured villains there either.

R. D. Foster

#### John Procter Sen.

<sup>11</sup>I advised my brother Hyrum to take his family on the next steamboat and go to Cincinnati. Hyrum replied, "Joseph, I can't leave you"; whereupon I said to the company present, "I wish I could get Hyrum out of the way, so that he may live to avenge my blood; and I will stay with you and see it out."

<sup>12</sup>Friday, 21.—About 10 a.m., I rode out with my guard up Main Street, past the Major-General's quarters, and reviewed the Legion<sup>13</sup>. I returned to headquarters about 2½ p.m., having met Col. Elam

<sup>7.</sup> Source: Original in UC (JMc). Folder also contains a MS copy (JMc). Deleted material supplied here in bold type; underlining changed to italic.

<sup>8.</sup> MS letter, 2: omits "armed"

<sup>9.</sup> MS letter, 2: adds "here"

<sup>10.</sup> MS letter, 2: omits "had"; Book F-1, 130 (pencil): "\had/" (pos. RLC)

<sup>11.</sup> Source: Based on NLHi, [8] (HSt) (transcription in vol. 8,VI.21). Cf. NLHi Dft, [11]. A draft of this paragraph in WB's handwriting is located in JSHD, Bx 2.

<sup>12.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 167 (WR) (APR, 495), with editing, elaboration, and detail supplied by a note in JSc, Bx 5, fd 20, 2-3 (WR), and TB Notes, 1 (transcription in vol. 7, II.5). WR's note, incorrectly dated "June 2{\0/}th 2 oclock PM," reads: "Lieut Gen & Lieut returned from Morning ride. having met an express from the governor. Mr Freeman & Mr Bartlett said gov[ernor] was at carthage." Cf. NLHi, [8] (HSt) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.21); and NLHi Dft, [11].

<sup>13.</sup> JSj [1844], 167: omits "up Main Street ... Legion". Possibly based on entry in NLHi, [8] (HSt), which states that on this day the "Legion paraded as before" (see transcription in vol. 8,VI.21). Cf. NLHi Dft, [11].

S. Freeman and Mr. Bartlet<sup>14</sup>, who came as express from the Governor who had arrived at Carthage this morning, and they delivered me the following letter:—

<sup>15</sup>Headquarters Carthage, June 21st, 1844.

To the Hon[orable]. the Mayor and Common Council of the City of Nauvoo:

Gentlemen.—Having heard of the excitement in this part of the country, and judging that my presence here might be necessary to preserve the peace and enforce the laws, I arrived at this place this morning. Both before and since my arrival, complaints of a grave character have been made to me of certain proceedings of your honorable body. As chief magistrate it is my duty to see that impartial justice shall be done, uninfluenced either by the excitement here or in your city.

I think before any decisive measure shall be adopted that I ought to hear the allegations and defenses of all parties. By adopting this course I have some hope that the evils of war may be averted; and at any rate I will be enabled by it to understand the true merits of the present difficulties; and shape my course with reference to law and justice.

For these reasons I have to request that you will send out to me at this place, one or more well-informed and discreet persons, who will be capable of laying before me your version of the matter, and of receiving from me such explanations and resolutions as may be determined on.

Col. Elam S.<sup>16</sup> Freeman will present you this note in the character of a herald from the Governor; you will respect his character as such, and permit him to pass and repass free from molestation.

Your messengers are assured of protection in person and property, and will be returned to you in safety.

I am, gentlemen, with high consideration, most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS FORD,

Governor and Commander in Chief.

<sup>20</sup>At 4 p.m., I met with the City Council, when the affidavits of the following persons were read, viz.<sup>21</sup>: Isaac Morley, Gardner Snow, John Edmiston, Edward Durfee, Solomon Hancock, William Gardner, John G. Lofton, Allen T. Waite, James Guymon<sup>22</sup>, Obadiah Bowen, Alvah Tippetts, Hiram

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>I immediately notified the City Council to meet in session at 4 p.m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>About 11 a.m., a rumor was circulated at Gen[eral]. Dunham's headquarters, that Joseph H. Jackson was seen at Davidson Hibberd's. He <sup>19</sup>ordered out a posse to arrest him, which went accordingly, but returned without success.

<sup>14.</sup> JSj [1844], 167: omits "Bartlet"; supplied from WR's note quoted above (JSc, Bx 5, fd 20, 2-3).

<sup>15.</sup> Source: Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 85-88.

<sup>16.</sup> DHC 6:521:"L."

<sup>17.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 167 (WR) (APR, 495), mentions that a meeting of the city council was called, but no time is given; however, NCCM, Rough Book [1844], 32 (WR) (NCHCM, 268), records that the "Special Session" was "called by the Mayor ½ past from 4 oclock P.M." WRj 10:20 mentions "City Council 4 p.m."

<sup>18.</sup> Source: Based on TB Notes, 1 (transcribed in vol. 7, II.5).

<sup>19.</sup> DHC 6:521: adds "[Dunham]"

<sup>20.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1844], 167 (WR) (APR, 495), and NCCM [1844], 32 (WR) (NCHCM, 268-69). See also NCRc, Bx 2, fd 9, 19-20.

<sup>21.</sup> DHC 6:521: "namely"

<sup>22.</sup> DHC 6:522: "Guyman"

B. Mount, John Cunningham, Cyrus Canfield, Gilbert Belknap, Anson Call, David Evans, William E. Horner, Stephen Markham, Thomas G. Wilson, John P. Greene, John M. Bernhisel, Truman Gillett, jr., Carlos W. Lyon, and H. T. Hugins; when Dr. J. M. Bernhisel, Councilor John Taylor, and Dr. Willard Richards were appointed by the Council to return with the express to the Governor at Carthage, and carry said affidavits with the following letter:—

<sup>23</sup>Nauvoo, June 21, 1844.

Sir:—The affidavits and handbills herewith connected are submitted for your Excellency's consideration.

Respectfully, I have the honor to be Your <sup>24</sup>obedient servant, JOSEPH SMITH.

Thomas Ford, Governor of Illinois, Carthage<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>26</sup>Messrs. Taylor and Bernhisel went accordingly; but Dr. Richards tarried to prepare additional documents.

The following affidavit was taken:—

<sup>27</sup>Nauvoo, June 21st, 1844.<sup>28</sup>

Personally appeared, John P. Greene, before me, Willard Richards, recorder of said city, and after being duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that on or about the 27th day of May, 1844, while at Hamilton's tavern, in Carthage, county aforesaid, in company with Joseph Smith and others, Robert D. Foster called deponent into a private room, and there and then said, "for God's sake, don't suffer that man, Joseph Smith, to go out of doors, for if he steps outside of the door his blood will be spilt," to which statement deponent replied he had no such fears; when said Foster confirmed said statements with considerable emotion, and said he knew that Smith could not go out of doors but his blood would be spilt.

Deponent asked Foster who would do it; Foster said he would not tell, but he knew the proud spirit of Jackson—that he would not be insulted, and that he would kill Joseph Smith if he had to die on the spot, and there were many others in Carthage who would assist to do the same thing. Joseph H. Jackson was in the house below at that<sup>31</sup> time.

A day or two previous to the above conversation, while at Carthage aforesaid, deponent heard Joseph H. Jackson say that Joseph Smith was the damnedest rascal in the world, and he would be damned if he did not take vengeance on him if he had to follow him to the

<sup>23.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 41-42 (JMc).

<sup>24.</sup> DHC 6:522: adds "Excellency's"

<sup>25.</sup> MS letter (pencil): "Springfield \Carthage/" (US)

<sup>26.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1844], 167 (WR) (APR, 495). See also WR j 10:20 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>27.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLP, Bx 4, fd 8, 19-20 (JMc; signature and certification, WR). JSj [1844], 167 (WR) (APR, 495), mentions WR taking Greene's affidavit.

<sup>28.</sup> DHC 6:522: omits "Nauvoo" and moves date below to precede "Personally appeared ..."

<sup>29.</sup> DHC 6:522: "HANCOCK CO."

<sup>30.</sup> DHC 6:522: adds "ss."

<sup>31.</sup> DHC 6:523: replaces "that" with "that"

Rocky Mountains, and said Jackson made many more such like threats against Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith.

JOHN P. GREENE.

Sworn and subscribed this 21st day of June, 1844, before me,

[L.S.]

WILLARD RICHARDS,

Recorder of the city of Nauvoo.

<sup>32</sup>And as this affidavit confirms what was told me in Carthage, I made the following affidavit:—

<sup>33</sup>June 21st, 1844.<sup>34</sup>

State of Illinois, County of Hancock, City of Nauvoo, $^{36}$  [ss.] $^{35}$ 

Personally appeared, Joseph Smith, before me, Willard Richards, Recorder of the city of Nauvoo, and after being duly sworn deposeth and saith, that while at Hamilton's tavern at Carthage in the county aforesaid, on or about the 27th day of May, 1844, whither deponent had gone to transact business in the circuit court of the county aforesaid, Charles A. Foster took deponent into a private<sup>37</sup> room and told deponent there was a conspiracy against the life of deponent, and that deponent had not better go out of doors<sup>38</sup>, if he did his blood would be shed. Foster said he was deponent's friend, and did not want to see bloodshed.

JOSEPH SMITH.

Sworn and subscribed this 21st day of June, 1844, before me,

[L.S.]

WILLARD RICHARDS,

Recorder of the City of Nauvoo.

<sup>39</sup>I instructed my clerks, Willard Richards, William Clayton, Thomas Bullock, and John McEwan, to prepare all necessary papers and affidavits ready to be sent to the Governor tomorrow morning.

<sup>40</sup>Letter from councilor S[ylvester]. Emmons [wherein he] resigned his office [which was] accepted.

<sup>41</sup>Joseph Jackson made the two following affidavits:—

<sup>32.</sup> Source: Based on [Si [1844], 167 (WR) (APR, 495).

<sup>33.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLP, Bx 4, fd 8, 21-22 (JMc; signature and part of certification, WR).

<sup>34.</sup> DHC 6:523: moves this line below place lines

<sup>35.</sup> DHC 6:523: adds "ss."

<sup>36.</sup> DHC 6:523: moves this line to precede date

<sup>37.</sup> MS affidavit (darker ink): "{\private/}"

<sup>38.</sup> MS affidavit: "<of doors>" (WR)

<sup>39.</sup> *Source*: Composed by compilers about 19-27 Nov. 1855 (see RDft Chronology). Possibly based on TB's memory as well as the handwritings in the documents being used for MSHiJS. First part of entry in RDft 8:70 reads with emendations by TB: "The <I instructed my> Clerks were instructed <Willard Richards William Clayton Thomas Bullock, Lucian R. Foster & John McEwan> to prepare all necessary papers and affidavits ..." (JG).

<sup>40.</sup> *Source*: From unused portion of JSj [1844], 167 (WR) (*APR*, 495). On 8 June 1844, the Nauvoo city council had "suspended" Emmons for "slandering the City Council" as editor of the *Nauvoo Expositor* (DHC 6:436; chap. 21).

<sup>41.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1844], 167 (WR) (APR, 495), which reads: "W[illiam] W. Phelps took 2 affidavits of Joseph Jackson and 1 of James Clift." None of these affidavits have been located, although Jackson's are included below.

$${}^{42}$$
State of Illinois, City of Nauvoo,  ${}^{52}$  [ss.]

On the 21st day of June, 1844, came before me, W. W. Phelps, Clerk of the Mayor's Court, Joseph Jackson, and after being duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that on Tuesday, the 11th inst[ant]., he was in Nauvoo, when 44 Francis M. Higbee, while speaking of the destruction of the printing press said he was very sorry, for the proprietors had set up that press for the destruction of the city, and that he meant to kill Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith, and he saith no further.

JOSEPH JACKSON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 21st day of June, 1844.

W[ILLIAM]. W. PHELPS, Clerk M.C.

```
\begin{array}{c}
^{45}\text{State of Illinois,} \\
\text{City of Nauvoo,}
\end{array}
 [ss.]^{46}
```

On the 21st day of June, 1844, came before me, W. W. Phelps, Clerk of the Mayor's Court for said city, Joseph Jackson, and after being duly sworn deposeth and saith, that on the 19th day of June inst[ant]., at his residence near Pilot Grove in the afternoon, about twenty-four persons fired about twenty-six guns at him, and that the balls whistled close by his head; thus, this mob, of which John McKay was one, fired about one hundred guns, but not all at your affiant; and that 47 this mob was very noisy, cursing and swearing that they would kill every damned Mormon, and he says no further.

JOSEPH JACKSON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 21st day of June, 1844.

W[ILLIAM]. W. PHELPS, Clerk M.C.

<sup>48</sup>At 7 p.m., James Emmett went by order of the Sergeant of the Guard at the Stone House to the Major-General, and reported the crew of the *Maid of Iowa* for firing five guns contrary to orders, which were, that any firing of guns was an alarm.

<sup>49</sup>After the news had reached the city of the Governor's arrival at Carthage, an express was sent to Keokuk to stop an express which I had sent to the Governor at Springfield before I had learned of his arrival at Carthage.

An officer of the United States army, having arrested a deserter, came to Nauvoo, and stayed at my house all night.

Col. Brewer and lady arrived at the Mansion about 9 p.m.;  $^{50}$ also James W. $^{51}$  Woods, Esq., my attorney, from Burlington.

<sup>42.</sup> Source: MS copy in UC (WR; signature by WWP; Jackson's signature by WR).

<sup>43.</sup> DHC 6:524: adds "ss."

<sup>44.</sup> MS affidavit: "and <when>"

<sup>45.</sup> Source: Not located. According to Christi Best, the CHL holds "MS affidavit, signed" (SRMH).

<sup>46.</sup> DHC 6:524: adds "ss."

<sup>47.</sup> MS affidavit: "thus <and that>"

<sup>48.</sup> Source: Based on TB Notes, 2 (transcribed in vol. 7, II.5).

<sup>49.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from JSj [1844], 167-68 (WR) (APR, 495), with editing, rearranging, and elaboration.

<sup>50.</sup> Remainder of paragraph not in JSj [1844], 168, but added interlinearly in Book F-1, 134 (JG).

<sup>51.</sup> Book F-1, 134 (pencil): "M \W/" (pos. WB)

<sup>52</sup>At 10 p.m., Private — Minor gave information that as he was passing, an hour since, about two miles out of the city to his home, he was fired upon by some unknown person; General Stephen Markham ordered out a detachment to proceed to the designated place, scour that part of the country, and see that all was right.

#### [DN 7 (28 October 1857): 265-67]

<sup>53</sup>Saturday, [June] 22<sup>54</sup>.—Almon Babbit arrived from Carthage this morning at request of the Gov[ernor,] who thought it not wisdom to have Richards, Phelps &c. city council to go to Carthage and best to let people pass in and out of the city.

<sup>55</sup>I wrote the following letter—

<sup>56</sup>Nauvoo, Saturday morning, June 22nd, 1844.

To His Excellency Thomas Ford, Governor:—

Dear Sir:—I this morning forward you the remainder of the affidavits which are ready to present to you, by the hands of a gentleman who is<sup>57</sup> fully competent to give you<sup>58</sup> information on the whole subject which has<sup>59</sup> been the cause of the origin of our present difficulties. I would respectfully recommend the bearer<sup>60</sup>, Col.<sup>61</sup> Woodworth, as one of my aides<sup>62</sup>, and a man<sup>63</sup> whose testimony<sup>64</sup> can be relied upon.

I presume you are already convinced that it would be altogether unsafe for me or any of the City Council to come to Carthage, on account of the vast excitement which has been got up by false report and libelous publications. Nothing could<sup>65</sup> afford me a greater pleasure than a privilege of investigating the whole subject before your Excellency in person, for I have ever held myself in readiness to comply with your orders, and answer for my proceedings before any legal tribunal in the State.

I would hereby respectfully pray your Excellency to come to Nauvoo, if congenial with<sup>66</sup> your feelings, and give us a privilege of laying the whole matter before you in its true colors, and where abundance of testimony can be forthcoming to prove every point by disinterested persons, men of character, and of worth and notoriety<sup>67</sup>—strangers—who were here all the

<sup>52.</sup> Source: Based on TB Notes, 2 (transcribed in vol. 7, II.5).

<sup>53.</sup> Source: From unused portion of JSj [1844], 170 [169] (WR) (APR, 495). For some reason, this paragraph appears in the next chapter out of chronological sequence (see DHC 6:528; chap. 27).

<sup>54.</sup> DHC 6:525: brackets this date and omits remainder of paragraph

<sup>55.</sup> DHC 6:525: omits this introductory paragraph. Source: Based on JSj [1844], 170 (WR) (APR, 495).

<sup>56.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 47-50 (JMc) (PWJS, 612-14). Cf. a second earlier copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 43-46 (WC).

<sup>57.</sup> WC copy, 1: "{a} Gentlem\e/n ["e" w.o. "a"] {\are/} ["are" w.o. "{is}"]"

<sup>58.</sup> JMc copy, 1 (pencil): "<by the hands of a gentleman ... you>" (pos. JG)

<sup>59.</sup> WC copy, 1: "have"

<sup>60.</sup> JMc copy, 1, WC copy, 1: "bearers"

<sup>61.</sup> WC copy, 1: "Col" overwrites illegible

<sup>62.</sup> WC copy, 1: "and Dr Lyons as gentlemen <as one of my aids>"

<sup>63.</sup> JMc copy, 1, WC copy, 1: replace "a man" with "men"

<sup>64.</sup> JMc copy, 1: "testimonies"

<sup>65.</sup> WC copy, 1: "would"

<sup>66.</sup> WC copy, 1: "to <with>"

<sup>67.</sup> JMc copy, 1 (pencil): "<men of character ... notoriety>" (pos. JG)

time.<sup>68</sup> But I am satisfied your Excellency does not wish men<sup>69</sup> to expose the lives of the citizens of this place by requiring them to put themselves into the power of an infuriated, blood-thirsty mob, a part of whom have already several times fired upon our people without the least shadow of cause or provocation.

I am informed this morning that some gentleman has made affidavit that he had a private conversation with me, in which I stated that I had secret correspondence with you, &c. If any person has been wicked enough to do this he is a perjured villain, for in the first place I do not suffer myself to hold private conversation with any stranger<sup>70</sup>, and in the second place, I have never even intimated anything of the kind as having secret correspondence with your Excellency.

Our troubles are invariably brought upon us by falsehoods and misrepresentations by designing men; we have ever held ourselves amenable to the law, and for myself, sir, I am ever ready to conform to and support the laws and constitution even at the expense of my life. I have never in the least offered any resistance to law, or <sup>71</sup>lawful process, which is a well-known fact<sup>72</sup> to the public; all of which circumstances make us the more anxious to have you come to Nauvoo, and investigate the<sup>73</sup> whole matter.

Now, sir, is it not an easy matter to distinguish between those who have pledged themselves to exterminate innocent men, women and children, and those who have only stood in their own defense, and in defense of their innocent families<sup>74</sup>, and that too in accordance with the constitution and laws of the country as required by the oaths and as good and law-abiding citizens?<sup>75</sup>

In regard to the destruction of the press the truth only need<sup>76</sup> to be presented before<sup>77</sup> your Excellency to satisfy you of the justice of the proceedings. The press was established by a set of men who had already set themselves at defiance of the law<sup>78</sup> and<sup>79</sup> authorities<sup>80</sup> of the city, and had threatened the lives of some of its principal officers, and who also made it no<sup>81</sup> private matter that the press was established for the express<sup>82</sup> purpose of destroying the city, <sup>83</sup>as will be shown by the affidavit of Joseph Jackson, and as they stated to me in their threats.

Mr. Babbitt informs me that reports are in circulation that we have taken property which belongs to the<sup>84</sup> Mr.<sup>85</sup> Law<sup>86</sup> and others. There has been no property meddled with, to my

<sup>68.</sup> WC copy, 1:"<by disinterested persons, strangers, who were here all the time>"

<sup>69.</sup> WC copy, 1: "<men x>". This is apparently keyed to an addenda on the back of p. 3: "x of character of worth and notoriety", which JMc inserted in the preceding sentence.

<sup>70.</sup> WC copy, 2: "person <stranger>"

<sup>71.</sup> WC copy, 2: adds "any"

<sup>72.</sup> WC copy, 2, JMc copy, 2: "fact well known"; JMc copy has penciled guideline moving "fact" to follow "known"

<sup>73.</sup> Book F-1, 136 (pencil): "<the>" (pos. JG)

<sup>74.</sup> WC copy, 2: inserts "wives and children \families/" at eoln

<sup>75.</sup> WC copy, 2: "\and that too in accordance with the constitution/ <and laws of the country agreeable to the as required by their oaths and as good and law abiding citizens>."

<sup>76.</sup> WC copy, 2, DHC 6:526: "needs"

<sup>77.</sup> WC copy, 2: "before" overwrites "to"

<sup>78.</sup> WC copy, 3, Book F-1, 136: "laws"

<sup>79.</sup> JMc copy, 3 (pencil): "<and>" (pos. JG)

<sup>80.</sup> WC copy, 3: "laws of and officers <authorities>"

<sup>81.</sup> JMc copy, 3 (pencil): "in <it no>" (pos. JG)

<sup>82.</sup> WC copy, 3: "<express>"

<sup>83.</sup> JMc copy, 3: adds "and"

<sup>84.</sup> WC copy, 3: omits "the"; JMc copy, 3 (pencil): "<the>" (pos. JG)

<sup>85.</sup> DHC 6:526: "Messrs"

<sup>86.</sup> WC copy, 3: "Laws"; JMc copy, 3 (pencil): "Law<s>" (pos. JG)

knowledge, belonging to any person, except property we have purchased of the rightful owners.

Mr. Law turned over some property to a Mr. Hicks to pay a debt. This I purchased of Mr. Hicks, and I am responsible to him<sup>87</sup> for the amount. We have been especially careful to preserve the property of those who are exciting the public against us, inasmuch as we know that<sup>88</sup> every means would be used which could be invented to raise excitement, <sup>89</sup> and we have appointed the police to watch this property, and see that no harm was done to it by any person as they had tried to fire their own building, and was<sup>90</sup> detected in the act; the fire was extinguished by the policemen, and no property damaged.

There have been<sup>91</sup> no prisoners <sup>92</sup>taken in this city, neither any person<sup>93</sup> held as hostage, only some who are<sup>94</sup> residents of this place, who had broke the laws. No stranger has been interfered with, nor detained in the city, under any circumstances.

In haste, I have the honor to remain, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOSEPH SMITH. Lieut.-Gen. N.L.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>96</sup>This letter was accompanied by other affidavits, and <sup>97</sup>sent by Lucien Woodworth, who was delegated to go in place of Dr. Richards. He started at noon in company with Squire [James. W.] <sup>98</sup> Woods of Burlington.

<sup>87.</sup> WC copy, 3: "he now holds my obligation <I am responsible to him>"

<sup>88.</sup> JMc copy, 3 (pencil): "<that>" (pos. JG)

<sup>89.</sup> WC copy, 3: adds "against us"

<sup>90.</sup> DHC 6:527: "were"

<sup>91.</sup> WC copy, 3: "has been"; JMc copy, 3 (pencil): "ha\ve/ ["ve" w.o. "s"] <been>" (pos. JG)

<sup>92.</sup> JMc copy, 3 (pencil): adds "been" (pos. JG)

<sup>93.</sup> JMc copy, 3: "persons"

<sup>94.</sup> WC copy, 3: "of \who are/"; "who are" w.o. "our own"; JMc copy, 3 (pencil): "<who are>" (pos. JG)

<sup>95.</sup> WC copy, 3: omits "Lieut.-Gen. N.L."; JMc copy, 3 (pencil): "Joseph Smith | L Genl. NL" (TB)

<sup>96.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 170 (WR) (APR, 495-96), with editing and elaboration.

<sup>97.</sup> DHC 6:527: adds "was"

<sup>98.</sup> Brackets this editor's.

## 27.

# PREPARATIONS TO DEFEND NAUVOO 22 June 1844

#### [DN 7 (28 October 1857): 265-67 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>[Saturday, June 22 (cont.)] Legion met as usual, and after receiving instructions, were dismissed until 6 p.m., when they met again.

<sup>2</sup>At 7 p.m., I instructed Gen[eral]. Dunham to cause the regiments<sup>3</sup> of the 2nd cohort to turn out tomorrow, and work by turns three or four hours each with entrenching tools, and to take the best measures in case of attack. I also gave orders that a standard be prepared for the nations.

<sup>4</sup>Almon W. Babbitt arrived from Carthage this morning, having come at the request of the Governor, who thought it not wisdom to have Richards, and Phelps, and others of the City Council go to Carthage.

<sup>5</sup>Edward Robinson made the following affidavit:—

 ${}^{6}$ State of Illinois, City of Nauvoo,  ${}^{6}$  [ss.] ${}^{7}$ 

On the 22nd day or June, 1844, came before me, W.W. Phelps, clerk of the Mayor's Court in said city, Dr. Edward Robinson, who<sup>8</sup> after being duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that while at Carthage, on the 18th and 19th inst[ant]., I<sup>9</sup> heard several persons, who had assembled together for warlike purposes (having their arms and one cannon with them,) say that they were gathering together for the purpose of destroying the property of General Joseph Smith, or as they

<sup>1.</sup> Source: Closely follows NLHi, [9]-[10] (HSt) (transcription in vol. 8, VI.21). Cf. NLHi Dft, Frag. #3.

<sup>2.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 170 (WR) (APR, 496), and NLHi, [9]-[10] (HSt), with editing (transcription in vol. 8, VI.21). Cf. NLHi Dft, Frag. #3.

<sup>3.</sup> DHC 6:528: "regiment"

<sup>4.</sup> Source: JSj [1844], 170 (WR) (APR, 495). This paragraph is misplaced and should have appeared in the previous chapter at the beginning of the entry for 22 June 1844 as an explanation for JS's letter to Gov. Ford.

<sup>5.</sup> Source: Based on JSi [1844], 170 (WR) (APR, 496).

<sup>6.</sup> Source: Original affidavit in UC.

<sup>7.</sup> DHC 6:528: adds "ss."

<sup>8.</sup> MS affidavit (different ink): "and <who>"

<sup>9.</sup> MS affidavit: "<I>"

said, "Joe Smith," and his followers, and the City Council, with the exception of one, and finally said they would destroy the town, and exterminate the Latter Day Saints<sup>10</sup>.

EDWARD ROBINSON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 22nd day of June, 1844.

W[ILLIAM]. W. PHELPS, Clerk M.C.

<sup>11</sup>James Olive made the following affidavit:—

<sup>12</sup>June 22d, 1844. <sup>13</sup>

 $\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{State of Illinois,} \\ \text{Hancock County,} \\ \text{City of Nauvoo,}^{15} \end{array} \right\} \quad [\text{ss.}]^{14}$ 

Personally appeared before me, Aaron Johnson, a justice of the peace in and for said county, <sup>16</sup>James Olive, who being first duly sworn, deposeth and saith that on Friday afternoon, the 21st inst[ant]., about 3 o'clock, he was at his own house about two miles from Appanoose, in a southeasterly direction, he saw a four-horse wagon with some men before it, all traveling towards Appanoose. They went about a quarter of a mile beyond my house, there met a two horse wagon, and a company of men about fifteen in number. Both parties then took the road towards the Big Mound; a part of the men were mounted, and a part were on foot; the mounted men were forward, and after passing my house, they wheeled and rode back to the footmen, who were some little distance behind, and said to them, "there are some fellows on the Mound, you had better hurry on and we will take those fellows and carry them to Carthage"; they used profane language. I watched them until they got near the mound, and saw the guard on the mound turn and run towards Nauvoo. After that the company went on to the mound, and halted near the spot where the guard had run from.

On the same evening about sundown there was a man by the name of Milton Hamilton came into my house, and told me he had come to tell me<sup>17</sup> to arm and equip myself according to the law, and stand in readiness; that the Governor had demanded Joseph Smith according to law, and that he would not come it (meaning that Joseph Smith would not surrender); that the General had issued orders for the militia to be in readiness to take said Smith. I asked him what General, and he observed that he believed it was Colonel Williams. I asked him if it was done by orders of the Governor, and he said that was the understanding. He told me he acted under the orders of Capt[ain]. McAuley; and further saith not.

JAMES OLIVE.

Subscribed and sworn to this 22nd day of June, 1844, before me,

[L.S.

AARON JOHNSON, J.P.

<sup>18</sup>Phebe Levett states that she saw Finch, Rollison, Foster, and Squire McAuley in the company who fired on the guard on the La Harpe road.

<sup>10.</sup> MS affidavit: adds "and he saith no further"

<sup>11.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1844], 170 (WR) (APR, 496).

<sup>12.</sup> Source: Original affidavit in UC.

<sup>13.</sup> DHC 6:529: moves this line below places lines

<sup>14.</sup> DHC 6:529: adds "ss."

<sup>15.</sup> DHC 6:529: moves this line to precede date

<sup>16.</sup> MS affidavit: (different ink): "\Aaron Johnson ...county Personally came/"

<sup>17.</sup> DHC 6:529: omits "he had come to tell me"

<sup>18.</sup> Source: Based on TB Notes, 2 (transcription in vol. 7, II.5).

<sup>19</sup>George G. Johnstone made the following affidavit:—

<sup>20</sup>June 22nd, 1844.<sup>21</sup>

State of Illinois,  
Hancock County,
$$^{22}$$
  
City of Nauvoo, $^{24}$  [ss.] $^{23}$ 

Personally appeared before me, Aaron Johnson, a justice of the peace in and for the county of Hancock<sup>25</sup>, George G. Johnstone, living on Spring Creek in McDonough County, who being first duly sworn deposeth and saith, that yesterday Napoleon Hardin came to your deponent, and said that the Governor had sent orders for the militia to be called out for today at four o'clock, p.m., and to start on the 22nd to Carthage, there to wait until all were ready from the different counties in the State, and then they should march out to the prairie, they should stop on the prairie, and send a flag of truce to Nauvoo, and demand the body of General Joseph Smith; if the people of Nauvoo refused to give him up, then they should exterminate the whole of them.

GEO[RGE]. G. JOHNSTONE.

Subscribed and sworn to this 22nd day of June, 1844, before me, [L.S.] AARON JOHNSON. J.P.

Gideon Gibbs made the following affidavit:—

$$\begin{array}{c}
^{26}\text{State of Illinois,} \\
\text{City of Nauvoo,}
\end{array}$$
 $\left[\text{ss.}\right]^{27}$ 

On the 22nd <sup>28</sup>June, 1844, came before me, W[illiam]. W. Phelps, clerk of the Mayor's Court for said city, Gideon Gibbs, and after being duly sworn deposeth and saith, that on the afternoon of the 21st inst[ant]., about a half-mile southeast of the big mound on the La Harpe road, a party of about eight or ten men <sup>29</sup>in a warlike attitude, in company with two teams, passed your said affiant, and one of them said he fired at two men near the big mound—thought he killed them both, <sup>30</sup>and your deponent<sup>31</sup> saith no further.

GIDEON GIBBS.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 22nd day of June, 1844.

W[ILLIAM]. W. PHELPS, Clerk M.C.

Luman H. Calkins made the following affidavit:—

<sup>19.</sup> Source: Based on JSj [1844], 170 (WR) (APR, 496).

<sup>20.</sup> Source: Original affidavit in UC.

<sup>21.</sup> DHC 6:530: moves this line below place lines

<sup>22.</sup> DHC 6:530: "COUNTY OF HANCOCK"

<sup>23.</sup> DHC 6:530: adds "ss."

<sup>24.</sup> DHC 6:530: moves this line to precede date

<sup>25.</sup> MS affidavit (different ink): "\Aaron Johnson ... county of/ <Hancock>"

<sup>26.</sup> Source: Original affidavit in UC.

<sup>27.</sup> DHC 6:530: adds "ss."

<sup>28.</sup> DHC 6:530: adds "day of"

<sup>29.</sup> MS affidavit: adds "rather"

<sup>30.</sup> MS affidavit: adds "for they ran"

<sup>31.</sup> MS affidavit: omits "your deponent"; Book F-1, 138: "<your deponent>" (JG)

<sup>32</sup>June 22nd, 1844.<sup>33</sup>

State of Illinois, City of Nauvoo, 
$$ss.]^{34}$$

Personally appeared before me, George W. Harris, an alderman acting in and for the city of Nauvoo, Luman H. Calkins, and being first duly sworn deposeth and saith, that about seven weeks ago, I came on the steamboat *Ohio* from St. Louis to Nauvoo, when William Nesbit, who was on board, entered into conversation with your deponent.

I asked him if he knew anything about the conspiracy in Nauvoo to kill Joseph and Hyrum, and all that believed on them; he said he did—it was intended that they all<sup>35</sup> should be killed between then and the 1st <sup>36</sup>July.

I asked him who was at the head of the conspiracy; he replied he was sworn not to tell who the head one was. I asked him if there were any in Nauvoo concerned; he replied there was, and named the two Laws, two Fosters, two Higbees, Charles Ivins, <sup>37</sup> and several others. I asked if it was to be made a public thing; he replied the first blow was to be struck in Nauvoo by those who were opposed to Joseph. I asked how many they could rely on in Nauvoo; he said they could rely on five hundred, if they could only get arms for them.

He said as soon as the first blow was struck in Nauvoo, there were about 7,000 men ready in Missouri to join them to exterminate all who believed on Joseph Smith. He also told me that the "Die Vernon," when she came on her pleasure-trip to Nauvoo, that there were none but spies, and who came on purpose to see the places in order to know how to strike, when the time comes to strike; and he also said "the Reformers" had got spies continually passing Nauvoo, in order to spy out all that took place, and there was not a thing took place in Nauvoo but what was made known to them in St. Louis as soon as a steamboat landed.

I told him I should think he would be afraid to stop here; he said he should stay in Nauvoo, and carry on his butchering as usual, as if there was nothing taking place; that he had as good a gun as any man ever put to his face, and that the first shot he should fire would be to kill Joseph and Hyrum; said I, ["]the people will surely kill you then["]; he replied he would rush through a thousand people to wash his hands in Joseph's blood, and especially in Hyrum's, if he was to be immediately cut into a thousand pieces; he said he should be willing to die, as soon as he had killed them.

About five weeks since I had another conversation with William Nesbit, when he confirmed the whole of the foregoing conversation; and he also said, he had made arrangements with Mr. Bostwick of St. Louis to send him a brace of the best pistols, for the purpose of being ready when he wanted them; he also said that he would kill Hyrum any time he could get an<sup>38</sup> opportunity without being detected. I then asked him, if Hyrum could be put in his way so that no man would mistrust him, would you kill him<sup>39</sup>? He said, "By God I would." I asked if he would not be afraid to kill him in cold blood; he replied, "No, I would not, I would do it in a moment if I could get an opportunity."

The day following I left for Galena, and returned on Tuesday, 4018th inst[ant]., and on

<sup>32.</sup> Source: Original affidavit in UC.

<sup>33.</sup> Date in different ink in MS affidavit, 1; DHC 6:531: moves this line below following two place lines

<sup>34.</sup> DHC 6:531: adds "ss."

<sup>35.</sup> DHC 6:531: omits "all"

<sup>36.</sup> DHC 6:531: adds "of"

<sup>37.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: "< Charles Ivins,>"

<sup>38.</sup> MS affidavit, 2 (pencil): "any"

<sup>39.</sup> MS affidavit, 2: "<would you kill him>"

<sup>40.</sup> DHC 6:532: adds "the"

the 19th I saw William Nesbit in the ranks, and I cautioned Richard Brazier to keep an eye on Nesbit, for he had sworn to wash his hands in Joseph's and Hyrum's blood.

LUMAN H. CALKINS.

Subscribed and sworn to this 22nd day of June, 1844, before me, [...]<sup>41</sup>

GEO[RGE]. W. HARRIS,

Alderman of the City of Nauvoo.

<sup>42</sup>At 12 noon orders were sent to the different guards and pickets to let persons pass and repass without hailing them<sup>43</sup> until further orders.

I issued the following:—

#### <sup>44</sup>GENER AL OR DER S.

Mayor's Office & Headquarters of the Nauvoo Legion. Nauvoo, June 22nd, 1844.

To Col. Jonathan Dunham, Acting Major-Gen[eral]. Nauvoo Legion,

Sir:—You will proceed without delay with the assistance of the Nauvoo Legion to prepare the background <sup>45</sup>of said city for defense against <sup>46</sup>an invasion by mobs, cause the Legion to be furnished with tents, and make your encampment in the vicinity of your labors.

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor of the City of Nauvoo, and Lieut.-Gen. of the<sup>47</sup> Nauvoo Legion.

To<sup>48</sup> Col. Jonathan Dunham, Major-Gen[eral]. in command, Nauvoo Legion.

<sup>49</sup>At 6 p.m., I prophesied that in<sup>50</sup> the sickly seasons sickness would enter into the houses of the mob<sup>51</sup> and vex them until they would fain repent in dust and ashes; they will be smitten with the scab, &c. At 7 p.m., I received the following:—

<sup>52</sup>We, the undersigned citizens of Hancock County, respectfully request General Joseph Smith to preach on tomorrow, and that we have liberty of seats near enough to the stand to hear, inasmuch as we have an opportunity to hear him but seldom, and some of us have not heard him at all.

Yours respectfully,

JAMES HAMILTON and Co., Capt. at the Liberty Branch. NATHANIEL CASE, Capt. 7th Co., 4th Reg., 2nd Cohort, N.L. from La Harpe.

<sup>41.</sup> MS affidavit, 2: adds "the addition of "Charles Ivins" in 11th line and in the 5th line this page being first made." Apparently, the two interlinear insertions were made before G.W. Harris certified the affidavit.

<sup>42.</sup> Source: Based on TB Notes, 2 (transcription in vol. 7, II.5). Cf. NLc, fd 12, 5-6.

<sup>43.</sup> DHC 6:532: omits "them"

<sup>44.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 55-56 (WR).

<sup>45.</sup> DHC 6:532: adds "[Eastern part]"

<sup>46.</sup> MS order: adds "mobs"

<sup>47.</sup> MS order, DHC 6:532: omit "of the"

<sup>48.</sup> MS order: omits "To"

<sup>49.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSj [1844], 171 (WR) (APR, 496), with editing.

<sup>50.</sup> JSi [1844], 171: "<in>"

<sup>51.</sup> JSj [1844], 171: replaces "the mob" with "their"

<sup>52.</sup> Source: Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 51-54.

URIAH<sup>53</sup> H.YAGER and Co., Capt[ain]. at the Branch of Macedonia, 2nd Cohort. HIRAM CLARK, 1st Lieut. at the Mi[d]land<sup>54</sup> Branch Company. Z. D.WILSON'S COMPANY. ALVAH<sup>55</sup> L.TIPPETT'S do [COMPANY]<sup>56</sup>. S. HANCOCK, Major of the 1st Battalion of the 3rd Regiment. WARREN SNOW, Capt. and Co., 4th Reg., 2nd Cohort of N[auvoo]. Legion.

<sup>57</sup>At 10 p.m. I received the following letter by the hands of Captain Yates, who accompanied <sup>58</sup> Elder John Taylor and <sup>59</sup>John M. Bernhisel on their return from Carthage:—

<sup>60</sup>Headquarters Carthage, June 22nd, 1844.

To the Mayor and Council of the City of Nauvoo:-

Gentlemen:—After examining carefully all the allegations on the part of the citizens of the country in Hancock county, and the defensive matters submitted to me by the committee of your citizens concerning the existing disturbances, I find that there appears to be but little contradiction as to important facts; so that it may be safely assumed that the immediate cause of the existing excitement is the destruction of the press and fixtures of the handwoo Expositor, and the subsequent refusal of the individuals accused to be accountable therefor according to the general laws of this State, and the insisting, on your parts, to be accountable only before your own municipal court and according to the ordinances of your city.

Many other facts have been asserted<sup>62</sup> on both sides as tending to increase the excitement, but as they mostly relate merely to private persons, and committed by individuals, and tend simply to show the present state of affairs, I will not further notice them in this communication.

The material facts to be noticed are, that a newspaper called the *Nauvoo Expositor* was established in Nauvoo; that this newspaper was deemed offensive to the people of that city; that the common council without notice or process to the owners, entered into a trial, and heard statements not under oath, and evidence which was under oath, in relation to the character of that paper, and in relation to the character, conduct and designs of the owners and editors of the press; that upon hearing such statements and evidence the common council passed an ordinance or resolution declaring said press and paper to be a public nuisance, and ordered the same to be abated as such; that a writ was issued by the mayor to the marshal of the city for that purpose; that a military order was issued at the same time by the mayor, who is also Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo Legion, to the Major-General in command of that Legion, for a force sufficient to ensure the execution of the writ aforesaid.

It appears also the press was destroyed in obedience to the foregoing ordinance and writ, according to a return on the same by the marshal in the following words: "The within press

<sup>53.</sup> MS invitation: "Hugh"; Book F-1, 140 (pencil): "Hugh < Uriah >" (US)

<sup>54.</sup> MS invitation: "Mitland"

<sup>55.</sup> DHC 6:533: "ALNA"

<sup>56.</sup> DHC 6:533: replaces "do" with "COMPANY"

<sup>57.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:22 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13), and JTMA, 25 (DHC 7:78).

<sup>58.</sup> Book F-1, 140: "Captain Yates, who accompanied>"

<sup>59.</sup> DHC 6:533: adds "Dr."

 $<sup>60.\ \</sup>textit{Source}$ : Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 100-107 (US). There are two copies in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 89-99 (JMc); and JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 108-19 (JMc), which have penciled corrections.

<sup>61.</sup> DHC 6:533: omits "fixtures of the"

<sup>62.</sup> MS copy, 1 (pencil): "essential <asserted>"

and type is destroyed and pied according to order on this 10th day of June, 1844, at about six o'clock p.m.—J. P. GREENE, C.M."

It appears also that the owners of the press obtained from a justice of the peace at Carthage a warrant against the authors of this destruction for a riot; that the constable charged with the execution of this process arrested some of the persons accused, who immediately obtained writs of habeas corpus from 63 the municipal court of your city, by virtue of which they were tried in Nauvoo, and discharged from arrest, and that they have ever since refused to be arrested, or to submit to a trial at any other place, or before any other court except in the city, and before the municipal court aforesaid.

It has also been reported to me that martial law has been declared in Nauvoo; that persons and property have been and are now forcibly imprisoned and detained there, and that the Legion has been ordered under arms to resist any attempt to arrest the persons accused. I have not particularly inquired into the truth of these latter reports; for although they may become matters of GREAT IMPORTANCE IN THE SEQUEL, they are not necessary to be ascertained and acted upon at present.

I now express to you my opinion that your conduct in the destruction of the press was a very gross outrage upon the laws and the liberties of the people. It may have been full of libels, but this did not authorize you to destroy it.

There are many newspapers in this State which have<sup>64</sup> been wrongfully abusing me for more than a year, and yet such is my regard for the liberty of the press and the rights of a free people in a republican government that I would shed the last drop of my blood to protect those presses from any illegal violence. You have violated the constitution in at least four particulars; you have violated that part of it which declares that the printing presses shall be free, being responsible for the abuse thereof, and that the truth may be given in evidence.

This article of the constitution contemplates that the proprietors of a libelous press may be sued for private damages, or may be indicted criminally, and that upon trial they should have the right to give the truth in evidence. In this case the proprietors had no notice of the proceeding.

The Constitution also provides that the people shall be protected against unreasonable searches and seizures of their property, and "that no man shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, except by the judgment of his peers" (which means a jury trial) "and the law of the land"; which means due process of law and notice to the accused.

You have also violated the Constitution and<sup>65</sup> your own charter in this. Your Council, which has no judicial powers, and can only pass ordinances of a general nature, have undertaken to pass judgment as a court, and convict without a jury a press of being libelous, and a nuisance to the city.

The Council at most could only define a nuisance by general ordinance, and leave it to the courts to determine whether individuals or particulars accused come within such definition.

The Constitution abhors and will not tolerate the union of legislative and judicial power in the same body of magistracy; because, as in this case, they will first make a tyrannical law, and then execute it in a tyrannical manner.

You have also assumed to yourselves more power than you are entitled to in relation to writs of habeas under your charter. I know that you have been told by lawyers for the purpose of gaining your favor, that you have this power to any extent. In this they have deceived you for

<sup>63.</sup> Original letter, [2]: "as to <from>"

<sup>64.</sup> Original letter, [2] (pencil): "<have>"

<sup>65.</sup> Original letter, [4]: "<the constitution and>"

their own base purposes. Your charter supposes that you may pass ordinances, a breach of which will result in the imprisonment of the offender.

For the purpose of insuring more speedy relief to such persons, authority was given to the municipal court to issue writs of habeas corpus in all cases arising under the ordinances of the city.

It was never supposed by the legislature, nor can the language of your charter<sup>66</sup> be tortured to mean, that a jurisdiction was intended to be conferred, which would apply to all cases of imprisonment under the general laws of the State or of the United States, as well as the city ordinances.

It has also been reserved to you to make the discovery that a newspaper charged to be scurrilous and libelous may be legally abated or removed as a nuisance. In no other State, county, city, town, or territory in the United States, has ever such a thing been thought of before. Such an act at this day would not be tolerated even in England. Just such another act in 1830 hurled the King of France from his throne, and caused the imprisonment of four of his principal ministers for life. No civilized country can tolerate such conduct, much less can it be tolerated in this free country of the United States.

The result of my deliberations on this subject is, that I will have to require you and all persons in Nauvoo<sup>67</sup> accused or sued<sup>68</sup>, to submit in all cases implicitly to the process of the courts<sup>69</sup>, and to interpose no obstacles to an arrest either by writ of habeas corpus, or otherwise; and that all of the people of the city of Nauvoo shall make <sup>70</sup>and continue the most complete submission to the laws of the State, and the process of the courts and justices of the peace.

In the particular case now under consideration, I require any and all of you who are or shall be accused, to submit yourselves to be arrested by the same constable, by virtue of the same warrant, and be tried before the same magistrate whose authority has heretofore been resisted. Nothing short of this can vindicate the dignity of violated law, and allay the just excitement of the people.

I am anxious to preserve the peace. A small indiscretion may bring on a war. The whole country is now up in arms, and a vast number of people are ready to take the matter into their own hands. Such a state of things might force me to call out the militia to prevent a civil war. And such is the excitement of the country that I fear that<sup>71</sup> the militia when assembled would be beyond legal control.

You are wrong in the first instance, and I can call out no portion of the militia for your defense<sup>72</sup> until you submit to the law. You have made it necessary that a posse should be assembled to execute legal process, and that posse as fast as it assembles is in danger of being imbued with the mobocratic spirit. If you by refusing to submit, shall make it necessary to call out the militia, I have great fears that your city will be destroyed, and your people many of them EXTERMINATED.

You know the excitement of the public mind; do not tempt it too far. A very little matter may do a very great injury, and if you are disposed to continue the causes of excitement, and render a force necessary to coerce submission, I would say that your city was built, as it were, upon kegs<sup>73</sup> of powder<sup>74</sup>, which a very little spark may explode.

<sup>66.</sup> Original letter, [4]: "<of your charter>"

<sup>67.</sup> Original letter, [5]: "<in Nauvoo>"

<sup>68.</sup> Original letter, [5]: adds "in Nauvoo"

<sup>69.</sup> DHC 6:536: "court"

<sup>70.</sup> Original letter, [5]: adds "the most comp[lete]"

<sup>71.</sup> DHC 6:536: omits "that"

<sup>72.</sup> Original letter, [6]: "<for your defence>"

<sup>73.</sup> DHC 6:536: replaces "kegs" with "a keg"

<sup>74.</sup> Original letter, [6] (pencil), MS copy, 7: "pow<d>er"

It is my intention to do all I can to preserve the peace, and even if obliged to call the militia to prosecute the war so as not to involve the innocent, and comprehend all in the same punishment. But excitement is a matter which grows very fast upon men when assembled; the affair I much fear may assume a revolutionary character, and the men may disregard the authority of their officers.

I tell you plainly, that if no such submission is made as I have indicated, I will be obliged to call out the militia, and if a few thousands will not be sufficient, many thousands will be<sup>75</sup>.

I sincerely hope that your people may do nothing which will make such a proceeding necessary. I hope also that they will be well-disposed to co-operate with me in allaying the excitement of the public mind. Immediately discharge such persons as you have under martial law; let them go without molestation. Abstain from all injury to private property; let people go where they please without swearing them first to take no part against you; all such proceedings tend only to inflame the public mind, and raise up ten men disposed to fight you for<sup>76</sup> every one thus foolishly disabled<sup>77</sup>.

Your committee assures me that you are sincerely desirous of preserving the peace, and if so I hope you will co-operate with me in everything necessary to allay the excitement in the minds of the people.

The following-named persons are reported to me as being detained against their will by martial law: John A. Hicks, H. O. Norton, A. J. Higbee, John Eagle, P. J. Rolf, Peter Lemon, and T. J. Rolf. It will tend greatly to allay excitement if they shall be immediately discharged and suffered to go without molestation.

It is also reported here and generally believed—but whether truly<sup>78</sup> or not I have not yet learned—that there are many foraging parties abroad from Nauvoo, committing depredations upon the cattle and property in the vicinity. <sup>79</sup>These acts, if correctly reported, must absolutely cease immediately, if you expect any person here to have the power to reserve the peace.

In case the persons accused should make no resistance to an<sup>80</sup> arrest, it will be against orders to be accompanied by others. If it should become necessary to have witnesses on the trials, I will see that such persons shall be duly summoned, and I will also guarantee the safety of all such persons as may thus be brought to this place from Nauvoo either for trial or as witnesses<sup>81</sup> for the accused.

If the individuals accused cannot be found when required by the constable, it will be considered by me as an equivalent to a refusal to be arrested, and the militia will be ordered accordingly.

I am, gentlemen, with great respect,
Your obedient servant,
THOMAS FORD,
Governor and Commander-in-chief.

To which I wrote the following answer:—

<sup>75.</sup> Original letter, [6]: adds "Suff[icient]"

<sup>76.</sup> Original letter, [7]: "{where}for"

<sup>77.</sup> Original letter, [7]: adds "from appearing against you"

<sup>78.</sup> DHC 6:537: "true"

<sup>79.</sup> Original letter, [7]: adds "This pr"

<sup>80.</sup> DHC 6:537: omits "an"

<sup>81.</sup> Book F-1, 143: "<on the trials ... witnesses>" (JG)

<sup>82</sup>Nauvoo, June 22nd, 1844:12 o'clock<sup>83</sup>, p.m.

To His Excellency Thomas Ford:—

Sir:—Yours of this date is received by Messrs. Taylor and Bernhisel; <sup>84</sup>a part of the same delegation, Mr. Woodworth<sup>85</sup>, who was detained yesterday, started for Carthage at 12 noon this date<sup>86</sup>, whom<sup>87</sup> we perceive had not arrived at your last date; some documents conveyed by him would tend to counteract some<sup>88</sup> of the views expressed in your Excellency's communication, and we feel confident if all the facts could be before your Excellency, you would have come to different conclusions.

Our "insisting to be accountable only before our own municipal court" is totally incorrect. We plead a habeas corpus as a last resort to save us from being thrown into the power of the mobocrats<sup>89</sup>, who were<sup>90</sup> then threatening<sup>91</sup> us with death, and it was with great reluctance we went before the municipal court on account of the prejudice which might arise in the minds of the unbiased, and<sup>92</sup> we did not petition for a habeas corpus until we had told the constable that on our lives we dare not go to Carthage for trial, and plead with him to go before any county magistrate he pleased in our vicinity, (which occurrence is common in legal proceedings)<sup>93</sup> and not a member<sup>94</sup> of our society; so that our lives might be saved from the threats thus<sup>95</sup> already issued against us.

The press was declared a nuisance under the authority of the charter as written in 7th section of addenda, the same as in the Springfield Charter; so that if the act <sup>96</sup>declaring the press a nuisance was unconstitutional, we cannot see<sup>97</sup> how it is that the charter itself is not unconstitutional; and if we have erred in judgment it is an official act, and belongs to the Supreme Court to correct it, and assess damages v[ersu]s.<sup>98</sup> the city to restore property abated as a nuisance. If we *have* erred in this thing we have done it in good company; for <sup>99</sup>Blackstone on <sup>100</sup>["]wrongs["] asserts the doctrine that scurrilous prints may be abated as nuisances.

<sup>101</sup>As to martial law, we truly say that we were obliged to call out the forces to protect our lives; and the constitution guarantees to every man that privilege; and <sup>102</sup> our measures were active and efficient, as the necessity of the case required; but the city is and has been

```
82. Source: MS draft in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 51-54 (WR).
 83. MS letter, [1]: "<oclock>"
 84. MS letter, [1]: adds "and as it app[ears?] another del[egation]"
 85. MS letter, [1]: "<Mr. Woo[dw]orth>"
 86. MS letter, [1]: "date" overwrites "day"
 87. MS letter, [1]: "which < whom>"; DHC 6:538: "who"
 88. MS letter, [1]: "Some /one\"
 89. MS letter, [1]: "mob\ocrats/"
 90. MS letter, [1]: "\who/ ["who" w.o. "which"] was"
 91. MS letter, [1]: "rasing against < threatening>"
 92. MS letter, [1]: "<with death, and it was ... the <municipal> court ... unbiased, &>"
 93. MS letter, [1]: "<which occurrence is common in Legal proceedings>"
 94. MS letter, [1]: replaces "a member" with "members"
 95. MS letter, [1]: "<thus>"
 96. MS letter, [1]: adds "of"
97. MS letter, [1]: "<see>"
 98. MS letter, [1]: "over <vs>"
 99. MS letter, [1]: adds "Mr."
100. MS letter, [1]: adds "Private"
101. MS letter, [1]: adds "There has"
102. MS letter, [1]: "<and>"
```

continually<sup>103</sup> under the special direction of the Marshal all the time. No person to our knowledge has been arrested only for violation of the peace, and those some of our own citizens, all of whom we believe are now discharged.

And if any property has been taken for public benefit<sup>104</sup> without a compensation, or against the will of the owner<sup>105</sup>, it has been done without our knowledge or consent, and when shown shall be corrected, if the people will permit us to resume our usual labors.

If we "have committed a gross outrage upon the laws and <sup>106</sup> liberties of the people," as your Excellency represents, we are ready to correct that outrage when the testimony is forthcoming. All men are bound to act in their sphere on their own judgment; and it would be quite impossible for us to know what your Excellency's judgment would have been in the case referred to, consequently acted on our own; and according to our best judgment, after having taken able counsel in the case. <sup>107</sup>If we have erred we again say we will make all right, if we can have the privilege. <sup>108</sup>

["]The constitution also provides that the people shall be protected against all unreasonable search and seizure." True; 109 the doctrine we believe most fully, and have acted upon it; but we do not believe it unreasonable to search so far as it is necessary to protect 110 life and property from destruction 111.

We do not believe in 112 the "union of legislative and judicial power," and we have not so understood the action of the case in question.

Whatever power we have exercised in the habeas corpus has been done in 113 accordance with the 114 letter of the charter and 115 constitution 116 as we confidently understood them, and that too with the ablest counsel; but if it be so that we have erred in this thing, let the Supreme Court correct the evil. We have never gone contrary to constitutional law, so far as we have been able to learn it; if lawyers have belied their profession to abuse us, the evil be on their heads.

You have intimated that no press has been abated as a nuisance in the United States; we refer your Excellency to Humphrey<sup>117</sup> v[ersu]s. Press in Ohio, <sup>118</sup>who abated the press by his own arm for libel, and the courts decided on prosecution no cause of action. And we do know that it is common for police in Boston, N[ew]. York, &c., to destroy scurrilous <sup>119</sup>prints; <sup>120</sup>and

```
103. MS letter, [1]: "<continually>"
        104. MS letter, [2]: "<for public benefit>"
        105. MS letter, [2]: "<the will of the owner>" (TB)
        106. MS letter, [2]: "<Laws &>"
        107. MS letter, [2]: adds "But [sir?] {\Y/}ou require us to be forth coming"
        108. MS letter, [2]: "<if we have erred ... privilege.>"
        109. MS letter, [2]: adds "but <does> this refer particularly"
        110. MS letter, [2]: "prevent the destruction <protect>"
        111. MS letter, [2]: "which has been the case in with And we are confident that nothing more has been done,
if any thing, by us in the [previous?] < from destruction > "
        112. MS letter, [2]: "<in>"
        113. MS letter, [2]: "in" overwrites illegible
        114. MS letter, [2]: adds "strict"
        115. MS letter, [2]: "<&>"
        116. MS letter, [2]: adds "& ordinances"
        117. MS letter, [2]: "[Bushard?] <Humphrey>"
        118. MS letter, [3]: adds "and [Cabbott?]"
        119. MS letter, [3]: adds "<Libelous>"
        120. MS letter, [3]: adds "Your Excellency says we are wrong". This was written and canceled before continu-
```

we think the loss of character by libel, and the loss of life by mobocratic prints, to be a greater loss than a little property, all of which life alone excepted, we have sustained, brought upon us by the most unprincipled outlaws, gamblers, counterfeiters, and such characters as have been standing by me<sup>121</sup>, and probably are now standing around your Excellency; <sup>122</sup>namely those men who have brought these evils upon us.

We have no knowledge of men's being sworn to pass our city, and upon receipt of your last message the Legion was disbanded and the city left to your Excellency's disposal.

How it could be possible for us<sup>123</sup> now to be tried constitutionally by the same magistrate who first issued the writ at Carthage we cannot see, for the constitution expressly says no man shall twice be put in jeopardy of life and limb for the same offense<sup>124</sup>, and all you <sup>125</sup>refer to have since the issue<sup>126</sup> of the habeas corpus been complied with for<sup>127</sup> the same offense, and tried<sup>128</sup> before Daniel H. Wells, justice of the peace for Hancock county, and after a full investigation were discharged; but notwithstanding this we would not hesitate to stand another trial according to your Excellency's wish, were it not that we are confident our lives would be in danger. We dare not come. Writs, we are assured, are issued against us in various parts of the country; for what? to drag us from place to place, from court to court, across the creeks and prairies, till some bloodthirsty villain can find his opportunity to shoot us. We dare not come, though your Excellency promises protection; yet at the same time you have expressed fears that you could not control the mob, in which case we are left to the mercy of the merciless. Sir, we dare not come, for our lives would be in danger<sup>129</sup>, <sup>130</sup>and we are guilty of no crime.

You say "it will be against orders to be accompanied by others" if we come to trial; this we have been obliged to act upon in Missouri; and when our witnesses were sent for by the court, (as your honor promises to do<sup>131</sup>) they were thrust into prison, and we left without witnesses. Sir, you must not blame us, for "a burnt child dreads the fire"; and although your Excellency might be well-disposed in the matter, the appearance of the mob *forbids our coming;* we dare not do it.

We have been advised by legal and high-minded gentlemen from abroad, who came on the boat this evening, <sup>132</sup> to lay our grievances before the federal government, as the appearance of things is not only treasonable against us, but against <sup>133</sup> this <sup>134</sup> State on the part of Missouri, unless the same has been requested of Governor Ford by the federal government <sup>135</sup>. And we suppose your Excellency is well aware by this time that the mass-meetings of the county declared *utter extermination* of the Mormons, and that the Legion was not called out until complaints

<sup>121.</sup> MS letter, [3]: omits "me"

<sup>122.</sup> MS letter, [3]: adds "We are compelled {\to/} ["to" w.o. "{not}"]". These words canceled before continuing with remainder of sentence, which was written above the line ("<namely ... upon>") and in line following cancellation ("\us/").

<sup>123.</sup> MS letter, [3]: "us" overwrites "you"

<sup>124.</sup> MS letter, [3]: "<for the same offense>"

<sup>125.</sup> MS letter, [3]: adds "<[illegible]>"

<sup>126.</sup> DHC 6:540: "issuance"

<sup>127.</sup> MS letter, [3]: "of <with> {by} for"

<sup>128.</sup> DHC 6:540: "trial"

<sup>129.</sup> MS letter, [3]: "<for our lives would be in danger>"

<sup>130.</sup> MS letter, [3]: adds "And in taking a view of"

<sup>131.</sup> MS letter, [4]: "<to do>"

<sup>132.</sup> MS letter, [4]: "<who came on the boat this eve[ning]>"; Book F-1, 145: "<this evening,>" (JG)

<sup>133.</sup> MS letter, [4]: "<against>"

<sup>134.</sup> DHC 6:540: "the"

<sup>135.</sup> MS letter, [4]: "<unless the same has been requested of Gov Ford of the gov[ernment]>"

were made to the Mayor, and the citizens were afraid of their lives, and losing their confidence in the authorities of the city, and that nothing on the part of the city authorities had been wanting, legally and judiciously, to allay excitement and restore peace. <sup>136</sup>We shall leave the city forthwith to lay the facts before the General Government, and as before stated the city is left open and unprotected; and by everything that is sacred, we implore your Excellency to cause our helpless women and children to be protected from mob violence, and let not the blood of innocence cry to the <sup>138</sup>heavens against you. We again say, if anything wrong has been done on our part, *and we know of nothing*, we will make all things <sup>139</sup> right if the government will give us the opportunity. Disperse the mob, and secure to us our constitutional privileges; that our lives may not be endangered when on trial.

I remain, most respectfully,
Your Excellency's humble servant,
JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor,
and Lieut.-Gen. N.L.

<sup>136.</sup> MS letter, [4]: adds "As before stated"

<sup>137.</sup> MS letter, [4]: "<General>"

<sup>138.</sup> MS letter, [4]: adds "[ground?]"

<sup>139.</sup> Book F-1, 145: "<things>" (JG)

#### 28.

# JOSEPH SMITH'S LAST JOURNAL ENTRIES

### 22 June 1844

#### [DN 7 (28 October 1857): 265-67 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>[Saturday, June 22, 1844 (cont.)] It appears that the Governor, on arriving at Carthage, ordered the entire mob into service, adopted the lies and misrepresentations circulated against us by our enemies as the<sup>2</sup> truth, turned Supreme Court, and decided on the legality of our municipal ordinances and proceedings, which is the business of the judiciary alone. He charges us in his letter, based upon the most cursed falsehoods, with violations of law and order, which have never been thought of by us. He treated our delegates very rudely; my communications that were read to him were read in the presence of a large number of our worst enemies, who interrupted the reader at almost every line with "that's a damned lie," and "that's a God damned<sup>3</sup> lie." He never accorded to them the privilege of saying one word to him only in the midst of such interruptions as "you lie like hell" from a crowd of persons present; these facts show conclusively that he is under the influence of the mob spirit, and is designedly intending to place us in the hands of murderous assassins, and is conniving at our destruction; or else that he is so ignorant and stupid that he does not understand the corrupt and diabolical spirits that are around him.

<sup>4</sup>/<sup>5</sup>Elder John Taylor gave the following account of his interview with the Governor:—

<sup>6</sup>After waiting the Governor's pleasure for some time we had an audience; but such an audience! He was surrounded by some of the vilest and most unprincipled men in creation;

<sup>1.</sup> Source: Opening paragraph undoubtedly a composition of the compilers, partly inspired by JT's account that follows.

<sup>2.</sup> DHC 6:542: omits "the"

<sup>3.</sup> DHC 6:542: adds "G-d-d"

<sup>4.</sup> JT's account was inserted by LH in a blank in Book F-1, 146, and continued in F-1, Addenda, 1-2. Added probably on 20-21 Oct. 1857, when CHOj records WW, LH, and RLC "Revising Histy of Assassination & comparing with J.Ts M.S." (CHOj 20:77-78), and WW said: "I spent most of the fore part of the day in reading the History of the death of Joseph & Comparing John Taylors account with it" (WWj, vol. 7, 21 Oct. 1857; WWj 5:111-12).

<sup>5.</sup> Handwriting of JG ends; LH's begins in Book F-1, 146, and continues to end of John Taylor's account (this chap.).

<sup>6.</sup> Source: JTMA, 21-24. Cf. DHC 7:75-78.

some of them had an appearance of respectability, but many of them lacked even that. Wilson, and I believe William Law were there, Foster, Frank and Chauncey Higbee, Mr. Marr, a lawyer from Nauvoo; a mobocratic merchant from Warsaw, <sup>7</sup>Joseph H.<sup>8</sup> Jackson, a number of his associates, and <sup>9</sup>the Governor's secretary, in all some<sup>10</sup> fifteen or twenty persons, most of whom were recreant to virtue, honor, integrity and everything that is considered honorable among men. I can well remember the feelings of disgust that I had in seeing the Governor surrounded by such an infamous group, and on being introduced to men of so questionable a character; and had I been on private business, I should have turned to depart, and told the Governor that, if he thought proper to associate with such questionable characters, I should beg leave to be excused, but coming, as we did, on public business, we could not of course consult our private feelings.

We then stated to the Governor, that in accordance with his request, General Joseph Smith had, in response to his call, sent us to him as a committee of conference; that we were acquainted with most of the circumstances that had transpired in and about Nauvoo lately, and were prepared to give him the information; that moreover we had in our possession testimony and affidavits confirmatory of what we should say, which had been forwarded to him by General<sup>11</sup> Joseph Smith; that communications had been forwarded to his Excellency by Messrs. Hunter, James and others, some of which had not reached their destination; but of which we had duplicates with us. We then in brief related an outline of the difficulties, and the course we had pursued from the commencement of the troubles, up to the present, and handing him the documents, respectfully submitted the whole. During our conversation and explanations with the Governor, we were frequently <sup>12</sup>rudely and impudently contradicted by the fellows he had around him, and of whom he seemed to take no notice.

He opened and read a number of the documents himself, and as he proceeded, he was frequently interrupted by—: "That's a lie"—"That's a God damned<sup>13</sup> lie"—"That's an infernal falsehood"—"That's a blasted lie," &c.

These men evidently winced on an exposure of their acts; and thus vulgarly, impudently and falsely repudiated them. One of their number, Mr. Marr, addressed himself several times to me, while in conversation with the Governor. I did not notice him until after a frequent repetition of his insolence, when I informed him that my business at that time was with Governor Ford; whereupon I continued my conversation with His Excellency.

<sup>14</sup>During the conversation the Governor expressed a desire that Joseph Smith and all parties concerned in passing or executing the city law in relation to the press, had better come to Carthage, that however repugnant it might be to our feelings, he thought it would have a tendency to allay public excitement and prove to the people what we professed, that we wished to be governed by law.

We represented to him the course we had taken in relation to this matter, our willingness to go before another magistrate, other than the municipal court; the illegal refusal of our request by the constable<sup>15</sup>, our dismissal by the municipal court, a legally constituted tribunal,

<sup>7.</sup> JTMA, 21: adds "the aforesaid"

<sup>8.</sup> JTMA, 21: omits "Joseph H."

<sup>9.</sup> JTMA, 21: adds "Mr. [blank]"

<sup>10.</sup> DHC 6:543: omits "some"

<sup>11.</sup> JTMA, 22: "<General>"

<sup>12.</sup> JTMA, 22: adds "<rudely> interrupted"

<sup>13.</sup> DHC 6:543: "G— d—d"

<sup>14.</sup> An insertion on last line of Book F-1, 146, reads: "[See Addenda page 1]" (LH). The remainder of John Taylor's account is found in Book F-1, Addenda, 1-2 (LH).

<sup>15.</sup> DHC 6:544: moves "by the constable" to follow "refusal"

our subsequent trial before Esq. Wells at the instance of Judge Thomas (the circuit judge) and our dismissal by him. That we had fulfilled the law in every particular; that it was our enemies who were breaking the law and, having murderous designs, were only making use of this as a pretext to get us into their power.

The Governor stated that the people viewed it differently, and that notwithstanding our opinions, he would recommend that the people should be satisfied.

We then remarked to him, that should Joseph Smith comply with his request, it would be extremely unsafe, in the present excited state of the country to come without an armed force; that we had a sufficiency of men and were competent to defend ourselves; but that there might be danger of collision, should our forces and that 16 of our enemies be brought in such close proximity 17.

He strenuously advised us not to bring any arms, and pledged his faith as Governor, and the faith of the State, that we should be protected, and that he would guarantee our perfect safety.

# <sup>18</sup>We had, at that time, about five thousand under arms, one thousand of which would have been amply sufficient for our protection.

At the termination of our interview, and previous to our withdrawal, after a long conversation and the perusal of the documents which we had brought, the Governor informed us that he would prepare a written communication for General Joseph Smith, which he desired us to wait for. We were kept waiting for this instrument some five or six hours.

About 5 o'clock in the afternoon<sup>19</sup> we took our departure, with not<sup>20</sup> the most pleasant feelings. The associations of the Governor, the spirit that he manifested to compromise with those<sup>21</sup> scoundrels, the length of time that he had kept us waiting, and his general deportment, together with the infernal spirit that we saw exhibited by those whom he admitted to his counsels made the prospect anything but <sup>22</sup>promising.

<sup>23</sup>/<sup>24</sup>I had a consultation for a little while with my brother Hyrum, Dr. Richards, John Taylor, and John M. Bernhisel, and determined to go to Washington, and lay the matter before Pres[iden]t. Tyler.

<sup>25</sup>About 7 p.m., I requested Reynolds Cahoon and Alpheus Cutler to stand guard at the Mansion, and not to admit any stranger inside the house. <sup>26</sup>

 $^{27}\mathrm{At}$  sundown, I asked O. P. Rockwell if he would go with me a short journey, and he replied he would.  $^{28}$ 

<sup>16.</sup> DHC 6:544: replaces "that" with "those"

<sup>17.</sup> JTMA, 24: adds "there might be danger of collission"

<sup>18.</sup> This paragraph added from JTMA, 24, was omitted in MSHiJS and *DN*. However, it was included in the version published in DHC 7:77.

<sup>19.</sup> JTMA, 24: (darker ink): "Late in the evening < About 5 OClock in the afternoon>"

<sup>20.</sup> JTMA, 24: "<not>"

<sup>21.</sup> DHC 6:544: "these"

<sup>22.</sup> JTMA, 24: adds "pleasing"

<sup>23.</sup> Source: Apparently based on WRj 10:22, which reads: "10 eve. Taylor & Bernhisel with letter from Governor.—had consultation a Little while—& determined to go to W[ashington] and lay the matter before Gen[eral] G[overnment] Joseph, Hyrum, & Dr Richards" (see transcription in vol. 8,VI.13). Cf. JTMA, 25.

<sup>24.</sup> Handwriting of LH ends in Book F-1, 146; JG begins on p. 147 and continues to end of this chapter.

<sup>25.</sup> Source: Possibly based on RC [ca. 1856].

<sup>26.</sup> Book F-1, 147: adds "(Cahoon.)"

<sup>27.</sup> Source: Possibly based on OPR [ca. 1856].

<sup>28.</sup> Book F-1, 147: adds "(Rockwell.)"

<sup>29</sup>Abraham C. Hodge say's that soon after dark<sup>30</sup>, Joseph called Hyrum, Willard Richards, John Taylor, W[illiam]. W. Phelps<sup>31</sup>, A. C. Hodge, Jno. L. Butler, A[lpheus]. Cutler, W[illia]m. Marks, and some others, into his upper<sup>32</sup> room and said, "Brethren, here is a letter from the Governor, which I wish to have read." After it was read through Joseph remarked, "There is no mercy—no mercy here." Hyrum said, "No; just as sure as we fall into their hands we are dead men." Joseph replied, "Yes; what shall we do, brother Hyrum?" He replied, "I don't know." All at once Joseph's countenance brightened up, and he said, "The way is open—it is clear to my mind what to do; all they want is Hyrum and myself: then tell everybody to go about their business, and not to collect in groups, but <sup>33</sup>scatter about; there is no doubt they will come here and search for us: let them search; they will not harm you in person or property, and not even a hair of your head. We will cross the river tonight and go away to the West<sup>34</sup>." He made a move to go out of the house to cross the river; when out of doors he told Butler and Hodge to take the *Maid of Iowa* (in charge of Repsher,) get it to the upper landing, and put his and Hyrum's families and effects upon her; then go down the Mississippi, and up the Ohio river to Portsmouth, where they should hear from them. He then took Hodge by the hand and said, "Now, bro[ther]. Hodge, let what will come, don't deny the faith, and all will be well."

<sup>35</sup>I told Stephen Markham that if I and Hyrum were ever taken again, we should be massacred, or I was not a prophet of God. "I want Hyrum to live to avenge my blood, but he is determined not to leave me."

<sup>29.</sup> Book F-1, 147: adds "[See Margin]" (JG). This paragraph added in left margin (JG); DHC 6:545-46 brackets this paragraph. *Source*: Possibly part of a missing portion of ACH's 23 June 1856 statement (see ACH); it is also possible that ACH's statement was added directly into Book F-1.

<sup>30.</sup> DHC 6:545: replaces "dark" with "dusk"

<sup>31.</sup> Book F-1, 147 (pencil): "<Hyrum ... Phelps>" (TB)

<sup>32.</sup> Book F-1, 147 (pencil): "<upper>" (TB)

<sup>33.</sup> DHC 6:545: adds "to"

<sup>34.</sup> Book F-1, 147 (pencil): "<to the West>" (TB)

<sup>35.</sup> Inserted by LH on blank line in Book F-1, 147. *Source*: SM [1856], 1 (transcription in vol. 8,VI.26). A draft of this paragraph in what appears to be WB's handwriting is located in JSHP, Bx 2.

#### 29.

## JOSEPH SMITH FLEES NAUVOO 22-24 June 1844

#### [DN 7 (4 November 1857): 273-75]

 $/^1$ AN ACCOUNT OF THE ARREST, IMPRISONMENT AND MARTYRDOM OF PRESIDENT JOSEPH SMITH AND PATRIARCH HYRUM SMITH, IN CARTHAGE JAIL, HANCOCK COUNTY, ILLINOIS,

As collected from the journals<sup>2</sup> kept at the time by Dr.<sup>3</sup> Willard Richards, and the statements published by John Taylor, Messrs. Reid and Woods, and John S. Fullmer, and the writings and statements of Dan Jones, Cyrus H. Wheelock, Stephen Markham, and many other persons who were personally acquainted with the transactions.<sup>4</sup>

#### BY THE HISTORIAN.5

<sup>6</sup>/<sup>7</sup>[Saturday] JUNE 22, 1844.<sup>8</sup>—About 9 p.m., Hyrum came out of the Mansion, and gave his hand to Reynolds Cahoon, at the same time saying, "A company of men are seeking to kill my brother Joseph, and the Lord has warned him to flee to the Rocky Mountains to save his life; goodbye, brother Cahoon, we shall see you again." In a few minutes afterwards, Joseph came from his family; his tears were flowing fast; he held a handkerchief to his face, and followed after brother Hyrum without uttering a word.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Between 9 and 10 p.m., Joseph, Hyrum and Willard, while waiting on the banks of the river for the skiff, sent for W[illiam]. W. Phelps, and instructed him to take their families to Cincinnati by

- 1. Handwriting of JG ends; LH's begins in Book F-1, 147, and continues to end of paragraph.
- 2. DHC 6:547: "journal"
- 3. DHC 6:547: omits "Dr."
- 4. In Book F-1, the sources of information are indicated by placing names in parentheses after some paragraphs, which were left out when published in the *DN* and DHC. These have been documented in footnotes.
  - 5. I.e., George A. Smith.
  - 6. Source: Possibly based on RC [ca. 1856].
  - 7. Handwriting of LH ends; JG's begins in Book F-1, 147, and continues to p. 150 (this chap.).
  - 8. Book F-1, 147: omits date
  - 9. Book F-1, 147: adds "(Cahoon.)"
  - 10. Source: Possibly based on WWP [ca. 1856].

the second steamboat arriving at Nauvoo, and when he arrived there to commence petitioning the President of the United States and Congress for redress of grievances, and see if they would grant the Church liberty and equal rights. Joseph then said, "Go to our wives, and tell them what we have concluded to do, and learn their feelings on the subject; and tell Emma you will be ready to start by the second steamboat, and she has sufficient money wherewith to pay the expenses. If you ascertain by tomorrow morning that there is anything wrong, come over the river to Montrose to the house of Captain John Killien, and there you will learn where we are." 11

<sup>12</sup>One o'clock [at] night. J[ohn]. P. Green[e] called me [William Clayton] up saying I was wanted at J[oseph]'s. I immediately went down and found Pres[iden]t. J[oseph] and Dr [Willard] Richards preparing to leave the place. The Gov[erno]r has sent 30 men to take them to Carthage and if they offer any resistance he intends to call out the Militia of the State and take them by force of arms. Joseph whispered and told me either to put the r[ecords] of K[ingdom] into the hands of some faithful man and send them away, or burn them, or bury them. I concluded to bury them, which I did immediately on my return home.

<sup>13</sup>About midnight, Joseph, Hyrum, and Dr. Richards called for O[rrin]. P. Rockwell at his lodgings, and all went up the river bank until they found Aaron Johnson's boat, which they got into, and started about 2 a.m. to cross the Mississippi river. O[rrin]. P. Rockwell rowed the skiff, which was very leaky, so that it kept Joseph, Hyrum, and the Doctor busy baling out the water with their boots and shoes to prevent it from sinking.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>15</sup>Sunday, 23.—At daybreak arrived on the Iowa side of the river. <sup>16</sup> Sent O[rrin]. P. Rockwell back to Nauvoo with instructions to return the next night with horses for Joseph and Hyrum, pass them over the river in the night secretly, and to be ready to start for the Great Basin in the Rocky Mountains. <sup>17</sup>

<sup>18</sup>Joseph, Hyrum, and Dr. Richards walked up to Captain John Killien's house, where they arrived at sunrise, but he not being at home, they went from thence to brother William Jordan's. About 9 a.m., Dr. Bernhisel came over the river to visit Joseph. Also Reynolds Cahoon, who made some explanations respecting Governor Ford's letter.

<sup>19</sup>Early in the morning a posse arrived in Nauvoo to arrest Joseph; but as they did not find him they started back to Carthage immediately leaving one man of the name of Yates behind them, who said to one of the brethren, that Governor Ford designed that if Joseph and Hyrum were not given up he would send his troops and guard the city until they were found, if it took three years to do it.

<sup>11.</sup> Book F-1, 147: adds "(Phelps.)".

<sup>12.</sup> Source: From unused portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 22 June 1844 (DMQP, 21; part in IC, 135).

<sup>13.</sup> Source: Possibly based on OPR [ca. 1856].

<sup>14.</sup> Book F-1, 147: adds "(Rockwell.)"

<sup>15.</sup> Source: Possibly based on OPR [ca. 1856].

<sup>16.</sup> Cf. WRj 10:23 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>17.</sup> Book F-1, 147: adds "(Rockwell.)"

<sup>18.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:23 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13), with elaboration and details supplied from undetermined source.

<sup>19.</sup> The following three paragraphs (except first sentence) were canceled in Book F-1, 148. Then three new paragraphs were added between the lines of the canceled paragraphs, but were also canceled and replaced with a paragraph in the Addenda, which was a repeat of the first paragraph. *Source*: This paragraph from WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 23 June 1844 (DMQP, 21).

<sup>20</sup>About 11 a.m., Emma sent over Lorenzo D. Wasson, and Hiram Kimball to entreat of Joseph and Hyrum to come back to Nauvoo and give themselves up for trial, and to inform them what the Governor intended to do in case they did not deliver themselves up. (Stout.)

<sup>21</sup>W[illiam]. W. Phelps says that about noon he went to the house of Captain John Killien as proposed by Joseph the night before. In short time afterwards Jonathan Dunham came in when they went to the house of William Jordan, where Joseph, Hyrum, and Dr. [Willard] Richards were, and he told them that Emma refused to go, but that Hyrum's wife and the Doctor's wife agreed to follow counsel. Directly afterwards Reynolds Cahoon and O[rrin]. P. Rockwell came in and Cahoon commenced interceding with Hyrum for them to come back to Nauvoo, and stuck to it until he persuaded them to do so. (Phelps.)

<sup>22</sup>Early in the morning a posse arrived in Nauvoo to arrest Joseph; they went to Mills' Tavern; and the officer in command exhorted Alpheus Cutler and Henry G. Sherwood to have Joseph and Hyrum come back, as the safety of Nauvoo depended on it. He pledged himself that their lives should be protected. Cutler was satisfied with this pledge and said it could be depended upon, as he was an old acquaintance of his; and agreed to use his influence to fetch them back. <sup>23</sup>They went and informed Emma, who requested them to go to Joseph and Hyrum and say that unless they returned and went to Carthage, Nauvoo would be burnt up and the people massacred.

About 11 a.m., the posse had mounted their animals to return to Carthage, when Hiram Kimball laid his hand on Reynolds Cahoon's shoulder and said, "there must be something done in this matter immediately, or our property in the city will be of no value whatever and a number of men will be ruined if posse leaves<sup>24</sup>." Kimball then called the officer aside and promised if he would wait until 2 p.m., they would go over the river and try to persuade Joseph and Hyrum to come back. Upon that promise the posse dismounted, and the animals were ordered back to the stable.

About this time L[yman]. O. Littlefield came from the printing office in great agitation and said to Cahoon, "something must be done. We must get those men back or we shall all be destroyed. I must have some help immediately to pack away the printing press and fixtures."

<sup>25</sup>Early in the morning a posse arrived in Nauvoo to arrest Joseph, but as they did not find him they started back to Carthage immediately, leaving one man of the name of Yates behind them, who said to one of the brethren, that Governor Ford designed<sup>26</sup>, that if Joseph and Hyrum were not given up, he would send his troops and guard the city until they were found, if it took three years to do it.

<sup>27</sup>At 1 p.m., Emma sent over O[rrin]. P. Rockwell, requesting him to entreat of Joseph to come back; Reynolds Cahoon accompanied him with a letter which Emma had written to the same effect, and she insisted that Cahoon should persuade Joseph to come back and give himself up. When they

<sup>20.</sup> Source: Possibly based on HSt [1856].

<sup>21.</sup> Source: Possibly based on WWP [ca. 1856].

<sup>22.</sup> The next three paragraphs were inserted in Book F-1, 148, between the lines of the above canceled paragraphs (JG), but were canceled also. *Source*: CCP (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.27). See also MDH (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.36).

<sup>23.</sup> Source: Following sentence possibly from HGS #2 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.3).

<sup>24.</sup> Book F-1, 148 (pencil): adds "<and a number ... leaves>" (TB)

<sup>25.</sup> Book F-1, 148: adds "<See Addenda Page 2>" in the margin next to the above canceled paragraphs (LH). This paragraph, which repeated the first canceled paragraph, was added in Book F-1, Addenda, 2 (LH), on 20-21 Oct. 1857 (see MSHi Chronology). *Source*: WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 23 June 1844 (DMQP, 21).

<sup>26.</sup> Book F-1, 148, Addenda, 2 (pencil): "<designed>" (pos. LH)

<sup>27.</sup> Source: Possibly based on OPR [ca. 1856].

went over they found Joseph, Hyrum, and Willard in a room by themselves, having flour and other provisions on the floor ready for packing.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>29</sup>Reynolds Cahoon informed Joseph what the troops intended to do, and urged upon him to give himself up, inasmuch as the Governor had pledged his faith and the faith of the State to protect him while he underwent a legal and fair trial. R[eynolds]. Cahoon, L[orenzo]. D. Wasson, and Hiram<sup>30</sup> Kimball accused Joseph of cowardice for wishing to leave the people, adding that their property would be destroyed, and *they* left without house or home; like the fable when<sup>31</sup> the wolves came, the shepherd ran from the flock, and left the sheep to be devoured. To which Joseph replied, "If my life is of no value to my friends, it is of none to myself."

<sup>32</sup>Joseph said to Rockwell, "What shall I do?" Porter [Rockwell]<sup>33</sup> replied, "You are the oldest and ought to know best; and as you make your bed, I will lay<sup>34</sup> with you." Joseph then turned to Hyrum, who was talking with Cahoon, and said, "Brother Hyrum, you are the oldest, what shall we do?" Hyrum said, "Let us go back and give ourselves up, and see the thing out." After studying a few moments Joseph said, "If you go back I will go with you, but we shall be butchered." Hyrum said, "No, no; let us go back, and put our trust in God, and we shall not be harmed; the Lord is in it; if we live or have to die, we will be reconciled to our fate."<sup>35</sup>

<sup>36</sup>After a short pause Joseph told Cahoon to request Captain Daniel C. Davis to have his boat ready by half-past five o'clock<sup>37</sup>, to cross them over the river.<sup>38</sup>

Joseph and Hyrum then wrote the following letter:—

<sup>39</sup>Bank of the River Mississippi, Sunday, June 23, 1844: 2 p.m.

His Excellency Thomas Ford:—

Sir:—I wrote you a long communication at 12 last night, expressive of my views of your Excellency's communication of yesterday. I thought your letter rather severe, but one of my friends has just come to me with an explanation from the captain of your posse, which softened the subject matter of your communication, and gives us<sup>40</sup> greater assurance of protection, and that your Excellency has succeeded in bringing in subjection the spirits which surround your Excellency to some extent. And I declare again, the only objection I ever had or ever made to<sup>41</sup> a<sup>42</sup> trial by my country at any time, was what I have made in my last letter—on

<sup>28.</sup> Book F-1, 148: adds "(Rockwell)"

<sup>29.</sup> Source: Based on NLHi, [10] (HSt) (transcription in vol. 8,VI.21). Part about Cahoon imparting information about the intentions of the troops in Nauvoo possibly comes from Calvin C. Pendleton Statement, ca. 28 May 1855 (CCP; transcription in vol. 8,VI.27), and/or RC [ca. 1856]. See also MDH (transcription in vol. 8,VI.36). On JS's comment about the value of his life, compare TT [1855].

<sup>30.</sup> Book F-1, 148 (pencil): "Hyrum<iram>" (US)

<sup>31.</sup> Book F-1, 148 (pencil): "that when < like the fable when>" (pos. TB)

<sup>32.</sup> Source: Possibly based on OPR [ca. 1856].

<sup>33.</sup> DHC 6:549: replaces "Porter" with "Rockwell"

<sup>34.</sup> DHC 6:549: "lie"

<sup>35.</sup> Book F-1, 148: adds "(Rockwell.)"

<sup>36.</sup> Source: Possibly based on RC [ca. 1856].

<sup>37.</sup> DHC 6:550: omits "o'clock"

<sup>38.</sup> Book F-1, 148: adds "(Cahoon.)"

<sup>39.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 60-63 (WR) (PWJS, 617-18).

<sup>40.</sup> MS letter, 1: "us" overwrites "me"

<sup>41.</sup> DHC 6:550: replaces "to" with "on"

<sup>42.</sup> Book F-1, 149: "<a>"; DHC 6:550: omits "a"

account of assassins, and the 43 reason I have to fear deathly consequences from their 44 hands.

But from the explanation, I now offer to come to you at Carthage on the morrow, as early as shall be convenient for your posse to escort us<sup>45</sup> into Headquarters, provided we<sup>46</sup> can have a fair trial, <sup>47</sup>not be abused, nor have my witnesses abused, and have all things done in due form of law, without partiality, and you may depend on my honor without the show of a great armed force to produce excitement in the minds of the timid.

We<sup>48</sup> will meet your posse, if this letter is satisfactory (if not, inform me)<sup>49</sup> at or near the Mound, at or about two o'clock tomorrow afternoon, which will be as soon as we can get our witnesses, and prepare for trial. We shall expect to take our witnesses with us, and not have to wait a subpoena, or a<sup>50</sup> part at least, so as not to<sup>51</sup> detain the proceedings, although we<sup>52</sup> may want time for counsel.

We remain most respectfully,

Your Excellency's humble servants,

JOSEPH SMITH, HYRUM SMITH.

Also wrote to H[orace]. T. Hugins, Esq.:—

<sup>53</sup>Sunday, Nauvoo, <sup>54</sup> June 23, 1844.

H.T. Hugins, Esq:-

Sir:—I have agreed to meet Governor Ford at Carthage tomorrow to attend an examination before Justice Morrison, and request your attendance professionally with the best attorney you can bring.

I meet the Governor's posse on the Mound at 10 a.m.; in Carthage at 12 noon. Do not fail me, and oblige,

Yours respectfully,

JOSEPH SMITH.

Per W. Richards, Clerk.

P.S. Dr. J. R. Wakefield I wish as witness, &c.

And also to Dr. J. R. Wakefield as follows:—

<sup>55</sup>Nauvoo, Sunday<sup>56</sup>, June 23rd, 1844.

Dr. J. R. Wakefield:—

Sir:—I would respectfully solicit your attendance at court in Carthage tomorrow at 12

<sup>43.</sup> MS letter, 1: "<&> <the>"; second insertion in pencil.

<sup>44.</sup> MS letter, 1: "their" overwrites "your"

<sup>45.</sup> MS letter, 1: "us" overwrites "me"

<sup>46.</sup> MS letter, 1: "we" overwrites "I"

<sup>47.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "<<del>which we</del>>"

<sup>48.</sup> MS letter, 1:"\we/ \f"

<sup>49.</sup> MS letter, 1: "<if this letter is satisfactory \(/if not inform me\)/>"; parentheses in pencil.

<sup>50.</sup> DHC 6:550: omits "a"

<sup>51.</sup> MS letter, 2: "<to>"

<sup>52.</sup> MS letter, 2: "we" overwrites "I"

<sup>53.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 64-65 (WR).

<sup>54.</sup> DHC 6:551: reverses day and place

<sup>55.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 66-67 (WR).

<sup>56.</sup> DHC 6:551: omits "Sunday"

noon, as witness in case "State of Illinois, on complaint of F[rancis]. M. Higbee v[ersu]s. Joseph Smith and others." Dear sir, do not fail me and oblige your old friend,

JOSEPH SMITH, by<sup>57</sup> W[illard]. Richards, Clerk.

P.S. Esq. Hugins and co-partner are expected; we meet the Governor's posse on the Mound at 10 a.m.; at Carthage at 12 noon; bearer will give particulars.

<sup>58</sup>About four o'clock<sup>59</sup>, p.m., Joseph, Hyrum, the Doctor, and others started back; while walking towards the river Joseph fell behind with O[rrin]. P. Rockwell; the others shouted to him<sup>60</sup> to come on; Joseph replied, "it is of no use to hurry, for we are going back to be slaughtered," and continually expressed himself that he would like to get the people once more together, and talk to them tonight. Rockwell said if that was his wish he would get the people together, and he could talk to them by starlight.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>62</sup>It was <sup>63</sup>the strong persuasions of Reynolds Cahoon, Lorenzo D. Wasson, and Hiram Kimball, who were carrying out Emma's instructions, that induced Joseph and Hyrum to start back to Nauvoo. They re-crossed the river at half-past five; when they arrived at his<sup>64</sup> Mansion<sup>65</sup> in Nauvoo, Joseph's family surrounded him, and he<sup>66</sup> tarried there all night, giving up the idea of preaching to the Saints by starlight.

<sup>67</sup>He sent the letter to Governor Ford of this date<sup>68</sup> by Col. Theodore Turley, <sup>69</sup>and Elder Jedediah M. Grant, who carried it to Carthage, where they arrived about 9 p.m. They gave the letter to Governor Ford, who first agreed to send a posse to escort Gen[eral]. Smith in safety to Carthage; immediately afterwards Mr. Skinner came in and made a very bitter speech to the Governor, in which Wilson Law and Joseph H. Jackson joined, telling him naught but lies, which caused Elder Grant to ask if messengers to him were to be insulted in that manner. The Governor treated them coldly, and rescinded his previous promise and refused to send, or allow an escort to go with Joseph, as he said it was an honor not given to any other citizen. He<sup>70</sup> would not allow the messengers to stay in Carthage through the night, but ordered them to start at 10 o'clock and return to Nauvoo with orders for Gen[eral]. Smith to be in Carthage by<sup>71</sup> 10 o'clock tomorrow morning without an escort, and he threatened that if Gen[eral]. Smith did not give himself up at that time, that Nauvoo would be destroyed, and all the men, women and children that were in it. Messrs. Grant and Turley immediately started, but on account of their horses being wearied they did not arrive in Nauvoo until about 4 a.m. of the 24th, when they went to Gen[eral]. Smith to report to him the state of excitement in Carthage: he would not hear one

<sup>57.</sup> MS letter, 1: omits "by"; Book F-1, 149 (pencil): "\by/"; DHC 6:551: replaces "by" with "per"

<sup>58.</sup> Source: Possibly based on OPR [ca. 1856].

<sup>59.</sup> DHC 6:551: omits "o'clock"

<sup>60.</sup> DHC 6:551: omits "to him"

<sup>61.</sup> Book F-1, 149: adds "(Rockwell.)"

<sup>62.</sup> Source: Based on NLHi, [10] (HSt) (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.21); possibly also based on RC [ca. 1856].

<sup>63.</sup> Book F-1, 149 (pencil): adds "through"

<sup>64.</sup> DHC 6:552: replaces "his" with "the"

<sup>65.</sup> Book F-1, 149 (pencil): "<at his Mansion>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>66.</sup> Book F-1, 149 (pencil): "and he went to the Mansion with them without molestation, and <he>" (US)

<sup>67.</sup> Source: Possibly based on T. Turley's and J. M. Grant's oral communication (see bolded paragraph below).

<sup>68.</sup> DHC 6:552: moves "of this date" to follow "letter"

<sup>69.</sup> Remainder of paragraph appears in margin of Book F-1, 149 (LH).

<sup>70.</sup> Book F-1, 149: "{\He/} [eoe]" (LH)

<sup>71.</sup> DHC 6:552: replaces "by" with "at"

word of the warning, as he was determined to go to Carthage and give himself up to the Governor.

<sup>72</sup>About sundown Genl. <sup>73</sup> Jonathan Dunham went to Capt. <sup>74</sup> John Killien's house, near the Lone Tree, and told him that Joseph requested him (Killien) to go over to Nauvoo, and procure two horses and some clothing &c, and take them across the river the next night to his house when Joseph, Hyrum, Dr. [Willard] Richards, and O[rrin]. P. Rockwell would be ready to start for the west, and they wanted him (Killien) to act as their guide, he being an old Missourian woodsman, and had done considerable service to the saints in guiding them from place to place during the persecution in Missouri. [Killien.]

<sup>75</sup>At night Joseph conversed with Captain Anderson, who reported that the mob at Warsaw had stopped his boat, and threatened to fire into her with their <sup>76</sup> cannon. He gave the following certificate:—

<sup>77</sup>Nauvoo, 23rd June<sup>78</sup>, 1844.

This is to certify that on Tuesday morning last, I stated to General Joseph Smith that the number of passengers leaving that day might produce the effect on the public mind that they were afraid of being attacked, and prove injurious<sup>79</sup>, and I further observed in order to preserve peace and good order that it would be better to use his endeavors to retain those in the city until the excitement should abate.

GEO[RGE]. C. ANDERSON, Capt[ain]. Steamboat *Osprey*.

Joseph received the following letter:-

80Sunday Evening, June 23rd, 1844.

Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith:—

Sir:—I have this moment received your favor of this day per the hands of Mr. Adams, I regret to say in reply that I am now awaiting every moment a boat for St. Louis, whither my business requires me to go, and which of course will deter me from acceding to your request. I have introduced Mr. Adams to a friend who is entirely competent to do full justice to your cause.

In great haste, yours respectfully,

ED. JOHNSTON, Fort<sup>81</sup> Madison, Iowa.

<sup>82</sup>Preparations are making for an early start tomorrow morning for Carthage. Joseph gave directions to gather some horses for the purpose of carrying him and his friends to Carthage tomorrow.

<sup>72.</sup> This paragraph was added on the bottom and top lines of Book F-1, 149-50, but canceled with pencil and not published. *Source*: Undetermined.

<sup>73.</sup> Book F-1, 149: "<Genl.>" (LH)

<sup>74.</sup> Book F-1, 149: "<Capt.>" (LH)

<sup>75.</sup> Source: Based on restricted portion of WCj [1843-44], vol. 3 (per Dean C. Jessee's notes in SRMH). Cf. JTMA, 40 (DHC 7:95).

<sup>76.</sup> DHC 6:553: replaces "their" with "his"

<sup>77.</sup> Source: Original in UC.

<sup>78.</sup> DHC 6:553: "June 23rd"

<sup>79.</sup> MS affidavit: adds "to his cause"

<sup>80.</sup> Source: Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 120.

<sup>81.</sup> DHC 6:553: "Port"

<sup>82.</sup> Source: Undetermined, for this and next paragraph.

Although the Governor has threatened to send his troops into the city, none have appeared as yet.

83In the night J[edediah]. M. Grant and 84 Theodore Turley returned from Carthage about day-

o'In the night J[edediah]. M. Grant and Theodore Turley returned from Carthage about day-break bringing a message from the Governor demanding the Generals Smith to be in Carthage by 10 that morning 6.87

<sup>88</sup>/<sup>89</sup>Monday, 24.—Francis M. Higbee having sworn out a writ before Thomas Morrison, a justice of the peace at Carthage, on the 11th inst[ant]., against Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Samuel Bennett<sup>90</sup>, John Taylor, William W. Phelps, John P. Greene, Stephen C. Perry, Dimick B. Huntington, Jonathan Dunham, Stephen Markham, William W. Edwards, Jonathan Holmes, Jesse P. Harmon, John Lytle, Joseph W. Coolidge, David Harvey Redfield, Orrin P. Rockwell, and Levi Richards, for riot in destroying the Nauvoo Expositor Press, the property of <sup>91</sup> William and Wilson Law and others on the 10th inst[ant]., and Governor Ford having sent word by the posse that those eighteen persons *should be protected* by the militia of the State; they, upon the assurance of that pledge at 6½ a.m. started for Carthage, Willard Richards, Dan Jones, Henry G. Sherwood, Alfred Randall, James Davis, Cyrus H. Wheelock, A. C. Hodge, and several other brethren, together with James W. <sup>92</sup> Woods, as counsel, accompanying them.

<sup>93</sup>When they arrived at the top of the hill, Joseph sent Rockwell with a horse for Dr. Southwick, a southern gentleman who had been staying some days at the Mansion, and who wished General Joseph Smith to buy considerable property in Texas; but Ed. Bonney<sup>94</sup> took possession of the horse, so that Dr. S[outhwick]. could not then go.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>96</sup>Joseph paused when they got to the Temple, and looked with admiration first on that and then on the city, and remarked, "This is the loveliest place and the best people under the heavens; little do they know the trials that await them." As he passed out of the city he called on Daniel H. Wells, Esq., who was unwell, and on parting he said, "Squire Wells, I wish you to cherish my memory, and not think me the worst man in the world either."

<sup>98</sup>At 10 min[utes]. to 10 a.m., they arrived at Albert G. Fellows' farm, 4 miles west of Carthage,

<sup>83.</sup> This paragraph canceled in Book F-1, 150, and replaced with a previous paragraph inserted in the margin of p. 149. *Source*: Possibly based on TT [1855], 3 (transcription in vol. 8,VI.25).

<sup>84.</sup> Book F-1, 150 (pencil): "<J M Grant &>" (prob. RLC)

<sup>85.</sup> Book F-1, 150 (pencil): "<about daybreak>" (prob. RLC)

<sup>86.</sup> Book F-1, 150 (pencil): "next morning <that morning>" (prob. RLC)

<sup>87.</sup> Remainder of Book F-1, 150, is blank with penciled note in margin: "to fill in" (US).

<sup>88.</sup> *Source*: For part about Higbee's writ, see DHC 6:453-54 (chap. 22). Remainder of the paragraph from "Awful assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," *T&S* 5 (1 July 1844): 560, and (for time) WRj 1:24 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13), with editing and elaboration.

<sup>89</sup>. Handwriting of JG ends in Book F-1, 150; LH's begins on p. 151, and continues to p. 189 (chap. 35), or end of this volume.

<sup>90.</sup> DHC 6:554: "Bennet"

<sup>91.</sup> Book F-1, 151 (pencil): "<of>" (US)

<sup>92.</sup> Book F-1, 151 (pencil): "W" overwrites "M" (pos. LH)

<sup>93.</sup> Source: Possibly based on OPR [ca. 1856].

<sup>94.</sup> DHC 6:554: "Bonny"

<sup>95.</sup> Book F-1, 151: adds "[Rockwell]"

<sup>96.</sup> Source: First part from DJ, 3 (BYU Studies 24:96; transcription in vol. 8,VI.33). Last part probably based on Daniel H. Wells's oral communication. CHOj for 19 June 1856 records: "D. H. Wells in office P.M. giving items of history" (CHOj 19:22).

<sup>97.</sup> Book F-1, 151: adds "<[Wells]>" (LH)

<sup>98.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:24 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13), AGF (transcription in vol. 8,VI.28), and "Awful assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 560. Number of Dunn's troops possibly from JHHM,

where they met Captain Dunn, with a company of about sixty mounted militia, on seeing which Joseph said, "Do not be alarmed, brethren, for they cannot do more to you than the enemies of truth did to the ancient saints—they can only kill the body." The company made a halt, when Joseph, Hyrum, and several others went into Fellows' house with Captain Dunn, who presented an order from Governor Ford for all the "State arms" in possession of the Nauvoo Legion, which Joseph immediately countersigned.

<sup>99</sup>Henry G. Sherwood went up to Joseph and said, "Brother Joseph, shall I return to Nauvoo, and regulate about getting the arms, and get the receipts for them?" Joseph inquired if he was under arrest, or expected to be arrested. Sherwood answered "No"; when Joseph directed him to return ahead of the company, gather the arms, and do as well as he could in all things. Joseph then said to the company who were with him, "I am going like a lamb to the slaughter, but I am calm as a summer's morning; I have a conscience void of offense toward God, and toward all men; if they take my life I shall die an innocent man, and my blood shall cry from the ground for vengeance, and it shall yet<sup>100</sup> be said of me, "he was murdered in cold blood!" He then said to Father Sherwood, "Go, and God bless you." Sherwood then rode as swiftly as he could to Nauvoo.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>102</sup>Esq[uire]. Woods left the company there, and continued his journey to Carthage.

<sup>103</sup>This order for the delivery of the State arms was evidently designed to drive the citizens of Nauvoo to desperation, so that in the heat of their indignation they might commit some overt act which the Governor could construe into treason, and thus have a shadow of excuse for his mob militia to destroy the Mormons.

<sup>104</sup>Captain Dunn requested the company to return to Nauvoo to assist in collecting the arms, and pledged his word as a military man that Joseph and his friends should be protected even if it were at the expense of his own life, and his men responded to the pledge by three cheers. Captain Dunn no doubt feared that the order of the Governor would excite the inhabitants of Nauvoo beyond endurance, and therefore chose to depend upon<sup>105</sup> the well-known integrity of Gen[eral]. Smith than to risk the chances of exciting the wounded<sup>106</sup> feelings of a much-abused people.<sup>107</sup> At the same time Joseph sent a messenger to the Governor with the following letter:—

<sup>1 (</sup>see transcription in vol. 8, VI.22), or J. W. Woods' account in *T&S* 5 (1 July 1844): 563. JS's words from DBH, 3, Note 2 (RDft 9c:75c). Cf. WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 24 June 1844 (DMQP, 21).

<sup>99.</sup> Source: Based on HGS #1. JS's words appear to be an amalgamation of the following sources: "If they kill me I die an innocent man, and my blood shall cry for vengeance against my murderers" (HGS #1); "I am going as a lamb to the slaughter, but I am as calm as a summer's morning; I have a conscience void of offence towards God and man, and I am not afraid to die" (JMB, 1; transcription in vol. 8,VI.29); "I am going like a lamb to the slaughter: but I am calm as a summer's morning: I have a conscience void of offence toward God, and toward all men: I shall die innocent" (T&S 5:585); "I am going like a lamb to the slaughter: but I am calm as a summer's morning: I have a conscience void of offence towards God and towards all men. I shall die innocent, and it shall yet be said of me, He was murdered in cold blood" (JSF [1855], 10). Cf. DJ, 3 (BYU Studies 24:97; transcription in vol. 8,VI.33).

<sup>100.</sup> DHC 6:555: omits "yet"

<sup>101.</sup> Book F-1, 151: adds "[Sherwood]"

<sup>102.</sup> Source: J. W. Woods statement in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 563.

<sup>103.</sup> Source: Probably commentary composed by compilers.

<sup>104.</sup> Source: J. W. Woods statement in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 563; DJ, 3 (BYU Studies 24:97; transcription in vol. 8, VI.33); AGF (transcription in vol. 8, VI.28); and possibly JSF [1856].

<sup>105.</sup> DHC 6:556: "on"

<sup>106.</sup> DHC 6:556: omits "wounded"

<sup>107.</sup> Book F-1, 152: adds "[T&S., and Fullmer]"

<sup>108</sup>Four Miles West of Carthage Mound, Hancock co[unty]., Ill[inois]., Monday, 10 o'clock.

His Excellency Gov[ernor]. Ford:—

Dear Sir:—On my way to Carthage to answer your request, this morning, I here met Capt[ain]. Dunn, who has here made known to me your order to surrender the State arms in possession of the Nauvoo Legion, which command I shall <sup>109</sup>comply with, and that the same may be done properly and without trouble to the State, I shall return with Capt[ain]. Dunn to Nauvoo, see that the arms are put into his possession, and shall then return to headquarters in his company, when I shall most cheerfully submit to any requisition of the Governor of our State.

With all due respect to your Excellency, I remain

Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

He also issued the following order:—

Headquarters, Nauvoo Legion,
Prairie 4 Miles west of 111 Carthage,
June 24, 1844, 10 o'clock & 10 min[utes].

To Major-Gen[eral]. Jonathan Dunham and all commissioned and non-commissioned officers and privates of the Nauvoo Legion:—

You are hereby ordered to comply strictly, **and without delay**<sup>112</sup>, <sup>113</sup>with the within order of the Commander-in-Chief, Governor Thomas<sup>114</sup> Ford.

JOSEPH SMITH<sup>115</sup>, Lieut.-Gen. Nauvoo Legion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup>And requested that the State arms should be taken to the Masonic Hall without delay.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup>Hyrum then said to Abram C. Hodge, "You go on into<sup>118</sup> Carthage, and see what is going on, and hear what is said on this matter."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup>Joseph and his company then returned with Capt[ain]. Dunn, and arrived in Nauvoo at 2½ p.m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup>When Hodge arrived at Carthage he met with Rev. Mr. Dodge, who had some time previously been very kindly treated by Hyrum; he warned Hodge that as sure as Joseph and Hyrum came to Carthage they would be killed. Hodge also saw Hamilton the innkeeper, who, pointing to the Carthage

<sup>108.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 68-69 (WR) (PWJS, 619).

<sup>109.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "most cheerfully"

<sup>110.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 70-71 (WR).

<sup>111.</sup> MS letter, 1: replaces "west of" with "W."

<sup>112.</sup> Book F-1, 152 (pencil): "<and without delay>" (pos.WW); DHC 6:556: omits "and without delay"

<sup>113.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "to comply"

<sup>114.</sup> DHC 6:556: omits "Thomas"

<sup>115.</sup> MS letter, 1 (pencil): "J\oseph Smith/" (pos.TB)

<sup>116.</sup> Source: Closely follows WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 24 June 1844 (DMQP, 21-22).

<sup>117.</sup> Source: Possibly based on missing portion of ACH, which may be the slip of paper in RDft 9b:3a (see vol. 7, II.3).

<sup>118.</sup> Book F-1, 152: "\in/to"

<sup>119.</sup> Source: Probably based on WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 24 June 1844 (DMQP, 21), and AGF (transcription in vol. 8,VI.28).

<sup>120.</sup> Source: Possibly based on missing portion of ACH, which may be the slip of paper in RDft 9b:3a (see vol. 7, II.3).

Greys, said, "Hodge, there are the boys that will settle you Mormons." Hodge replied, "We can take as many men as there are there out of the Nauvoo Legion, and they would not be missed."

<sup>121</sup>When the fact of the order for the State arms was known in Nauvoo, many of the brethren looked upon it as another preparation for a Missouri massacre; nevertheless, as Joseph requested that it should be complied with, they very unwillingly gave up the arms.

<sup>122</sup>About 6 p.m., when all the State arms were collected, and the company were ready to start, Captain Dunn and Quartermaster-General Buckmaster made a short speech, expressing their gratitude at the peaceable conduct of the citizens of Nauvoo, and that while they thus conducted themselves, they would protect them.

<sup>123</sup>It appears that Governor Ford feared that the Nauvoo Legion, although disbanded, might avenge any outrage that might hereafter be committed on the persons of their leaders, and so thought he had better disarm them as he had previously disbanded them; yet the mob was suffered to retain their portion of the State<sup>124</sup> arms, even when within a half-day's march of Nauvoo, and they in a threatening and hostile attitude, while the Nauvoo Legion had not evinced the least disposition whatever, except to defend their city in case it should be attacked; and they had not set a foot outside the limits of the corporation.

<sup>125</sup>Joseph rode down home twice<sup>126</sup> to bid his family farewell. He appeared solemn and thoughtful, and expressed himself to several individuals that he expected to be murdered<sup>127</sup>. **This he expected before** he returned from over the river, but there appeared no alternative but that he must either give himself up, or the inhabitants of <sup>128</sup> the city would be massacred by a lawless mob, under sanction of the Governor.

<sup>129</sup>The company (about 15) then started again for Carthage, and when opposite to the Masonic Hall, Joseph said, "Boys, if I don't come back, take care of yourselves; I am going like a lamb to the slaughter." When they passed his farm he took a good look at it, and after they had passed it, he turned round several times to look again, at which some of the company made remarks, when Joseph said, "If some of you had got such a farm, and knew you would not see it any more, you would want to take a good look at it for the last time."

<sup>130</sup>When they got to the edge of the woods near Nauvoo, they met A. C. Hodge returning from Carthage. He reported to Hyrum what he had heard in Carthage, told him what his feelings were, and said, "Brother Hyrum, you are now clear, and if it was my duty to counsel you I would say, do not go another foot, for they say they will kill you if you go to Carthage"; but as other persons gathered round<sup>131</sup>, nothing further was said. About this time Joseph received the following letter:—

<sup>121.</sup> Source: Closely follows WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 24 June 1844 (DMQP, 22).

<sup>122.</sup> Source: Time of departure possibly from WRj 10:24 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13); source for part about Dunn undetermined.

<sup>123.</sup> Source: Closely follows JSF [1855], 10, with light editing.

<sup>124.</sup> DHC 6:557: "state's"

<sup>125.</sup> Source: WCj [1843-44], vol. 3, 24 June 1844 (NTNLF, 413; DMQP, 22), with light editing. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>126.</sup> WCj [1843-44]: omits "twice"

<sup>127.</sup> WCj [1843-44]: "expects nothing but to be massacred"

<sup>128.</sup> WCj [1843-44]: omits "the inhabitants of"

<sup>129.</sup> Source: Undetermined.

<sup>130.</sup> Source: Possibly based on missing portion of ACH, which may be the slip of paper in RDft 9b:3a (see vol. 7, II.3).

<sup>131.</sup> DHC 6:558: "around"

<sup>132</sup>Carthage, 5 o'clock p.m.

Gen[era]l. Joseph Smith:—

Dear Sir:—In accordance with previous arrangement with Elder Adams, I am here at your service; and it will be necessary for us to have, on the examination here before the justice, a certified copy of the *City Ordinance* for the destruction of the *Expositor Press*, or a copy which has been *published by authority*. We also wish the original order issued by you to the Marshal for the destruction of said press, and such witnesses as may be necessary to show by whom the press was destroyed, and that the act was not done in a *riotous* or *tumultuous* manner.

Yours respectfully,

H.T. REID.

Dear Sir:—I concur fully as to the above, and will add, from an interview with Governor Ford, you can with the utmost safety rely on his protection, and that you will have as impartial an investigation as could be expected from those opposed to you. The excitement is much allayed, and your opponents (those who wish to make capital out of you)<sup>133</sup> do not want you to come to Carthage. Mr. Johnson has gone east, and that will account for Mr. Reid being here.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAMES W. WOODS<sup>134</sup>.

Carthage, 24th June, 1844.

<sup>135</sup>The company arrived at Fellows' house, 4 miles west of Carthage, about 9 p.m., where they stopped about half an hour and partook of such refreshments as they had brought with them. Captain Dunn, and his company of mounted militia, returning with the State arms from Nauvoo, joined them here, and escorted them into Carthage, where they arrived at 5 minutes before 12 at night, and went to Hamilton's Tavern.

<sup>136</sup>While passing the public square, many of the troops, especially the Carthage Greys, made use of the following expressions, which were re-echoed in the ears of the Governor and hundreds of others: "Where is the damned Prophet?" "Stand away you, McDonough boys, and let us shoot the damned Mormons." "God damn<sup>137</sup> you old Joe, we've got you now." "Clear the way and let us have a view of Joe Smith, the prophet of God; he has seen the last of Nauvoo—we'll use him up now, and kill all the damned Mormons."

<sup>138</sup>The rear platoon of the Carthage Greys repeatedly threw their guns over their heads in a curve, so that the bayonets struck the ground with the breech of their guns upwards, when they would run back and pick them up, at the same time whooping, yelling, hooting, and cursing like a pack of savages.

<sup>139</sup>On hearing those <sup>140</sup> expressions, the Governor put his head out of the window and very fawningly said, "Gentlemen, I know your great anxiety to see Mr. Smith, which is natural enough, but

<sup>132.</sup> Source: Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 122-25.

<sup>133.</sup> MS letter, 2: "<those who wish to make capital out of you>"

<sup>134.</sup> DHC 6:559: "WOOD"

<sup>135.</sup> *Source*: Probably based on AGF (transcription in vol. 8,VI.28), and "Awful assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," *T&S* 5 (1 July 1844): 560. Cf. WRj 10:24.

<sup>136.</sup> Source: CW, 3-4 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.31).

<sup>137.</sup> DHC 6:559: "G— d—"

<sup>138.</sup> Source: DBH, 3, Note 3 (transcription in vol. 7, I.9; RDft 9c:75c).

<sup>139.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph based on CW, 4-5 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.31).

<sup>140.</sup> DHC 6:560: replaces "those" with "the above"

it is quite too late tonight for you to have the opportunity; but I assure you, gentlemen, you shall have that privilege tomorrow morning, as I will cause him to pass before the troops upon the square, and I now wish you, with this assurance, quietly and peaceably to return to your quarters." When this declaration was made there was a faint "Hurrah for Tom Ford," and they instantly obeyed his wish.

There was a company of apostates also quartered at Hamilton's Hotel, viz. <sup>141</sup>: William and Wilson Law, the Higbees and Fosters, Augustine Spencer, Henry O. Norton, John A. Hicks (formerly president of the Elder's Quorum) and others. Hicks stated to C. H. Wheelock that it was determined to shed the blood of Joseph Smith by not only himself, but by the Laws, Higbees, Fosters, Joseph H. Jackson, and many others, whether he was cleared by the law or not. He<sup>142</sup> talked freely and unreservedly on that subject, as though he were discoursing upon the most common occurrence of his life; said he, "you will find me a true prophet in this respect." Wheelock told Ford what Hicks had said; but he treated it with perfect indifference and suffered Hicks and his associates to run at large <sup>143</sup> and mature their murderous plans.

<sup>144</sup>A writ was also issued by R[obert]. F. Smith against Joseph W. Coolidge, on complaint of Chauncey L. Higbee, charging him with the illegal detention of Charles A. Foster.

<sup>141.</sup> DHC 6:560: "namely"

<sup>142.</sup> DHC 6:560: replaces "He" with "Jackson"

<sup>143.</sup> DHC 6:560: replaces "large" with "liberty"

<sup>144.</sup> Source: Undetermined.

#### 30.

## JOSEPH SMITH ARRESTED AND JAILED

### 25 June 1844

#### [DN 7 (4 November 1857): 273-75 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>[Tuesday, June 25, 1844.]<sup>2</sup> Next<sup>3</sup> morning the prisoners voluntarily surrendered themselves to the constable, Mr. Bettisworth, who held the writ against them. The Governor was at Headquarters in person, and had pledged his own faith, and the faith of the State of Illinois, that the Smiths, and the<sup>4</sup> other prisoners<sup>5</sup> should be protected from personal violence, and should have a fair and impartial trial, if they would surrender themselves to be dealt with according to law. During the Governor's stay in Carthage he repeatedly expressed to the legal counselors of the Smiths his determination to protect the prisoners, and to see that they should have a fair and impartial examination.

<sup>6</sup>Tuesday, 25.<sup>7</sup>—At 8 a.m., President Smith had an interview with William G. Flood of Quincy, U.S. Receiver of Public Moneys; while in conversation with him Constable David Bettisworth arrested Joseph for treason against the State of Illinois, with the following writ, which had been granted on the oath of Augustine Spencer:—

<sup>8</sup>State of Illinois, Hancock County,<sup>9</sup> } ss.

The people of the State of Illinois, to all Sheriffs, Coroners and Constables of said State, greeting:

Whereas complaint has been made before me, one of the justices of the peace in and for said county aforesaid, upon the oath of Augustine Spencer, that Joseph Smith, late of the county aforesaid, did, on or about the nineteenth day of June, A.D. 1844, at the county and

<sup>1.</sup> Source: Closely follows H.T. Reid's statement in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 561.

<sup>2.</sup> Book F-1, 155: adds "[T.&S.]" at beginning of paragraph

<sup>3.</sup> DHC 6:561: replaces "Next" with "This"

<sup>4.</sup> DHC 6:561: omits "the"

<sup>5.</sup> DHC 6:561: replaces "prisoners" with "persons"

<sup>6.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:25 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>7.</sup> DHC 6:561: omits date

<sup>8.</sup> Source: MS copy in JScSup, fd 9, 21-22 (handwriting of H.T. Reid, JS's attorney).

<sup>9.</sup> DHC 6:561: replaces "Hancock County" with "CITY OF NAUVOO"

State aforesaid, commit the crime of treason against the government and people of the State of Illinois aforesaid:

These are therefore to command you to take the said Joseph Smith, if he be found in your county, or if he shall have fled, that you pursue after the said Joseph <sup>10</sup> Smith into another county within this State, and take and safely keep the said Joseph Smith, so that you have his body forthwith before me to answer the said complaint, and be further dealt with according to law.

Given under my hand and seal this 24th day of June, A.D. 1844.

[Seal.] R. F. SMITH, J.P.

<sup>11</sup>Hyrum Smith was also arrested at the same time for treason, on the following <sup>12</sup> writ, granted on the affidavit of Henry O. Norton:

<sup>13</sup>State of Illinois, Hancock County. } ss.

The people of the State of Illinois to all Sheriffs, Coroners and Constables, greeting:

Whereas complaint has been made before me, one of the justices of the peace in and for the county of Hancock, upon the oath of one Henry [O.] Norton, that one Hyrum Smith, late of the county of Hancock and State of Illinois, did, on the 19th day of June, 1844, commit the crime of treason against the Government and people of the State of Illinois aforesaid:

These are therefore to command you to take the body of the said Hyrum Smith, if he be found in your county, or if he shall have fled, that you pursue after the said Hyrum Smith into any county within this State, and take and safely keep the said Hyrum Smith, so that you have his body forthwith before me, to answer unto the said complaint and be further dealt with according to law.

Given under my hand and seal this 24th day of June, 1844.

[Seal.] R. F. SMITH, J.P.

<sup>14</sup>8½ a.m. Governor Ford called all the troops, and ordered them to form a hollow square, on the public ground near the Court House; and when formed, he mounted an old table and addressed them in a most inflammatory manner, exciting the feelings of indignation against Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith, which were already burning in their breasts, occasioned by the falsehoods and misrepresentations that were in circulation, giving his assent and sanction to the rumors that had gathered them together, and stating that although they were dangerous men in the community, and guilty of all that they might have alleged against them, still they were in the hands of the law, which must have its course. He continued speaking 20 or 30 minutes.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>16</sup>9¼ a.m. The Governor came and invited Joseph to walk with him through the troops. Joseph solicited a few moments' private conversation with him; which the Governor refused. While refusing, the Governor looked down at his shoes, as though he was ashamed. They then walked through the

<sup>10.</sup> DHC 6:562: omits "Joseph"

<sup>11.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:25 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>12.</sup> DHC 6:562: replaces "following" with "same"

<sup>13.</sup> Source: Not located.

<sup>14.</sup> Source: Possibly based on Edwin D. Woolley's oral communication.

<sup>15.</sup> Book F-1, 156: adds "[Woolley]"

<sup>16.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from WRj 10:25-26 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13), with editing and elaboration, partly from H.T. Reid's statement in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 563.

crowd with Brigadier-General Miner R. Deming and Dr. Richards to General Deming's <sup>17</sup>quarters. The people appeared quiet until a company of Carthage Greys flocked round<sup>18</sup> the doors of Gen[eral]. Deming in an uproarious manner, of which notice was sent to the Governor. In the meantime the Governor had ordered the McDonough troops to be drawn up in line for Joseph and Hyrum to pass in front of them, they having requested that they might have a clear view of the Generals Smith. Joseph had a conversation with the Governor for about 10 minutes, when *he again pledged the faith of the State* that he and his friends should be protected from violence.

Robinson, the postmaster, said on report of martial law, being proclaimed in Nauvoo he had stopped the mail and notified the Postmaster-General of the state of things in Hancock county.

From the General's quarters Joseph and Hyrum went in front of the lines, in a hollow square of a company of Carthage Greys; at 7 min[utes]. before 10, they arrived in front of the lines, and passed before the whole, Joseph being on the right of Gen[eral]. Deming, and Hyrum on his left; Elders Richards, Taylor and Phelps following. Joseph and Hyrum were introduced by Governor Ford<sup>19</sup>, about twenty times along the line, as Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith and Gen[eral]. Hyrum Smith, the Governor walking in front on the left.

<sup>20</sup>The Carthage Greys refused to receive them by that introduction, and some of the officers threw up their hats, drew their swords, and said they would introduce themselves to the damned Mormons in a different style. The Governor mildly entreated them not to act so rudely, but their excitement increased: <sup>21</sup>the Governor, however, succeeded in pacifying them by making a speech, and promising them that they should have "full satisfaction."

<sup>22</sup>Gen[eral]. Smith and party returned to their lodgings at 5 min[utes]. past 10.

10:30. News reached Joseph at the Hotel, that the Carthage Greys had revolted, and were put under guard by Gen[eral]. Deming. Joseph told all his friends to stay in the two rooms occupied by them in the hotel.

10:50. Quietness was apparently restored among the Carthage Greys.

11:15. News arrived that the Warsaw troops were near Carthage, and had come of their own accord.

Mr. Prentice, U. S. Marshal for Illinois, called to see Joseph.

12 min[utes]. before 1. Intelligence was given to Joseph that the Laws, Higbees, Fosters and others, were going to Nauvoo to plunder. The Governor called at the door with some gentlemen, when Joseph informed him of what he had heard, and requested him to send a guard to protect the city of Nauvoo.

Willard Richards wrote a letter to his wife.

1½ p.m. After dinner, Mark Aldrich of Warsaw called to see Joseph.

2½. The Governor communicated that he had ordered Captain Singleton with a company of men from McDonough County to march to Nauvoo to co-operate with the police in keeping the peace; and he would call out the Legion, if necessary.

<sup>17.</sup> Book F-1, 156: adds "head"

<sup>18.</sup> DHC 6:563: "around"

<sup>19.</sup> Book F-1, 156 (pencil): "General Deming < Governor Ford>" (pos. LH); DHC 6:564: replaces "Governor Ford" with "the General"

<sup>20.</sup> Source: CW, 5-6 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.31).

<sup>21.</sup> Book F-1, 156 (pencil): adds "<Wheelock>" (pos. LH)

<sup>22.</sup> Source: Following nine paragraphs from WR j 10:26-27 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13), with editing and elaboration.

Joseph wrote to Emma as follows:—

<sup>23</sup>Carthage, June 25, 1844;2½ o'clock, p.m.

Dear Emma:—I have had an interview with <sup>24</sup>Gov[ernor]. Ford, and he treats us honorably. Myself and Hyrum have been again arrested for treason, because we called out the Nauvoo Legion; but when the truth comes out, we have nothing to fear: we all feel<sup>25</sup> calm and composed.

This morning Gov[ernor]. Ford introduced myself and Hyrum to the militia in a very appropriate manner as *Gen[eral]*. *Joseph Smith and Gen[eral]*. *Hyrum Smith*. There was a little mutiny among the "Carthage Greys," but I think the Governor has, and will succeed in enforcing the laws. I do hope the people of Nauvoo will continue <sup>26</sup>pacific and prayerful.

<sup>27</sup>Governor Ford has just concluded to send some of his militia to Nauvoo to protect the citizens, and I wish that <sup>28</sup>they may be kindly treated; they will co-operate with the police to keep the peace<sup>29</sup>. The Governor's orders will be read in the hearing of the police and officers of the Legion, as I suppose.

 $^{30}$ 3 o'clock. The Governor has just agreed to march his army to Nauvoo, and I shall come along with him. The prisoners—all that can<sup>31</sup>—will be admitted to bail.

I am, as ever,

JOSEPH SMITH.

Emma Smith.

<sup>32</sup>Joseph also sent a message to Orrin P. Rockwell not to come to Carthage, but to stay in Nauvoo, and not to suffer himself to be delivered into the hands of his enemies, or to be taken a prisoner by any one.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>34</sup>It was reported by Israel Barlow, that he had<sup>35</sup> heard resolutions of the Warsaw troops read, to the effect that they would return to Warsaw at 3 p.m., then go to Golden's Point on Thursday, and thence to Nauvoo.

<sup>36</sup>Several of the officers of the troops in Carthage, and other gentlemen, curious to see the Prophet, and to gratify a propensity to see the Elephant, <sup>37</sup> visited Joseph in his room. Gen[eral]. Smith asked them if there was anything in his appearance that indicated he was the desperate character his enemies represented him to be; and he asked them to give him their honest opinion on the subject. The reply was, "No, sir, your appearance would indicate the very contrary, General Smith, but we cannot

<sup>23.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 77-78 (JT) (PWJS, 620-21).

<sup>24.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "the"

<sup>25.</sup> Book F-1, 157 (pencil): "are all <feel>" (pos. LH)

<sup>26.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "placid"

<sup>27.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "N.B."

<sup>28.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "F"

<sup>29.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "of the city"

<sup>30.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "P.S."

<sup>31.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds "be"

<sup>32.</sup> Source: Possibly based on OPR [ca. 1856].

<sup>33.</sup> Book F-1, 157: adds "[Rockwell]"

<sup>34.</sup> Source: WRj 10:27 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>35.</sup> Book F-1, 157 (pencil): "<had>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>36.</sup> Source: CW, 6-8 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.31).

<sup>37.</sup> DHC 6:566: omits "and to gratify ... Elephant"

see what is in your heart, neither can we tell what are your intentions"; to which Joseph replied, "Very true, gentlemen, you cannot see what is in my heart, and you are therefore unable to judge me or my intentions; but I can see what is in your hearts, and will tell you what I see: I can see <sup>38</sup>you thirst for blood, and nothing but my blood will satisfy you. It is not for crime of any description that I and my brethren are thus continually persecuted and harassed by our enemies, but there are other motives, and some of them I have expressed so far as relates to myself, and inasmuch as you and the people thirst for blood, I prophesy in the name of the Lord that you shall witness scenes of blood and sorrow to your entire satisfaction. Your souls shall be perfectly satiated with blood, and many of you who are now present shall have an opportunity to face the cannon's mouth from sources you think not of; and those people that desire this great evil upon me and my brethren, shall be filled with regret and sorrow because of the scenes of desolation and distress that await them. They shall seek for peace, and shall not be able to find it. Gentlemen, you will find what I have told you to be true."

<sup>39</sup>12 min[utes]. to 4. Report came to Joseph that William and Wilson Law, Robert D. Foster, Chauncey L. Higbee, and Francis M. Higbee had said *that there was nothing against these men; the law could not reach them, but powder and ball would*, and they should not go out of Carthage alive.

<sup>40</sup>Joseph, Hyrum, and thirteen others were taken before Robert F. Smith, a justice of the peace residing in Carthage (he being also Captain of the Carthage Greys) on the charge of riot in <sup>41</sup> destroying the printing press of the *Nauvoo Expositor*.

It is worthy of notice here, that when the defendants went before Squire Wells, the prosecution objected, and insisted that they should be taken before the justice who issued the writ, viz., Thomas Morrison; and that Governor Ford had also stated in his letter to Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith, that he must go before the justice in Carthage who issued the writ. But when the prosecution had the defendants in their own power in Carthage, they could then ride over their own objections by taking them before another justice who was known to be a greater enemy to the defendants than Justice Morrison, and moreover before one who was not only a justice of the peace, but also the military commander of a company of Carthage Greys who had already been arrested for mutiny.

<sup>43</sup>C[hauncey]. L. Higbee, one of the prosecutors<sup>44</sup>, moved an adjournment.

H.T. Reid and James W.<sup>45</sup> Woods, on behalf of the defendants, objected to an adjournment, and said that the court was not authorized to take recognizance without their acknowledging their guilt, or having witnesses to prove it, and we admit the press was destroyed by order of the Mayor, it having been condemned by the City Council as a nuisance.

<sup>38.</sup> DHC 6:566: adds "that"

<sup>39.</sup> Source: WRj 10:27 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13). The part about "powder and ball" is probably from "Awful assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," *T&S* 5 (1 July 1844): 560. Cf. DJ, 9 (*BYU Studies* 24:101; transcription in vol. 8,VI.33); and WR to Joseph Richards, 10 Aug. 1844 (WRc, Bx 3, fd 4, 2 [image 59]).

<sup>40.</sup> *Source*: Following two paragraphs appear to be commentary composed by the compilers in RDft 9c:18 (JG), possibly between 2 June-1 Aug. 1856 (see RDft Chronology). The first paragraph is perhaps based on J.W. Woods's statement that "Joseph and Hyrum, and some thirteen others ... were charged with a riot in destroying the printing press of the Nauvoo Expositor," and that they appeared before Justice R. F. Smith, who was a "captain" of the Carthage greys (*T&S* 5 [1 July 1844]: 563-64).

<sup>41.</sup> DHC 6:567: omits "in"

<sup>42.</sup> Book F-1, 158 (pencil): "<the>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>43.</sup> Source: Following seven paragraphs from WR j 10:28-29 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13), with editing and elaboration.

<sup>44.</sup> Book F-1, 158 (pencil): "prosecution<rs>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>45.</sup> Book F-1, 158 (pencil): "M.<W>" (US)

They read law to show that justices could not recognize without admission of guilt, and offered to give bail.

Mr. Reid stated that the law quoted by the prosecution belonged to civil, not criminal cases.

The prosecution insisted to have a commission of the crime acknowledged.

After a good deal of resistance on the part of the prosecution; court asked if the parties admitted that there was sufficient cause to bind over; and the counsel for the defense admitted there was, and offered to enter into cognizance in the common form, in order to prevent, if possible, any increase of excitement.

5 p.m. Court acknowledged the admission, and ordered recognizances, whereupon, Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, John Taylor, William W. Phelps, John P. Greene, Stephen C. Perry, Dimick B. Huntington, Jonathan Dunham, Stephen Markham, Jonathan H. Holmes, Jesse P. Harmon, John Lytle, Joseph W. Coolidge, David Harvey Redfield and Levi Richards gave bonds, with John S. Fullmer, Edward Hunter, Dan Jones, John Benbow, and other unexceptionable sureties, in the sum of \$500 for each of the defendants, total \$7,500, for their appearance at the next term of the Circuit Court for Hancock County.

<sup>46</sup>It was evident that the magistrate intended to overreach the wealth of the defendants and their friends, so as to imprison them for want of bail, but it happened that there was strength to cover the demand, for some of the brethren went security to the full extent of their property, <sup>47</sup>and Justice Smith adjourned his court over, and left the Court House, without calling on Joseph and Hyrum to answer to the charge of treason, or even intimating to those prisoners, or their counsel, that they were expected to enter into an examination that night.

<sup>48</sup>Captain Smith, the only magistrate who could grant subpoenas for witnesses, disappeared until a late hour, as if purposely to prevent the appearing of the defendant's witnesses, and in keeping with the conviction expressed by Joseph's enemies the previous day, "that the law cannot touch them, but that powder and ball will."

<sup>49</sup>About 6½ p.m. Dan Jones heard Wilson Law, whilst<sup>50</sup> endeavoring to get another warrant against Joseph Smith for treason, declare, that while he <sup>51</sup>was once preaching from Daniel 1st<sup>52</sup> ch[apter]. 44 v[erse]., Mr. Smith<sup>53</sup> said that the kingdom referred to was already set up; and that he was the King over it. He also heard Joseph H. Jackson and other leaders of the mob declare that they had eighteen accusations against Joseph, and as one failed they would try another to detain him there, and that they had had so much trouble and hazard, and worked so hard in getting him to Carthage that they would not let him get out of it alive. Jackson pointed to his pistols and said, "the balls are in *there* that will decide his case." Jones immediately went up stairs to Joseph and informed him what he had heard Jackson say.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>55</sup>About 7½ p.m. Dr. Levi Richards and most of the brethren, after they had signed the bonds,

<sup>46.</sup> Source: First part of paragraph based on JSF [1854], 1 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.30); last part from H.T. Reid's statement in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 562.

<sup>47.</sup> Book F-1, 159: adds "[Fullmer]"

<sup>48.</sup> Source: DJ, 9 (BYU Studies 24:100-101; transcription in vol. 8, VI.33), with editing and elaboration.

<sup>49.</sup> Source: Based on DJ, 4 (BYU Studies 24:97; transcription in vol. 8, VI.33).

<sup>50.</sup> Book F-1, 159: "while"

<sup>51.</sup> DHC 6:568: adds "(Mr. Smith)"

<sup>52.</sup> DHC 6:568: "2nd"

<sup>53.</sup> DHC 6:568: omits "Mr. Smith"

<sup>54.</sup> Book F-1, 159: adds "[Jones]"

<sup>55.</sup> Source: WRj 10:29 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13), with editing.

left for Nauvoo, when Joseph and Hyrum went into the Governor's room and spoke with him, as Governor Ford had promised them an interview. After a few moments' conversation, the Governor left them to order the captain of the guard to give the brethren some passes. They then went to supper.

<sup>56</sup>At 8<sup>57</sup>, Constable Bettisworth appeared at the lodgings of Joseph and Hyrum, and insisted that they should go to jail. Joseph demanded a copy of the mittimus, which was refused. Messrs. Woods and Reid, as counsel, insisted that the prisoners were entitled to be brought before a justice of the peace for examination before they could be sent to jail. The constable to their surprise then exhibited the following mittimus:

```
\begin{cases}
58 \text{State of Illinois,} \\
\text{Hancock county.}
\end{cases}
 [ss.]<sup>59</sup>
```

The people of the State of Illinois to the keeper of the jail of said county, greeting:

Whereas, Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith of the county aforesaid have been arrested upon oath of Augustine Spencer and Henry O. Norton for the crime of treason, and have<sup>60</sup> been brought before me as a justice of the peace in and for the said county, for trial at the seat of justice thereof, which trial has been necessarily postponed by reason of the absence of the material witnesses, to wit: Francis M. Higbee and others. Therefore I command you in the name of the people to receive the said Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith into your custody in the jail of the county aforesaid, there to remain until discharged by due course of law.

Given under my hand and seal this 25th day of June, A.D., 1844,

[L.S.] (Signed) R. F. SMITH, J.P.

#### [DN 7 (11 November 1857): 281-83]

<sup>61</sup>Joseph remonstrated against such barefaced, illegal, and tyrannical proceedings, but the constable still insisted that they should go to jail. Lawyer Woods requested the officer to wait until he could see Governor Ford, and was told by Bettisworth that he could only wait five minutes.

<sup>62</sup>Joseph and Hyrum again remonstrated, and the constable waited until about 9 o'clock, when they heard by Mr. Wood that the Governor did not think it <sup>63</sup>within the sphere of his duty to interfere, as they were in the hands of the civil law, and therefore he had not the power to stay process, of the due course of law, and that he could not interrupt a civil officer in the discharge of his duty.

<sup>64</sup>Governor Ford knew this <sup>65</sup>was illegal (for he had formerly been an associate-justice of the

<sup>56.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:30 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13), and H.T. Reid's statement in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 562, with some elaboration.

<sup>57.</sup> DHC 6:569: replaces "At 8" with "8 p.m."

<sup>58.</sup> Source: T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 562; rept. NN 2 (3 July 1844): [251].

<sup>59.</sup> DHC 6:569: adds "ss."

<sup>60.</sup> T&S 5:562: "has"; Book F-1, 160 (pencil): "has<ve>" (US)

<sup>61.</sup> Source: Based on WR j 10:30 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13), and J. W. Woods statement in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 564, with some elaboration.

<sup>62.</sup> Source: Based on JSF [1855], 12. Cf. JSF [1854], 1 (transcription in vol. 8,VI.30). Time probably from WRj 10:30 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13).

<sup>63.</sup> Book F-1, 160: adds "with"

<sup>64.</sup> *Source*: First part of paragraph from JSF [1855], 12; last part from JSF [1854], 2 (transcription in vol. 8,VI.30). According to a subsequent paragraph (DHC 6:594; chap. 32), Ford's advice to R. F. Smith originates with WWP, although the same statement was made in JTMA, 43-44 (DHC 7:98).

<sup>65.</sup> DHC 6:570: adds "[proceeding]"

Supreme Court of the State) and when he was appealed to by Captain Robert F. Smith to know what he must do, as he had found his mittimus as a magistrate; was illegal, and therefore that it was a false committal. Governor Ford replied, "You have the Carthage Greys at your command.["] Capt[ain]. Smith therefore commanded his "Greys" to execute and carry into effect his illegal mittimus as a magistrate, thus practically blending the civil and military in the same person, at the same time; and the prisoners were violently and illegally dragged to jail without any examination whatever, while his Excellency was in the adjoining room to<sup>66</sup> that from which they were thus taken. So much for his professions that the law must be executed.

<sup>67</sup>Thus a justice of the peace, acting as a military officer also, by virtue of his commission as such, orders his command to appear under arms, and to incarcerate the prisoners whom he had just before ordered the constable<sup>68</sup> to commit to jail by MITTIMUS, without having them brought before him for examination; and the Governor, having been himself at one time a judge upon the bench, knew and well understood the illegality of the above proceedings.

He also well knew that military power and <sup>69</sup>authority had been used by one and the same person; and yet he, acting at that time as *Commander-in-Chief*, which gave him the supervision over all his officers, and in fact made him responsible for all their acts and movements, refused to interfere when requested by the prisoners to interpose his authority in their behalf against an illegal civil process, and also refused to countermand the illegal, oppressive, and unofficer-like order of one of his captains.

Moreover, having taken the oath of office, as Governor of the State of Illinois, he was by virtue of that oath bound to see the laws *faithfully executed*, and not, as in this instance, see them violated and trodden under foot, and even prompt one of his officers in his lawless course. Thus he violated his solemn pledges and oath of office.

<sup>70</sup>Elder John Taylor says, "As I was informed of this illegal proceeding, I went immediately to the Governor and informed him<sup>71</sup> of it, whether he was apprized of it before or not, I do not know, but my opinion is that he was. I represented to him the character of the parties who had made oath, the outrageous nature of the charge, the indignity offered to men in the position which they <sup>72</sup>occupied, and that he knew very well that it was a vexatious prosecution, and that they were not guilty of any such thing.["]

The Governor replied that he was very sorry that the thing had occurred; that he did not believe the charges, but that he thought that the best thing to be done in the premises, was to let the law take its course.

<sup>73</sup>["]I then reminded him that we had come out there at his instance, not to satisfy the law, which we had done before, but the prejudices of the people, in relation to the affair of the press; that we had

<sup>66.</sup> DHC 6:570: replaces "to" with "from"

<sup>67.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs based on JSF [1855], 12.

<sup>68.</sup> DHC 6:571: omits "the constable"

<sup>69.</sup> DHC 6:571: adds "[civil]"

<sup>70.</sup> Book F-1, 160: inserts "\[See Addenda Page. 2]/" at bottom of page (LH). The following thirteen paragraphs were added in Book F-1, Addenda, 2-3 (LH). *Source*: Closely follows JTMA, 31-33 (DHC 7:85-87). Added probably on 20-21 Oct. 1857, when CHOj records WW, LH, and RLC "Revising Histy of Assassination & comparing with J.Ts M.S." (CHOj 20:77-78), and WW said: "I spent most of the fore part of the day in reading the History of the death of Joseph & Comparing John Taylors account with it" (WWj, vol. 7, 21 Oct. 1857; *WWj* 5:111-12).

<sup>71.</sup> Book F-1, Addenda, 2: "<him>" (prob. LH)

<sup>72.</sup> DHC 6:571: adds "[the prisoners]"

<sup>73.</sup> Quotation marks added in DHC 6:572-73.

given bonds, which we could not by law be required to do to satisfy the people, at his instance, and that it was asking too much to require gentlemen in their position in life to suffer the degradation of being immured in a jail, at the instance of such worthless scoundrels as those who had made this affidavit.

["]The Governor replied that it was an unpleasant affair and looked hard, but that it was a matter over which he had<sup>74</sup> no control, as it belonged to the judiciary that he, as the executive, could not interfere with their proceedings, and that he had no doubt but that they would be immediately dismissed.

["]I told him that we had looked to him for protection from such insults, and that I thought we had a right to do so from the solemn promises he had made to me and Dr. Bernhisel, in relation to our coming without a guard or arms; that we had relied upon his faith, and had a right to expect him to fulfill his engagements, after we had placed ourselves implicitly under his care and complied with all his requests, although extra-judicial.

["]He replied that he would detail a guard, if we required it, and see us protected, but that he could not interfere with the judiciary.

["]I expressed my dissatisfaction at the course taken, and told him, that if we were to be subject to mob rule, and to be dragged contrary to law, into prison, at the instance of every infernal scoundrel whose oaths could be bought for a dram of whiskey, his protection availed very little, and we had miscalculated his promises.

["]Seeing there was no prospect of redress from the Governor, I returned to the room and found the constable, Bettisworth, very urgent to hurry bro[ther]s. Joseph and Hyrum to prison whilst the brethren were remonstrating with him.

["]At the same time, a great rabble was gathered in the streets and around the door, and from the rowdyism manifested, I was afraid there was a design to murder the prisoners on the way to the jail.

["]Without conferring with any person, my next feeling was to procure a guard, and seeing a man habited as a soldier in the room, I went to him and said, 'I am afraid there is a design against the lives of the Messrs. Smith, will you go immediately and bring your captain, and if not convenient any other captain of a company, and I will pay you well for your trouble.'

["]He said he would, and departed forthwith and soon returned with his captain, whose name I have forgotten, and introduced him to me.

["]I told him of my fears and requested him immediately to fetch his company; he departed forthwith and arrived at the door with them, just at the time that the constable was hurrying the brethren downstairs.

["]A number of brethren went along, and one or two strangers, and all of us safely lodged in prison; remained there during the night."

<sup>75</sup>As Esq[uire]. Woods went to the door he met Captain Dunn, with some 20 men, they having come to guard the prisoners to<sup>76</sup> jail. Mr. Woods accompanied Governor Ford to (Captain) Justice Robert F. Smith, who gave as a cause for issuing the warrant of committal, that the prisoners were not personally safe at the hotel. Mr. Woods then requested the Governor to have a company of troops from some other county detailed<sup>77</sup> to guard the jail.

<sup>74.</sup> Book F-1, 160: omits "had"

<sup>75.</sup> Source: J. W. Woods's statement in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 564.

<sup>76.</sup> DHC 6:573: replaces "to" with "in"

<sup>77.</sup> Book F-1, 161 (pencil): "<detailed>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>78</sup>Captain Dunn with his company escorted Joseph and Hyrum Smith from their lodgings, together with Willard Richards, John Taylor, John P. Greene, Stephen Markham, Dan Jones, John S. Fullmer, Dr. Southwick, and Lorenzo D. Wasson, to the jail. Markham had a very large hickory cane, which he called "the rascal-beater." Dan Jones had a smaller walking-stick, and they walked on either side of Joseph and Hyrum, keeping off the drunken rabble, who several times broke through the ranks.

They were received by the jailer, Mr. Geo[rge]. W. Stigall, and put into the criminal's cell; but he afterwards gave them the debtor's apartment, where the prisoners and their friends had amusing conversations on various interesting subjects, which engaged them till late. Prayer was offered<sup>79</sup>, which made Carthage prison into the gate of heaven for a while. They laid promiscuously on the floor, where they all slept from ½ past 11 until 6 a.m. of the 26th.

<sup>80</sup>Counselor H. T.<sup>81</sup> Reid, in his published statement, writes as follows:—"The recitals of the mittimus, so far as they relate to the prisoners having been brought before the justice for trial, and it there appearing that the necessary witnesses of the prosecution were absent, are WHOLLY UNTRUE, unless the prisoners could have appeared before the justice, *without being present in person or by counsel*; nor is there any law of Illinois which permits a justice to commit persons charged with crimes to jail, without examination as to the probability of their guilt."

<sup>78.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph based on WRj 10:30 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13), and DJ, 5 (BYU Studies 24:98; transcription in vol. 8, VI.33).

<sup>79.</sup> Book F-1, 161 (pencil): "by \was offered/" (pos. RLC)

<sup>80.</sup> Source: T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 562.

<sup>81.</sup> Book F-1, 161 (pencil): "F.<T>" (pos. RLC)

#### 31.

# GOVERNOR FORD SPEAKS WITH JOSEPH SMITH

## 26 June 1844

#### [DN 7 (11 November 1857): 281-83 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>[Wednesday] June 26 [1844].—7 a.m., Joseph, Hyrum and the rest of the brethren took breakfast with Stigall, and were then removed to the room upstairs.

Dr. Southwick went to see the Governor.

At 7½, Markham, Wasson and Jones were severally sent by Joseph with messages to the Governor; but at 8 <sup>2</sup>got no return. He also sent word to his counsel, that he wanted a change of venue to Quincy, Adams county.

At 8 a.m., Joseph and Hyrum had a conversation with the jailor, Mr. Stigall, who said a week last Wednesday, the mob were calculating to have made an attack on Nauvoo, and they expected about 9000 persons, but only about 200 came. They had sent runners to Missouri, and all round<sup>3</sup> the counties in Illinois.

At 10 min[utes]. past 8<sup>4</sup>, Joseph wrote to Governor Ford as follows<sup>5</sup>:—

<sup>6</sup>Carthage Jail, June 26, 1844: 10 min[utes]. past 8 a.m.

His Excellency Gov[ernor]. Ford:—

Sir: I would again solicit your excellency for an interview, having been much disappointed the past evening. I hope you will not deny me this privilege any longer than your public duties shall absolutely require.

We have been committed under a false mittimus, and consequently the proceedings are

<sup>1.</sup> Source: Following five paragraphs based on WRj 10:32 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI. 13).

<sup>2.</sup> DHC 6:575: adds "a.m."

<sup>3.</sup> DHC 6:575: "around"

<sup>4.</sup> DHC 6:575: adds "o'clock a.m."

<sup>5.</sup> DHC 6:575: adds "and sent it my Mr. Stigall"

<sup>6.</sup> Source: Original JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 83-84 (WR) (PWJS, 624-25). Cf. MS copy of letter in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 81-82 (WR).

illegal, and we desire the time may be hastened when all things shall be made right, and we relieved from this imprisonment.

Your servant, JOSEPH SMITH.

P.S. Please send an answer per bearer.

and sent it by Mr. Stigall<sup>7</sup>

<sup>8</sup>At 8½ a.m., Markham and Jones returned, stating that the Governor said he was taken by surprise last evening, and was very sorry; was afraid we would think he had forfeited his word about having an interview, that the wrath of the people was about to turn on the head of Jackson, the mob, &c. That the Governor was doing as fast as he could.

12 min[utes]. before 9. Received the following reply on the same sheet:

<sup>9</sup>The interview will take place at my earliest leisure today.

THOMAS<sup>10</sup> FORD.

<sup>11</sup>10 min[utes]. to 9. Mr. Reid and others arrived at the jail, and investigated the merits of the case, and concluded to take a change of venue before Justice Greenleaf, of Augusta, Hancock co., and to send for Dr. James H. Lyon, Col. J. Brewer, Edward Bonney, M. G. Eaton, Dr. Abiathar Williams, Tho[ma]s. A. Lyne, Geo[rge]. J. Adams, Dr. J. M. Bernhisel, Daniel H. Wells, Daniel Spencer, Orson Spencer, Dr. J. R. Wakefield, Geo[rge]. P. Stiles, Jonathan Dunham, Albert P. Rockwood, Capt[ain]. G. C. Anderson, William Marks, Hiram Kimball, Lorenzo D. Wasson, and Samuel Searles as witnesses.

9:27 a.m. The Governor, in company with Col. [Thomas] Geddes arrived at the jail, when <sup>12</sup>a lengthy conversation was entered into in relation to the existing<sup>13</sup> difficulties, and after some preliminary remarks, at the Governor's request, bro[ther]. Joseph gave him a general outline of the state of affairs in relation to our difficulties, the excited state<sup>14</sup> of the country; the tumultuous, mobocratic movements of our enemies; the precautionary measures used by himself, (Joseph Smith) the acts of the City Council, the destruction of the press, and the moves of the mob, and ourselves up to that time.

<sup>15</sup>Joseph Smith stated to them <sup>16</sup>the origin of the difficulty, the facts relating to the Expositor

<sup>7.</sup> DHC 6:576: moves this line above to precede letter

<sup>8.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from WRj 10:32 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13), with light editing.

<sup>9.</sup> Source: Original in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 83-84 (WR) (PWJS, 624-25).

<sup>10.</sup> DHC 6:576: replaces "THOMAS" with "GOVERNOR"

<sup>11.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph (before emendation) based on WRj 10:32-33 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>12.</sup> Book F-1, 162: adds "<[See Addenda Page 3]>" (LH). Remainder of paragraph added in Book F-1, Addenda, 3 (LH). Source: JTMA, 33-34 (DHC 7:88). Added probably on 20-21 Oct. 1857, when CHOj records WW, LH, and RLC "Revising Histy of Assassination & comparing with J.Ts M.S." (CHOj 20:77-78), and WW said: "I spent most of the fore part of the day in reading the History of the death of Joseph & Comparing John Taylors account with it" (WWj, vol. 7, 21 Oct. 1857; WWj 5:111-12).

<sup>13.</sup> DHC 6:576: replaces "the existing" with "our"

<sup>14.</sup> DHC 6:576: omits "of affairs ... state"

<sup>15.</sup> The following bolded paragraphs were canceled in Book F-1, 162-64, and replaced with the addendum in the previous paragraph. These paragraphs were perhaps among the "items" that JMG and DHW suggested "striking out" on 14 Aug. 1856 (CHOj 19:78). While not published in the *DN*, BHR included the canceled text in DHC 6:577-79 with the following introductory note: "The Following Account of this Interview is from the Manuscript History of the Church in the Historian's Office, and not Hitherto Published." The text here is from DHC. Source: First paragraph from JSF [1854], 2 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.30).

<sup>16.</sup> DHC 6:577: adds "[Governor Ford and Col. Geddes]"

press, the course pursued by the City Council; the legality, as they thought, of their legislation; the pledges that he had made by letter and sent by expresses to his Excellency, that he was willing to satisfy all legal claims in case it should be shown that the City Council had transcended their legal hounds, etc., and that the Legion had been called out for the protection of the city, while it was threatened with immediate hostilities by an infuriated mob, until his Excellency could afford relief, and not for the purpose of invasion. (The Governor seemed to be satisfied that this was the truth, but <sup>17</sup>still he did not interfere in their illegal imprisonment).

<sup>18</sup>Joseph adverted to all the leading causes which gave rise to the difficulties under consideration in a brief, but lucid, energetic and impressive manner. The Governor said he was satisfied it was the truth. General Smith then read copies of the orders and proceedings of the City Council of Nauvoo, concerning the destruction of the *Expositor* press, and of the correspondence forwarded to his Excellency, in relation thereto; and also informed him concerning the calling out of the Legion, and the position they occupied of absolute necessity, not to make war upon, or invade the rights of any portion of the citizens of the State; but it was the *last resort*, and *only* defense, *in the absence of executive protection*, against a large, organized military and mobocratic foe.

General Smith reminded his Excellency that the question in dispute <sup>19</sup>was a *civil* matter, and to settle which needed no resort to arms, and that he was ready *at any time*, and had always been ready to answer any charge that might be preferred against him, either as the Lieutenant General of the Legion, the Mayor of the City, or as a private individual, in any court of justice, which<sup>20</sup> was unintimidated<sup>21</sup> by a mob or military array, *and make all the satisfaction that the law required, if any, etc.* The Governor said he had not called out this force; <sup>22</sup>but found it assembled in military array, without his orders, on his arrival at Carthage, and that the laws *must be enforced*, but that the prisoners must and should be protected, and he again pledged his word, and the faith and honor of the State, that they should be protected.<sup>23</sup> He also stated that he intended to march his forces (that is, those who had assembled for mobocratic purposes; and whom he had mustered into his service) to Nauvoo to gratify *them*, and that the prisoners should accompany them, and then return again to attend the trial before the said magistrate, which he said had been postponed for the purpose of making this visit. (John S. Fullmer)

<sup>24</sup>Joseph alluded to the coming of Constable Bettisworth when he gave himself up, also to his offer to go before *any other justice of the peace*, and called upon some twenty bystanders to witness that he submitted to the writ, but for fear of his life if he went to Carthage he had preferred to go before Esq. Daniel H. Wells, a gentleman of high legal attainments, who is in no way connected with the Mormon Church.

<sup>25</sup>go on prairie to Appenoose. Habeas Corpus

<sup>17.</sup> Book F-1, 163: adds erasure

<sup>18.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from JSF [1855], 13.

<sup>19.</sup> DHC 6:577: adds "[the Expositor case]"

<sup>20.</sup> Book F-1, 163 (pencil): "<which>" (US)

<sup>21.</sup> Book F-1, 163: "\un/intima < da > ted"; " < da > " in pencil (US).

<sup>22.</sup> DHC 6:577-78: adds "[i.e., the one then gathered at Carthage]"

<sup>23.</sup> Book F-1, 163 (pencil): adds "<and he again ... protected>" (US)

<sup>24.</sup> Source: Remainder of bolded paragraphs based on WRj 10:33-34 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI. 13).

<sup>25.</sup> This and next line appear in Book F-1, 163, but silently omitted in DHC 6:578. The two lines of text are preceded and followed by blank lines, apparently intended for expansion.

[Joseph also said]<sup>26</sup> that he had sent frequent expresses and letters to the Governor; that Dr. J. R. Wakefield, Dr. J. M. Bernhisel and Mr. Sidney Rigdon also had written letters to the Governor; that he had written another letter to the Governor which was sent on the 15th of June by Mr. James; that he had written again on the 16th of June, enclosing affidavits, and sent them by Messrs. Edward Hunter, Phillip B. Lewis and John Bills. He also read Captain Anderson's certificate of the proceedings of the mob at Warsaw; also his Proclamation, his orders as Lieutenant General to Major General Dunham, the proceedings of the City Council of Nauvoo, and copies of communications forwarded to Springfield; also his letter of the 21st of <sup>27</sup> June which<sup>28</sup> was sent by Dr. Bernhisel, and Mr. John Taylor, and his letter of the 22nd, which was sent by Lucien Woodworth and Squire Woods.

Marshal John P. Greene explained about giving passes to persons going in and out of the city, and denied that any arrests had been made.

<sup>29</sup>Marshaled the Legion had no power anything further

brought here

Governor

acted on the State of the Habeas Corpus, and

[The Governor]<sup>30</sup> referred to the trial before Esq. Wells, which did not satisfy the feelings of the people in and about Carthage. The Governor admitted that sufficient time had not been allowed by the posse for the defendants to get ready, or to gather their witnesses, said it can be very safely admitted that your statements are true, and was satisfied now that the people of Nauvoo had acted according to the best of their judgment.

Mr. Reid said that it was very evident from the excitement created by Mr. Smith's enemies it would have been unsafe for him to come to Carthage, for under such circumstances he could not have had an impartial trial.

The Governor said he came here to enforce the laws on all the people whether Mormons or not; and then expressed his feelings about the destruction of the *Expositor* press.

Joseph spoke of his imprisonment in Missouri, and of the shameful kidnapping of his witnesses, and their being thrust into prison to prevent them from giving their testimony in his favor.

Governor Ford spoke of the Constitution.

Joseph said we were willing to pay for the press, as he did not want the owners to suffer any loss by it, <sup>31</sup>neither did he wish such a libelous paper to be published in Nauvoo. As for calling out the Nauvoo Legion, if it was intended to resist the government of the State, it would be treason; but, as they believed, they were endeavoring to defend themselves, and had no such intention as to resist the government—it was all right.

<sup>32</sup>The following report is by Elder John Taylor:—

<sup>26.</sup> Words in brackets not in Book F-1, 163, but added without brackets in DHC 6:578.

<sup>27.</sup> Book F-1, 164: omits "of"

<sup>28.</sup> Book F-1, 164 (pencil): adds "\which/" at boln in margin

<sup>29.</sup> The following five lines appear in Book F-1, 164, but silently omitted in DHC. They were apparently intended for expansion.

<sup>30.</sup> Words in brackets not in Book F-1, 164, but added without brackets in DHC 6:578.

<sup>31.</sup> DHC 6:579: adds "[i.e. its suppression]"

<sup>32.</sup> The above canceled text was replaced with JT's account that follows. It is recorded in Book F-1, Addenda, 3-8 (LH). A penciled note in the margin of Book F-1, 162, reads: "Insert Taylor's page 39" (prob. TB); another penciled note in the margin of p. 163 reads: "See Taylor's p[a]ge 39" (prob. TB). *Source*: JTMA, 34-42 (DHC 7: 88-96); JT's MS is damaged and pp. 33-36 are missing. Added probably on 20-21 Oct. 1857, when CHOj records WW, LH, and RLC were "Revising Histy of Assassination & comparing with J.Ts M.S." (CHOj 20:77-78), and WWj said: "I spent most

Governor. General Smith, I believe you have given me a general outline of the difficulties that have existed in the country, in the documents forwarded to me by Dr. Bernhisel and Mr. Taylor, but unfortunately there seems to be a great<sup>33</sup> discrepancy between your statements and those of your enemies; it is true that you are substantiated by evidence and affidavit, but for such an extraordinary excitement as that which is now in the country, there must be some cause, and I attribute the last outbreak to the destruction of the *Expositor*, and to your refusal to comply with the writ issued by Esq. Morrison. The press in the United States is looked upon as the great bulwark of American freedom, and its destruction in Nauvoo was represented, and looked upon as a high-handed measure, and manifests to the people a disposition on your part to suppress the liberty of speech and of the press; this, with your refusal to comply with the requisitions<sup>34</sup> of a writ, I conceive to be the principal cause of this difficulty, and you are moreover represented to me as turbulent and defiant of the laws and institutions of your country.

Gen. Smith. Governor Ford, you, sir, as Governor of this State, are aware of the prosecutions and persecutions that I have endured. You know well that our course has been peaceable and law-abiding, for I have furnished this State, ever since our settlement here, with sufficient evidence of my pacific intentions and those of the people with whom I am associated, by the endurance of every conceivable indignity and lawless outrage perpetrated upon me and upon this people, since our settlement here, and you yourself know that I have kept you well posted in relation to all matters associated with the late difficulties; if you have not got some of my communications, it has not been my fault.

Agreeably to your orders, I assembled the Nauvoo Legion for the protection of Nauvoo and the surrounding country against an armed band of marauders, and ever since they have been mustered I have almost daily communicated with you in regard to all the leading events that have transpired, and whether in the capacity of Mayor of the city, or Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo Legion, I have striven **according to the best of my judgment**<sup>35</sup>, to preserve the peace and administer even-handed justice to all; but my motives are impugned, my acts are misconstrued, and I am grossly and wickedly misrepresented. I suppose I am indebted for my incarceration here to the oath of a worthless man that was arraigned before me and fined for abusing and maltreating his lame, helpless brother.

That I should be charged by you, sir, who know better, of acting contrary to law, is to me a matter of surprise. Was it the Mormons or our enemies who first commenced these difficulties? You know well it was not us, and when this turbulent, outrageous people commenced their insurrectionary movements, I made you acquainted with them, officially, and asked your advice, and have followed strictly your counsel in every particular.

Who ordered out the Nauvoo Legion? I did, under your direction. For what purpose? To suppress these insurrectionary movements. It was at your instance, sir, that I issued a proclamation calling upon the Nauvoo Legion to be in readiness, at a moment's warning, to guard against the incursions of mobs, and gave an order to Jonathan Dunham, acting Major-General, to that effect. Am I then to be charged for the acts of others, and because lawlessness and mobocracy abound, am I, when carrying out your instructions, to be charged with not abiding <sup>36</sup>law? Why is it that I must be held accountable for other men's acts? If there is trouble in the country neither I, nor my people made it; and all that we have ever done, after much endurance on our

of the fore part of the day in reading the History of the death of Joseph & Comparing John Taylors account with it" (WWj, vol. 7, 21 Oct. 1857; WWj 5:111-12).

<sup>33.</sup> DHC 6:579: omits "great"

<sup>34.</sup> DHC 6:580: "requisition"

<sup>35.</sup> DHC 6:580: omits "according to ... judgment"

<sup>36.</sup> DHC 6:580: adds "the"

part, is to maintain and uphold the Constitution and institutions of our country, and to protect an injured, innocent and persecuted people against misrule and mob violence.

Concerning the destruction of the press to which you refer, men may differ somewhat in their opinions about it; but can it be supposed that after all the indignities to which we have been subjected outside, that this people could suffer a set of worthless vagabonds to come into our city, and right under our own eyes and protection, vilify and calumniate, not only ourselves but the character of our wives and daughters, as was impudently and unblushingly done in that infamous and filthy sheet? There is not a city in the United States that would have suffered such an indignity for twenty-four hours.

Our whole people were indignant and loudly called upon our city authorities for a redress of their grievances, which if not attended to, they themselves would have taken the matter into their own hands and have summarily punished the audacious wretches, as they deserved.

The principles of equal rights that have been instilled into our bosoms from our cradles, as American citizens, forbid us submitting to every foul indignity and succumbing <sup>37</sup>and pandering to wretches so infamous as these. But independent of this, the course that we pursued we considered to be strictly legal; for notwithstanding<sup>38</sup> the insult, we were anxious to be governed strictly by law and therefore convened the city council; and being desirous in our deliberations to abide law, summoned legal counsel to be present on the occasion.

Upon investigating the matter, we found that our city charter gave us power to remove all nuisances; and furthermore upon consulting Blackstone upon what might be considered a nuisance, that distinguished lawyer, who is considered authority, I believe, in all our courts, states among other things that <sup>39</sup>"a libelous and filthy press may be considered a nuisance and abated as such."

Here then one of the most eminent English barristers whose works are considered standard with us, declares, that a libelous and filthy<sup>40</sup> press may be considered a nuisance, and our own charter, given us by the legislature of this State, gives us the power to remove nuisances, and by ordering that press abated as a nuisance, we conceived that we were acting strictly in accordance with law. We made that order in our corporate capacity, and the City Marshal carried it out. It is possible there may have been some better way, but I must confess that I could not see it.

In relation to the writ served upon us, we were willing to abide the consequences of our own acts; but were unwilling, in answering a writ of that kind, to submit to illegal exactions sought to be imposed upon us under the pretense of law, when we knew they were in open violation of it.

When that document was presented to me by Mr. Bettisworth, I offered in the presence of more than twenty persons, to go to any other magistrate, either in our city of Appanoose, or any other place, where we should be safe, but we all refused to put ourselves into the power of a mob.

What right had that constable to refuse our request? He had none according to law; for you know, Governor Ford, that the statute<sup>41</sup> law in Illinois is, that the parties served with the writ, <sup>42</sup>"shall go before him who issued<sup>43</sup> it, or some other justice of the peace." Why then should we be dragged to Carthage, where the law <sup>44</sup>does not compel us to go? Does not this

<sup>37.</sup> JTMA, 37: adds "to"

<sup>38.</sup> Book F-1, Addenda, 5 (pencil): "notwithstand<ing>" (pos. LH)

<sup>39.</sup> DHC 6:581: removes quotation marks

<sup>40.</sup> DHC 6:581: omits "and filthy"

<sup>41.</sup> JTMA, 38: "<statute>"

<sup>42.</sup> DHC 6:582: deletes quotation marks

<sup>43.</sup> JTMA, 38 (pencil): "served <issued>"

<sup>44.</sup> JTMA, 38: adds "did"

look like many others of our prosecutions with which you are acquainted? and had we not a right to expect foul play?

This very act was a breach of law, on his part, an assumption of power that did not belong to him, and an attempt, at least, to deprive us of our legal and constitutional rights and privileges. What could we do under the circumstances different from what we did do? We sued for, and obtained a writ of habeas corpus from the Municipal Court, by which we were delivered from the hands of Constable Bettisworth, and brought before and acquitted by the Municipal Court.

After our acquittal, in a conversation with Judge Thomas, although he considered the acts of the party illegal, he advised that to satisfy the people, we had better go before another magistrate, who was not in our church.

In accordance with his advice, we went before Esq. Wells, with whom you are well acquainted, both parties were present, witnesses were called on both sides; the case was fully investigated, and we were again dismissed.

And what is this pretended desire to enforce law, and these lying, base rumors put into circulation for, but to seek through mob influence, under pretense of law, to make us submit to requisitions that are contrary to law and subversive of every principle of justice?

And when you, sir, required us to come out here, we came, not because it was legal, but because you required it of us, and we were desirous of showing to you, and to all men that we shrunk not from the most rigid investigation of our acts.

We certainly did expect other treatment than to be immured in a jail, at the instance of these men, and I think, from your plighted faith, we had a right to, after disbanding our own forces and putting ourselves entirely in your hands; and now after having fulfilled my part, sir, as a man and an American citizen, I call upon you, Governor Ford, and think I have a right to do so, to deliver us from this place, and rescue us from this outrage that is sought to be practiced upon us by a set of infamous scoundrels.

<sup>45</sup>Gov. Ford. But you have placed men under arrest, detained men as prisoners, and given passes to others, some of which I have seen.

John P. Greene, City Marshal. Perhaps I can explain. Since these<sup>46</sup> difficulties have commenced, you are aware that we have been placed under very peculiar circumstance, our city has been placed under a very rigid police guard; in addition to this, frequent guards have been placed outside the city to prevent any sudden surprise, and those guards have questioned suspected or suspicious persons as to their business.

To strangers, in some instances, passes have been given, to prevent difficulty in passing those guards, it is some of those passes that you have seen. No person, sir, has been imprisoned without a legal cause in our city.

Gov. Why did you not give a more speedy answer to the posse that I sent out?

*Gen. Smith.* We had matters of importance to consult upon; your letter showed anything but an amicable spirit. We have suffered immensely in Missouri from mobs, in loss of property, imprisonment and otherwise.

It took some time for us to weigh duly these matters, we could not decide upon <sup>47</sup>matters of such importance immediately, and your posse were too hasty in returning; we were consulting for a large people, and vast interests were at stake.

We had been outrageously imposed upon and knew not how far we could trust anyone;

<sup>45.</sup> Following eight paragraphs and first two sentences of the ninth added on separate page as an addenda in JTMA, 39b. The responses of JS and Geddes referred elsewhere as "note 4" are apparently lost.

<sup>46.</sup> Book F-1, 164: "the\se/" (US)

<sup>47.</sup> DHC 6:583: adds "the"

besides, a question necessarily arose, how shall we come? Your request was that we should come unarmed. It became a matter of serious importance to decide how far promises could be trusted, and how far we were safe from mob violence.

Col.<sup>48</sup> Geddes. It certainly did look from all I have heard, from the general spirit of violence and mobocracy, that here prevails, that it was not safe for you to come unprotected.

Gov. I think that sufficient time was not allowed by the posse for you to consult and get ready. They were too hasty, but I suppose they found themselves bound by their orders. I think too there is a great deal of truth in what you say, and your reasoning is plausible, yet I must beg leave to differ from you in relation to the acts of the City Council. That council, in my opinion, had no right to act in a legislative capacity, and in that of the judiciary.

They should have passed a law in relation to the matter, and then the Municipal Court, upon complaint could have removed it; but for the City Council to take upon themselves the law-making and the execution of the law is<sup>49</sup>, in my opinion, <sup>50</sup>wrong; besides, these men ought to have had a hearing before their property was destroyed; to destroy it without, was an infringement of their rights; besides, it is so contrary to the feelings of <sup>51</sup>American people to interfere with the press.

And furthermore, I cannot but think that it would have been <sup>52</sup>more judicious for you to have gone with Mr. Bettisworth to Carthage, notwithstanding the law did not require it. Concerning your being in jail, I am sorry for that, I wish it had been otherwise. I hope you will soon be released, but I cannot interfere.

Joseph Smith. Governor Ford, allow me, sir, to bring one thing to your mind, that you seem to have overlooked. You state that you think it would have been better for us to have submitted to the requisition of Constable Bettisworth, and to have gone to Carthage.

Do you not know, sir, that that writ was served at the instance of an anti-Mormon mob, who had passed resolutions, and published them to the effect that they would exterminate the Mormon leaders<sup>53</sup>, and are you not informed that Captain Anderson was not only threatened when coming to Nauvoo, but had a gun fired at his boat by this said mob in<sup>54</sup> Warsaw, when coming up to Nauvoo,<sup>55</sup> and that this very thing<sup>56</sup> was made use of as a means to get us into their hands, and we could not, without taking an armed force with us, go there without, according to their published declarations, going into the jaws of death?

To have taken a force would only have fanned the excitement, as they would have stated that we wanted to use intimidation, therefore we thought it the most judicious to avail ourselves of the protection of the law.

Gov. I see, I see.

*Joseph Smith*. Furthermore, in relation to the press, you say that you differ from<sup>57</sup> me in opinion; be it so, the thing after all is a legal difficulty and the courts I should judge competent to decide on that matter.

If our act was illegal we are willing to meet it, and although I cannot see the distinction

<sup>48.</sup> DHC 6:583: omits "Col."

<sup>49.</sup> DHC 6:584: "laws"

<sup>50.</sup> DHC 6:584: adds "was"

<sup>51.</sup> DHC 6:584: adds "the"

<sup>52.</sup> JTMA, 40: adds "better"

<sup>53.</sup> JTMA, 40: "Mormons < leaders>"

<sup>54.</sup> DHC 6:584: "at"

<sup>55.</sup> JTMA, 40: adds "and are you not informed ... the <this said> mob ... up to Nauvoo" in left margin

<sup>56.</sup> JTMA, 40: "<very thing>"

<sup>57.</sup> DHC 6:584: replaces "from" with "with"

that you draw about the acts of the City Council<sup>58</sup>, and what difference it could have made in point of fact, law or justice, between the City Council's acting together or separate, or how much more legal it would have been for the Municipal Court, who were a part of the City Council, to act separate, instead of with the councilors.

Yet, if it is deemed that we did a wrong, in destroying that press, we refuse not to pay for it, we are desirous to fulfill the law in every particular, and are responsible for our acts.

You say that the parties ought to have had a hearing. Had it been a civil suit, this of course would have been proper, but there was a flagrant violation of every principle of right; a nuisance; and it was abated on the same<sup>59</sup> principle that<sup>60</sup> any nuisance, stench, or putrefied carcass would have been removed.

Our first step, therefore, was to stop the foul noisome, filthy sheet, and then the next, in our opinion, would have been to have prosecuted the man<sup>61</sup> for a breech of public decency.

And furthermore, again, let me say, Governor Ford, I shall look to you for our protection. I believe you are talking of going to Nauvoo; if you go, sir, I wish to go along. I refuse not to answer any law, but I do not consider myself safe here.

Gov. I am in hopes that you will be acquitted, but if I go, I will certainly take you along; I do not, however, apprehend danger. I think you are perfectly safe, either here or anywhere else. I cannot, however, interfere with the law. I am placed in peculiar circumstances, and seem to be blamed by all parties.

Joseph Smith. Gov[ernor]. Ford, I ask nothing but what is legal, I have a right to expect protection, at least from you, for independent of law, you have pledged your faith, and that of the State for my protection, and I wish to go to Nauvoo.

*Gov.* And you shall have protection, Gen[eral]. Smith. I did not make this promise without consulting my officers, who all pledged their honor to its fulfillment. I do not know that I shall go tomorrow to Nauvoo, but if I do, I will take you along.

<sup>62</sup>10¼ a.m. The Governor left after saying that the prisoners were under his protection, and again pledging himself that they should be protected from violence, and telling them that if the troops marched the next morning to Nauvoo, as he then expected, they should probably be taken along, in order to insure their personal safety; with how much sincerity may be seen by the following affidavits:—

```
<sup>63</sup>Territory of Utah,
Great Salt Lake City, ss.
```

Personally appeared before me, Thomas Bullock, Recorder of Great Salt Lake County, Alfred Randall, who deposes and says that about ten o'clock on the morning of the (26) twenty-sixth day<sup>64</sup> of June, one thousand eight hundred and forty-four he was in Carthage, Hancock county, Illinois, and as the troops under Governor Thomas Ford were in squads round the square, he went up to several of them, and heard one of the soldiers say, "When I left home I calculated

<sup>58.</sup> JTMA, 41: "<Council>"

<sup>59.</sup> JTMA, 41: "<same>"

<sup>60.</sup> JTMA, 41: "of <that>"

<sup>61.</sup> DHC 6:585: replaces "man" with "men"

<sup>62.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:34 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13), and H.T. Reid's statement in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 562.

<sup>63.</sup> Source: Original in JSHD, Bx 1, fd 78 (TB).

<sup>64.</sup> Book F-1, 164 (pencil): "<day>" (US)

a see old Joe dead before I returned," when several others said, "So did I<sup>65</sup>," "so did I," and "I'll be damned if I don't," was the general reply.

One fellow then spoke up and said, "I shouldn't wonder if there is some damned Mormon hearing all we have to say"; another, who stood next to Randall, replied, "If I knew there was I would run him through with my bayonet."

In a few minutes Randall went to another crowd of soldiers, and heard one say, "I guess this will be the last of Old Joe"; from there Randall went to Hambleton's<sup>66</sup> Hotel, where Governor Thomas Ford was standing by the fence side, and heard another soldier tell Governor Thomas Ford, "The soldiers are determined to see Jo[e] Smith dead before they leave here." Ford replied, "If you know of <sup>67</sup> any such thing, keep it to yourself."

 ${
m In^{68}}$  a short time Randall started for his own home, stayed all night, and arrived in Nauvoo on the twenty-seventh of June, when Governor Ford was making his notorious speech to the citizens. And further this deponent saith not.

ALFRED RANDALL.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this twelfth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five.

THOMAS BULLOCK, Recorder, Great Salt Lake County.

<sup>69</sup>George A. Smith. Historian of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints, D[ea]r. Sir—Believing it to be my duty as a member of the said church, I herewith submit for your consideration the following facts:

On the 26th day of June, A.D. 1844, near the Mansion<sup>70</sup>, in the city of Nauvoo, I fell in company with Col. Enoch C. March and Geo.T. M. Davis, Esq., from Alton, Ill[inoi]s., editor of the<sup>71</sup> *Telegraph*, who had just arrived from Carthage, where they said they<sup>72</sup> had been for some days, in company with Gov[ernor]. Ford and others<sup>73</sup>, in council upon the subject of the arrest and trial of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, who were then prisoners in the county jail in Carthage.

After considerable conversation between myself and them on the subject of the Mormon religion, and the reasons why I had embraced that faith, and renounced my former religious discipline, viz., that of the Methodists, Mr. March asked me what I thought of Joe Smith, and if I had any hopes of his <sup>74</sup>return to Nauvoo <sup>75</sup>in safety?

I answered that I knew Joseph Smith was a true prophet of the living God, as good and virtuous a man<sup>76</sup> as ever lived upon the earth; that the Book or Mormon was true as holy writ, and was brought forth precisely in the way and manner it purported to be, by the gift

<sup>65.</sup> Book F-1, 164 (pencil): inserts "\I/" at eoln (US)

<sup>66.</sup> DHC 6:586: "Hamilton's"

<sup>67.</sup> Book F-1, 165: "\of/" (US)

<sup>68.</sup> Book F-1, 165 (pencil): "I\n/" (US)

<sup>69.</sup> Source: Following affidavit of J. C. Wright in JSHD, Bx 1, fd 77. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>70.</sup> MS affidavit, 1 (pencil): "<near the Mansion>"

<sup>71.</sup> MS affidavit, 1 (pencil): "Editor of the <from> Alton <Ill:> <Editor of the>"

<sup>72.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: "as I understand <said they>"

<sup>73.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: replaces "and others" with "Et. Al"

<sup>74.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: adds "safe"

<sup>75.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: adds "again"

<sup>76.</sup> MS affidavit, 1:"<a man>"

and power of the Lord Almighty, and from no other source, and that the revelations he had received and published were eternal truth, and heaven and earth would pass away before one jot or tittle of the same should fail, and all that he pretended and testified to concerning the ministration of holy angels from the heavens to him, the Urim and Thummim, the voice of God, his correspondence with the heavens,—was the truth and nothing but the truth; and that in relation to his return I had no doubt but that he would be honorably discharged upon his trial by the court, and would be preserved in safety from the power of his enemies—that he was in the hands of his God whom he loved and faithfully served, and he who held the destinies of nations in his own hands, would deliver him from his enemies, <sup>77</sup>as he had done hundreds of times before.

Col. March replied, "Mr. Wright, you are mistaken and I know it, you do not know what I know; I tell you they will kill Joe Smith before he leaves Carthage, and I know it, and you never will see him alive again." Said I, "Enoch, I do not believe it, he is in the hands of God, and God will deliver him." Says he, "I know better, when you hear of him again, you will hear he is dead, and I know it, and I will tell you why I know it. The people at Carthage wanted permission from the Governor to kill you all and burn up your city, and Ford, (the Governor) asked me if I thought it was best to suffer it. ["] I replied, "No, no, for God's sake, Ford, don't suffer it, that will never do, no never. Just see for a moment, Ford, what that would do; it would be the means of murdering thousands of innocent men, women and children, and destroying thousands of dollars' worth of property, and that would never do, it would not be sanctioned, it would disgrace the nation. You have now got the principle men here under your own control, they are all you want: what more do you want? When they are out of the way, the thing is settled, and the people will be satisfied, "9" and that is the easiest way you can dispose of it; and Governor Ford concluded."

<sup>81</sup>I will also state<sup>82</sup> that I was personally acquainted with Enoch C. March and had been for 15 years previous; and from my<sup>83</sup> own knowledge of his character, for truth and veracity I do not hesitate to believe that his statements in the aforesaid case may be relied upon as being fairly stated and substantially correct. This conversation took place <sup>84</sup>between the Mansion House and Richard Brasier's Ferry landing, on Water Street in the city of Nauvoo, June 26, 1844<sup>85</sup> at about 5 P.M.

Jonathan C. Wright

```
Mayor's Office, Great Salt Lake City,
Utah Territory, January 13, A.D. 1855,
```

Personally appeared before me, Jedediah M. Grant, Mayor of said city, Jonathan Calkins Wright, <sup>86</sup>who being duly sworn deposeth and saith that the foregoing statement contained in his report of the conversation between himself and Enoch C. March, in presence of George T.

<sup>77.</sup> MS affidavit, 2 (pencil): adds "& in Due time return him in safety, to the society of his family & friends-unharmed & unhurt"

<sup>78.</sup> DHC 6:588: omits "and I will ... it"

<sup>79.</sup> MS affidavit, 2 (pencil): "<& the people will be satisfied,>"

<sup>80.</sup> MS affidavit, 2 (pencil): "<concluded>"

<sup>81.</sup> Following bolded paragraph and signature were canceled in MS affidavit, 3, and omitted in MSHiJS.

<sup>82.</sup> MS affidavit, 3: "<state>"

<sup>83.</sup> MS affidavit, 3:"<my>"

<sup>84.</sup> MS affidavit, 3: adds "in the city of Nauvoo"

<sup>85.</sup> MS affidavit, 3: "<1844>"

<sup>86.</sup> MS affidavit, 3: adds "deposeth & Saith"

M. Davis, Esq., on the 26th day of June, 1844, in the city of Nauvoo<sup>87</sup>, is true to the best of his knowledge and belief; and further this deponent saith not.

JONATHAN CALKINS WRIGHT:

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 13th day of January, 1855, in Great Salt Lake City, Utah Territory.

J. M. Grant, Mayor of G[reat]. S[alt]. L[ake]. City.

<sup>88</sup>Personally appeared before me, Thomas Bullock, County Recorder in and for Great Salt Lake County, in the Territory of Utah, Orrin Porter Rockwell, who being first duly sworn, deposeth and saith that about the hour of three o'clock in the afternoon of the twenty-seventh day of June, one thousand eight hundred and<sup>89</sup> forty-four, a short time only before Governor Ford<sup>90</sup> addressed the citizens of Nauvoo, he (Ford)<sup>91</sup> and his suit occupied an upper room in the mansion of Joseph Smith, in the city of Nauvoo, when he, the said Rockwell, had of necessity to enter said upper room for his hat, and as he entered the door, all were sitting silent except one man, who was standing behind a chair making a speech, and while in the act of dropping his right hand from an uplifted position, said, "THE DEED IS DONE BEFORE THIS TIME," which were the only words I heard while in the room, for on seeing me they all hushed in silence. At that time I could not comprehend the meaning of the words, but in a few hours after I understood them as referring to the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith in Carthage jail.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, the fourteenth day of April, 1856.

THOMAS BULLOCK, Great Salt Lake County Recorder<sup>92</sup>.

<sup>93</sup>State of Deseret,
Great Salt Lake County,

Personally appeared before me, Thomas Bullock, Recorder in and for Great Salt Lake County, this third day of October, one thousand eight hundred and fifty, William G. Sterrett, who being first duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that on the twenty-seventh day of June, one thousand eight hundred and forty-four, in the city of Nauvoo, county of Hancock, and State of Illinois, I heard Thomas Ford, Governor of Illinois, address an assembly of several thousand citizens, gathered around the frame of a building situated at the corner of Water and Main Streets; he reproached the people in severe terms for the course they had taken in resisting the posse comitatus, and among other things said, "The RETRIBUTION thereof will be TERRIBLE, and you must make up your minds for it; I hope you will not make any more trouble, but be a law-abiding people, for if I have to come again, it will be worse for you."

<sup>87.</sup> MS affidavit, 3: "<on the 26th Day of June <1844> in the city of Nauvoo>"

<sup>88.</sup> Source: Original in JSHD, Bx 1, fd 81 (TB).

<sup>89.</sup> DHC 6:588: omits "and"

<sup>90.</sup> MS affidavit, 1 (pencil): "he <Govr. Ford>"

<sup>91.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: "Thomas Ford Governor of Illinois <he> <(Ford)>"; cancellation and first insertion in pencil. Book F-1, 166: "<(Ford)>" (pos. LH)

<sup>92.</sup> DHC 6:589: moves "Recorder" to boln and adds "of"

<sup>93.</sup> Source: Original in JSHD, Bx 1, fd 82 (TB).

And your deponent further saith, that about half-past five in the afternoon, the said Governor Thomas Ford and his guard visited the Temple and the workshops on the Temple Block.

Mr. Alpheus Cutler, one of the Building Committee of the Temple, sent me to watch them in and about the Temple. I was close to the Governor when one of his men called him to look at one of the oxen of the font in the basement of the Temple, that had part of one horn broken off; The Governor stepped up to it, and laying his hand on it remarked, "This is the cow with the crumply horn, that we read of"; one of the staff continued, "that tossed the maiden all forlorn," and they all had a laugh about it.

Several of the horns were broken off the oxen by the Governor's attendants; a man who stood behind me said, "I'll be damned, but I would<sup>94</sup> like to take one of those horns home with me, to show as a curiosity, but it is a pity to break them off."

After they had passed round the font, one of them remarked, "This Temple is a curious piece of workmanship, and it was a damned shame that they did not let Joe Smith finish it, so that we could have seen what sort of a finish he would have put on it, for it is altogether a different style of architecture from any building I have ever<sup>95</sup> seen or read about"; another said, "but he is dead by this time, and he will never see this Temple again."

I replied, "They cannot kill him until he has finished his work"; the Governor thereupon gave a very significant <sup>96</sup>grin, when one of his suite who stood next to me, said, "Whether he has finished his work or not, by God he'll not see this place again, for he's finished before this time."

Another of his suite pulled out his watch and said, "Governor, it's time we were off, we have been here too long already, whether you go or not, I'm going to leave, and that damned quick." The Governor said, "Yes, it's time for us to be going"; they then all left the stone shop, mounted their horses, which were hitched near the Temple, and went out of the city towards Carthage, by way of Mullholland Street, taking with them one of the horns that the company had knocked off. And<sup>97</sup> further this deponent saith not.

WM. G. STERRETT.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, the day and year first above written.

THOMAS BULLOCK, G[reat]. S[alt]. L[ake]. County, Recorder.

<sup>98</sup>While Joseph was writing at the jailor's desk, William Wall stepped up, wanting to deliver a verbal message to him from his uncle, John Smith. He turned round to speak to Wall, but the guard refused to allow them any communication.

<sup>99</sup>At noon Joseph wrote to Judge Thomas, as follows:—

<sup>100</sup>Carthage Jail, June 26, 1844.

His Hon. Judge Thomas:—

Dear Sir:—You will perceive by my date that I am in prison. Myself and brother Hyrum were arrested yesterday on charge of treason; without bringing us before the magistrate, last

<sup>94.</sup> DHC 6:589: "should"

<sup>95.</sup> Book F-1, 167 (pencil): "<ever>" (US)

<sup>96.</sup> MS affidavit, 1: adds "sort of a"

<sup>97.</sup> DHC 6:590: omits "And"

<sup>98.</sup> Source: Undetermined.

<sup>99.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:34 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>100.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 79-80 (WR) (PWJS, 628).

evening we were committed on a mittimus from Justice Robert F. Smith, stating that we had been before the Magistrate, *which is utterly false*; but from the appearance of the case at present, we can have no reasonable prospect of anything but partial decisions of <sup>101</sup> law, and all the prospect we have of justice being done, is to get our case on habeas corpus before an impartial judge,—the excitement and prejudice is such in this place, testimony is of little avail.

Therefore, sir, I earnestly request your honor to repair to Nauvoo without delay, and make yourself at home at my house until the papers can be in readiness for you to bring us on habeas corpus<sup>102</sup>. Our witnesses are all at Nauvoo, and there you can easily investigate the whole matter; and I will be responsible to you for all <sup>103</sup>trouble and expense.

Joseph Smith. 104

<sup>101.</sup> MS letter, 1: "mob <partial discussion of>"

<sup>102.</sup> MS letter, 1 (pencil): "<Corpus>" (prob. TB)

<sup>103.</sup> DHC 6:591: adds "the"

<sup>104.</sup> MS letter, 1: adds name

# 32.

# JOSEPH SMITH'S LAST NIGHT IN JAIL 26 June 1844

### [DN 7 (11 November 1857): 281-83 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>[Wednesday, June 26, 1844 (Noon).] W[illard]. Richards made copies of the orders of Joseph Smith as Mayor to Marshal John P. Greene, and as Lieutenant-General to Major-General Jonathan Dunham.

Joseph remarked, "I have had a good deal of anxiety about my safety since I left Nauvoo, which I never had before when I was under arrest. I could not help those feelings, and they have depressed me."

#### [DN 7 (18 November 1857): 289-90]

<sup>2</sup>Most of the forenoon was spent by Dan Jones and Col. Stephen Markham in hewing with a penknife, a warped door to get it on the latch, thus preparing to fortify the place against any attack.

The Prophet, Patriarch, and their friends took turns preaching to the guards, several of whom were relieved before their time was out, because they admitted they were convinced of the innocence of the prisoners. They frequently admitted they had been imposed upon, and more than once it was heard, "Let us go home, boys, for I will not fight any longer against these men."<sup>3</sup>

During the day Hyrum encouraged Joseph to think that the Lord, for his Church's sake, would release<sup>4</sup> him from prison. Joseph replied, "Could my brother Hyrum but be liberated, it would not matter so much about me; poor Rigdon, I am glad he is gone to Pittsburgh out of the way; were he to preside he would lead the church to destruction in less than five years."

Dr. Richards was busily engaged writing as dictated by the Prophet, and Elder Taylor amused him by singing. Joseph related his dream about William and Wilson Law; also his dream about trying to save a steamboat in a storm.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>6</sup>One of the counsel for the prosecution expressed a wish to Esq. Reid, that the prisoners should

<sup>1.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from WRj 10:34 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13), with editing and elaboration.

<sup>2.</sup> Source: Following four paragraphs based on DJ, 6-8 (BYU Studies 24:99-100; transcription in vol. 8, VI.33).

<sup>3.</sup> Book F-1, 168: adds "[Jones]"

<sup>4.</sup> Book F-1, 168 (pencil): "redeem < lease >" (US)

<sup>5.</sup> Book F-1, 168 (pencil): adds "\perp" at eoln

<sup>6.</sup> Source: Based on H.T. Reid's statement in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 562.

be brought out of jail for examination on the charge of treason; be was answered that the prisoners had already been committed "until discharged by due course of law"; and therefore the justice and constable had no further control of the prisoners, and that if the prosecutors wished the prisoners brought out of jail, they might bring them out on a writ of habeas corpus, or some other "due course of law"; when we would appear and defend.<sup>7</sup>

812½ noon. Dr. Bernhisel arrived at the jail.

Mr. Reid came with the following letter from General Deming:—

<sup>9</sup>Messrs. Smith:—I was requested by the Governor to order you such protection as circumstances might require. The guard have been acting upon the supposition that your protection excluded all persons but those admitted by a pass. I have caused the officer of the guard to be correctly instructed of his duties, so that you need suffer no further inconvenience.

M.R.DEMING, Brig.-Genl.

Headquarters, Carthage, June 26th, 1844.

<sup>10</sup>Counselor Reid said that he had got the magistrate on a pin hook, for the magistrate had committed them without examination, and had no further jurisdiction in the case, and he would not agree to a trial unless (Captain) Justice Smith would consent to go to Nauvoo for examination, where witnesses could be had.

Reid said that a week ago, Harmon T. Wilson and another had concocted a scheme for a writ to take Joseph, and when he was apprehended to take him to Missouri, and Harmon T. Wilson returned from Missouri the night before the burning of the press.

1 p.m. Willard Richards wrote to his wife, and sent the letter by Cyrus C. 11 Canfield.

<sup>12</sup>It was common conversation on the camp ground and in the dining-room of the hotel, in the presence of Governor Ford, "The law is too short for these men, but they must not be suffered to go at large"; and, "if the law will not reach them, powder and ball must." <sup>13</sup>

<sup>14</sup>½ past 2. Constable Bettisworth came with Alexander Simpson, and wanted to come in, with an order to the jailor demanding the prisoners; but as Mr. Stigall, the jailor, could find no law authorizing a justice of the peace to demand prisoners committed to his charge, he refused to give them up, until discharged from his custody by due course of the law.

<sup>15</sup>Justice Robert F. Smith then inquired what he must do? Governor Ford replied, "We have plenty of troops; there are the Carthage Greys under your command, bring them out." <sup>16</sup> Joseph sent

<sup>7.</sup> Book F-1, 168: adds "[T.&S.]"

<sup>8.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from WRj 10:34 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>9.</sup> Source: Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 128-29.

<sup>10.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs based on WRj 10:34-35 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13). Cf. JTMA, 42-43 (DHC 7:97).

<sup>11.</sup> Book F-1, 169 (pencil): "<C>" (US)

<sup>12.</sup> Source: Based on CW, 10 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.31).

<sup>13.</sup> Book F-1, 169: adds "[Wheelock]"

<sup>14.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:35 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13), and H.T. Reid statement in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 562.

<sup>15.</sup> Source: First part possibly from WWP [ca. 1856], although a similar claim is made in JTMA, 43-44 (DHC 7:98). Cf. DHC 6:570 (chap. 30). Part about Wasson is based on WR j 10:35 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>16.</sup> Book F-1, 169: adds "[Phelps]".

Lorenzo D. Wasson to inform the Governor of what had just taken place, and also to inform his counsel, Messrs. Reid and Woods.

<sup>17</sup>20 min[utes]. to 3. Dr. Bernhisel returned from the Governor, and said apparently the Governor was doing all he could.

3 p.m. Wrote to Messrs. Woods and Reid as follows 18:—

<sup>19</sup>Jail, Carthage<sup>20</sup>, June 26; 3 p.m.

Messrs. Woods and Reid:-

Sirs:—Constable Bettisworth called a little while since, and wanted to come in, the guard would not; <sup>21</sup>we have since learned that he wanted to take us before the magistrate, and we have since learned that there is some excitement because we did not go, and we wish to see you without delay.

We are informed that Dr. Foster has said that they can do nothing with us, only by powder and ball, as we have done nothing against the law.

Yours, JOSEPH SMITH, Per W. RICHARDS.

which was carried by Elder John Taylor.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>23</sup>20 min[utes]. to 4. Upon the refusal of the jailor to give up the prisoners, the constable with the company of Carthage Greys, under the command of Frank Worrell, marched to the jail, and, by intimidation and threats compelled the jailor against his will and conviction of duty, to deliver Joseph and Hyrum to the constable, who forthwith, and contrary to their wishes compulsorily took them.

<sup>24</sup>Joseph, seeing the mob gathering and assuming a threatening aspect, concluded it best to go with them then; and putting on his hat, walked boldly into the midst of a hollow square of the Carthage Greys; yet evidently expecting to be massacred in the streets before arriving at the Court House, politely locked arms with the worst mobocrat he could see, and Hyrum locked arms with Joseph, followed by Dr. Richards, and escorted by a guard. <sup>25</sup>Elders Taylor, Jones, Markham, and Fullmer followed, outside the hollow square, and accompanied them to the Court Room.

<sup>26</sup>4 o'clock. Case called by Robert F. Smith, Captain of the Carthage Greys. The counsel for the prisoners then appeared, and called for subpoenas for witnesses on the part of the prisoners, and expressed their wish to go into the examination as soon as the witnesses could be brought from Nauvoo to Carthage. This was objected to most *vehemently* by the opposite counsel.

<sup>27</sup>4:25. Took copy of order to bring prisoners from jail for trial, as follows:—

<sup>17.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph based on WRj 10:35 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>18.</sup> DHC 6:594: adds "which was carried by Elder John Taylor"

<sup>19.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 85-86 (WR).

<sup>20.</sup> DHC 6:595: "CARTHAGE JAIL"

<sup>21.</sup> DHC 6:595: adds "[allow it]"

<sup>22.</sup> DHC 6:595: moves this line above to precede letter

<sup>23.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:35 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13), and H.T. Reid's statement in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 562, with Worrell's name added.

<sup>24.</sup> Source: Based on DJ, 8 (BYU Studies 24:100; transcription in vol. 8, VI.33).

<sup>25.</sup> Book F-1, 170: adds "[Jones]"

<sup>26.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:35 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13); JSF [1854], 2; and H.T. Reid's statement in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 563.

<sup>27.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:35 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>28</sup>State of Illinois,  $[ss.]^{29}$ Hancock County.

To David Bettisworth, constable of said county:

You are hereby commanded to bring the bodies of Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith from the jail of said county, forthwith before me at my office for an examination on the charge of treason, they having been committed for safe keeping until trial could be had on such examination, and the state now being ready for such examination.

Given under my hand and seal this 26th day of June, 1844.

(Signed) R. F. SMITH, J.P.

[L. S.]

<sup>30</sup>4:30. Made a copy of the list of witnesses.

4:35. C. L. Higbee, O. C. Skinner, Thos. Sharp, Sylvester Emmons and Thos. Morrison, appeared as counsel for the State.

The writ was returned, endorsed, "Served on June 25th," which was false.

Mr. Wood said, they were committed to jail without any examination whatever.

Mr. Reid urged a continuance of the case till the witnesses could be obtained from Nauvoo, for the defense.

4¾ p.m. Mr. Skinner suggested that the court adjourn until 12 o'clock tomorrow.

Mr. Wood proposed that the court adjourn until witnesses could be got together, or until tomorrow at any time, and again adjourn if they are not ready, without bringing the prisoners into court.

Mr. Reid hoped no compulsory measures would be made use of by the prosecution in this enlightened country.

Mr. Skinner: ["]If witnesses cannot be had after due diligence by the defense, a continuance will be granted.["]

Court said this writ was served yesterday, (which was not the case, unless it could be served without the prisoners or their counsel knowing it.)

On motion of counsel for the prisoners, examination was postponed till tomorrow at 12 o'clock noon, and subpoenas were granted to get witnesses from Nauvoo, twenty miles distance; whereupon the prisoners were remanded to prison, with the following mittimus:—

<sup>31</sup>State of Illinois, Hancock County,

To the keeper of the jail of Hancock County, Illinois, greeting:—

Whereas Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith<sup>32</sup> have been arrested and brought before me, Robert F. Smith, a justice of the peace in and for said county for examination, on the charge of treason against the State of Illinois, and have applied for a continuance, which is granted until the 27th June, 1844, at 12 o'clock, m[eridian].

These are therefore to command you to receive the said Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith into your custody in the jail of the county, there to remain until they are brought before me<sup>33</sup> for said examination according to law.

<sup>28.</sup> Source: T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 562. Rept. in NN 2 (3 July 1844): [252].

<sup>29.</sup> DHC 6:596: adds "ss."

<sup>30.</sup> Source: Following eleven paragraphs based on WRj 10:35-36 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>31.</sup> Source: MS copy in UC (WR).

<sup>32.</sup> MS copy: "<Smith>"

<sup>33.</sup> MS copy: "<me>"

Given under my hand and seal this 26th day of June, 1844.

R. F. SMITH, J.P. [L. S.]<sup>34</sup>

<sup>35</sup>5:30. Returned to jail, <sup>36</sup>and Joseph and Hyrum were thrust into close confinement.

<sup>37</sup>Patriarch John Smith came from Macedonia to the jail to see his nephews Joseph and Hyrum; the road was thronged with mobbers; three of them snapped their guns at him, and he was threatened by many others who recognized him; the guard at the jail refused him admittance.

Joseph saw him through the prison window, and said to the guard, "Let the old gentleman come in, he is my uncle." The guard replied they did not care who the hell he was uncle to, he should not go in.

Joseph replied, "you will not hinder so old and infirm a man as he is from coming in"; and then said, "come in, uncle"; on which, after searching him closely, the guard let him pass into the jail, where he remained about an hour. He asked Joseph if he thought he should again get out of the hands of his enemies, when he replied, "My brother Hyrum thinks I shall; I wish you would tell the brethren in Macedonia that they can see by *this*, that it has not been safe for me to visit them; and tell Almon W. Babbitt, I want him to come and assist me as an attorney at my expected trial tomorrow before Captain R. F. Smith."

Father Smith then left the jail to convey this message to A.W. Babbitt, who was at Macedonia. <sup>38</sup> p.m. Copied witnesses' names, and mittimus.

Dr. Bernhisel brought the following:—

I would advise the jailor to keep the Messrs. Smith<sup>40</sup> in the room in which I found them this morning, unless a closer confinement should be clearly necessary to prevent an escape.

THOMAS FORD,

Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

June 26th, 1844.

<sup>41</sup>6½ p.m. Received the following letter from William Clayton:—

<sup>42</sup>Nauvoo, June 26th, 1844.

Dear President:-

I write this line to inform you<sup>43</sup> that Mr. Marsh, who lives down the river, and of whom you have had corn, pork, &c., has sent word that<sup>44</sup> if you want any<sup>45</sup> bail he is ready for one to

<sup>34.</sup> MS copy: omits "[L.S.]"

<sup>35.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:36 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>36.</sup> Book F-1, 171: adds blank space

<sup>37.</sup> Source: Following four paragraphs based on JnSj [1846-54], 70-71, with elaboration (transcription in vol. 8, VI.32).

<sup>38.</sup> Book F-1, 171: adds "[John Smith's J[our]n[a]l]."

<sup>39.</sup> Source: From this point to end of Ford's letter from WRj 10:36 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>40.</sup> WRj 10:36: "Smith's"; Book F-1, 171 (pencil): "Smith's"

<sup>41.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:36 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>42.</sup> Source: Original in JSLR, Bx 3, fd 8, 130-31 (WC).

<sup>43.</sup> MS letter, 1: "<you>"

<sup>44.</sup> DHC 6:598: omits "that"

<sup>45.</sup> Book F-1, 171: "<any>" (LH)

any amount, and further that he has got some corn left which he wants you to have, lest the mob get it. (We will endeavor to obtain it.)

They have already taken two loads, but he has charged them a dollar a bushel for it.

The *Amaranth* has just landed at the foot of Main Street, and unloaded 200 bbls. [barrels] flour,—95 for Mr. Kimball, and the balance for Bryant.

Captain Singleton, who came at the head of the police this morning, is sending a request to the Governor to call them home; he says he finds no difficulties to settle here, but there is plenty to settle at home. He further more says that while the police were at Carthage, they were treated as *soldiers*, but since they came to Nauvoo they have been treated as *gentlemen*.

The company all got home safe and well last night.

A messenger is about to start forthwith to Judge Thomas.

All is peace in Nauvoo; many threats keep coming that the mob are determined to attack the city in your absence, but we have no fears.

With fervency and true friendship, I remain,

Yours eternally, W[ILLIAM]. CLAYTON.

<sup>46</sup>This letter was sent from Nauvoo by Joel S. Miles. Joseph instructed Cahoon to return to Nauvoo with all haste, and fetch a number of documents for the promised trial.

<sup>47</sup>25 min[utes]. to 7. Sent a message to Counselor Woods to get subpoenas for Samuel James, Edward Hunter and Philip B. Lewis, with instructions to bring with them the papers that they carried to the Governor at Springfield, and which the Governor had not seen, as he had started for Carthage before they arrived at Springfield.

½ to 8. Supper.

8 p.m. Counselors Woods and Reid called with Elder J[ohn]. P. Greene, and said that the Governor and military officers had held a council which had been called by the Governor, and they decided that the Governor and all the troops should march to Nauvoo at 8 o'clock tomorrow<sup>48</sup>, except one company of about 50 men, in order to gratify the troops, and return next day, the company of fifty men to be selected by the Governor from those of the troops whose fidelity he could *most* rely on, to guard the prisoners, who should be left in Carthage Jail; and that their trial be deferred until Saturday, the 29th.

After the consultation, the justice, (Robert F. Smith) who was one of the officers in command, altered the return of the subpoenas until the 29th. This was done without consulting either the prisoners or their counsel.

<sup>49</sup>About 8½ p.m., Patriarch John Smith met Lawyer Babbitt, and delivered the message; when Babbitt replied "You are too late, I am already engaged on the other side."

<sup>50</sup>9 p.m. Messrs. Woods, Reid and Greene returned to Hamilton's Hotel.

9¼. Elder John Taylor prayed. Willard Richards, John Taylor, John S. Fullmer, Stephen Markham, and Dan Jones stayed with Joseph and Hyrum in the front room.

<sup>46.</sup> Source: J. S. Miles as letter courier possibly assumed since on the following day he left Carthage carrying JS's 27 June 1844 letter to Emma Smith "per Mr Joel S. Miles" (JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 93–94 [PWJS, 629–33]; cf. WRj 10:39). Part about Cahoon possibly from RC [ca. 1856].

<sup>47.</sup> *Source*: Following three paragraphs based on WRj 10:36-37 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13), with third paragraph supplemented by J. W. Woods's statement in *T&S* 5 (1 July 1844): 564, which is also the source for the fourth paragraph.

<sup>48.</sup> Book F-1, 172: adds "morning"

<sup>49.</sup> Source: Based on JnSj [1846-54], 71 (transcription in vol. 8,VI.32).

<sup>50.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph based on WRj 10:37 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>51</sup>During the evening the Patriarch Hyrum Smith read and commented upon extracts from the Book of Mormon, on the imprisonments and deliverance of the servants of God for the gospel's sake. Joseph bore a powerful testimony to the guards, of the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon—the restoration of the gospel—the administration of angels—and that the kingdom of God was again established upon the earth, for the sake of which he was then incarcerated in that prison, and not because he had violated any law of God or man.

They retired to rest late; Joseph and Hyrum occupied the only bedstead in the room, while their friends lay side by side on the mattresses on the floor. Dr. Richards sat up writing until his last candle left him in the dark; the report of a gun fired close by, caused Joseph to arise, leave the bed, and lay himself on the floor, having Dan Jones on his left, <sup>52</sup> and John S. Fullmer on his right.

<sup>53</sup>Joseph laid out his right arm, and said to John S. Fullmer, "Lay your head on my arm for a pillow, brother John"; and when all were quiet they conversed in a low tone about the prospects of their deliverance; Joseph gave expression to several presentiments that he had to die, and said, "I would like to see my family again"; and "I would to God that I could preach to the Saints in Nauvoo once more." Fullmer tried to rally his spirits, saying he thought he would often have that privilege; when Joseph thanked him for the remarks and good feelings expressed to him.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>55</sup>Soon after Dr. Richards retired to the bed which Joseph had left, and when all were apparently fast asleep, Joseph whispered to Dan Jones, "Are you afraid to die?" Dan said, "Has that time come, think you? Engaged in such a cause I do not think that death would have many terrors." Joseph replied, "You will yet see Wales, and fulfill the mission appointed you, before you die." <sup>56</sup>

<sup>51.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph (except part about Fullmer) based on DJ, 9 (BYU Studies 24:101; transcription in vol. 8, VI.33). Part about Fullmer based on JSF [1854], 3 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.30).

<sup>52.</sup> Book F-1, 173: adds "[Jones]"

<sup>53.</sup> Source: Based on JSF [1854], 3 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.30).

<sup>54.</sup> Book F-1, 173: adds "[Fullmer]"

<sup>55.</sup> Source: Based on DJ, 10 (BYU Studies 24:101; transcription in vol. 8, VI.33).

<sup>56.</sup> Book F-1, 173: adds "[Jones]"

# 33.

# DANGER LOOMS OVER JOSEPH SMITH 27 June 1844

## [DN 7 (18 November 1857): 289-90 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>Thursday<sup>2</sup>, 27.—5 a.m. John P. Greene and W[illia]m. W. Phelps called at the jail, on their way to Nauvoo.

<sup>3</sup>5½ a.m. Arose. Joseph requested Dan Jones to descend and inquire of the guard the cause of the intrusion<sup>4</sup> in the night. Frank Worrell<sup>5</sup>, the officer of the guard, who was one of the Carthage Greys, in a very bitter spirit said, "We have had too much trouble to bring old Joe here to let him ever escape alive, and unless you want to die with him you had better leave before sundown; and you are not a damned bit better than him for taking his part, and you'll see that I can prophesy better than old Joe; for neither he nor his brother, nor anyone who will remain with them will see the sun set today."

Joseph directed Jones to go to Governor Ford, and inform him what he had been told by the officer of the guard. While Jones was going to Governor Ford's quarters, he saw an assemblage of men, and heard one of them who was apparently a leader, making a speech, saying that "our troops will be discharged this morning in obedience to orders, and for a sham we will leave the town; but when the Governor and the McDonough troops have left for Nauvoo this afternoon, we will return and kill those men, if we have to tear the jail down." This sentiment was applauded by three cheers from the crowd.<sup>6</sup>

Capt[ain]. Jones went to the Governor, told him what had occurred in the night, what the officer of the guard had said, and what he had heard while coming to see him, and earnestly solicited him to avert the danger.

His Excellency replied, "You are unnecessarily alarmed for the safety of your friends, sir; the people are not that cruel."

Irritated by such a remark, Jones urged the necessity of placing better men to guard them than professed assassins, and said, "The Messrs. Smith are American citizens, and have surrendered themselves

<sup>1.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:39 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>2.</sup> DHC 6:602: incorrectly reads "Tuesday"

<sup>3.</sup> Source: Time from WRj 10:39 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13); remainder of this and following twelve paragraphs based on DJ, 10-12 (BYU Studies 24:102-3; transcription in vol. 8,VI.33).

<sup>4.</sup> DHC 6:602: replaces "intrusion" with "disturbance"

<sup>5.</sup> DHC 6:602: "Worrel"

<sup>6.</sup> Book F-1, 174: adds "[Jones]"

to your Excellency upon your pledging your honor for their safety; they are also Master Masons, and as such I demand of you protection of their lives."

Governor Ford's face turned pale, and Jones remarked, "If you do not do this, I have but one more desire, and that is, if you leave their lives in the hands of those men to be sacrificed ———."

"What is that, sir?" he asked in a hurried tone.

"It is," said Jones, "that the Almighty will preserve my life to a proper time and place that I may testify that you have been timely warned of their danger."

Jones then returned to the prison, but the guard would not let him enter. He again returned to the hotel, and found Governor Ford standing in front of the McDonough troops, who were in line ready to escort him to Nauvoo.

The disbanded mob retired to the rear, shouting loudly that they were only going a short distance out of town, when they would return and kill old Joe and Hyrum as soon as the Governor was far enough out of town.

Jones called the attention of the Governor to the threats then made, but he<sup>7</sup> took no notice of them, although it was impossible for him to avoid hearing them.

Jones then requested the Governor to give him passports for himself and friends to pass in and out of the prison, according to his promise made to the prisoners; he refused to give them; but he told Gen[era]l. Deming to give one to Dr. Willard Richards, Joseph Smith's private secretary.

While obtaining this, Jones' life was threatened, and Chauncey L. Higbee said to him in the street, "We are determined to kill Joe and Hyrum, and you had better go away to save yourself."

<sup>9</sup>At 7 a.m., Joseph, Hyrum, Dr. Richards, Stephen Markham, and John S. Fullmer ate breakfast together. Mr. Crane ate with them, and wanted to know if the report was true that Joseph fainted three times on Tuesday, while being exhibited to the troops. He was told it was a false report.

<sup>10</sup>8 a.m. Cyrus H. Wheelock, at Joseph's request, applied to the Governor, and obtained the following passes:—

Suffer Mr. C. H. Wheelock to pass in to visit Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith and friends in Carthage jail unmolested.

THOMAS FORD,
Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

June 27th, 1844.

Protect Mr. C. H. Wheelock in passing to and from Carthage and Nauvoo.

THOMAS FORD,

Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

June 27th, 1844.

While receiving these passes he related to the Governor the numerous threats he had heard. <sup>11</sup>John S. Fullmer went to the Governor to get a pass.

<sup>7.</sup> DHC 6:604: replaces "he" with "the Governor"

<sup>8.</sup> Book F-1, 174: adds "<[Jones]>" (LH)

<sup>9.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:39 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13).

<sup>10.</sup> Source: This paragraph, the two passes signed by Ford, and the paragraph that follows are from CW, 10 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.31).

<sup>11.</sup> Source: Probably from JSF [1856]. WRj 10:39 says Fullmer "went home about 8 oclock."

<sup>12</sup>8:20 a.m., Joseph wrote to Emma as follows:—

13Carthage Jail, June 27th, 1844;20 min[utes]. past eight a.m.

Dear Emma:—The Governor continues his<sup>14</sup> courtesies and permits us to see our friends. We hear this morning that the Governor will not go down with his troops today, to Nauvoo, as we anticipated last evening, but if he does come down with his troops you will be protected; and I want you to tell bro[ther]. Dunham to instruct the people to stay at home and attend to their own business, and let there be no groups, or gathering together unless by permission of the Governor they are called together to receive communications from the Governor, which would please our people, but let the Governor direct.

Bro[ther]. Dunham of course will obey the orders of the government officers, and render them the assistance they require. There is no danger of any exterminating<sup>15</sup> order. Should there be a mutiny among the troops (which we do not anticipate; excitement is abating) a part will remain loyal and stand for the defense of the State and our rights.

There is one principle which is eternal, it is the duty of all men to protect their lives, and the lives of the household, whenever necessity requires, and no power has a right to forbid it,—should the last extreme arrive, but I anticipate no such extreme, <sup>16</sup>but caution is the parent of safety.

IOSEPH SMITH.

P.S.—Dear Emma, I am very much resigned to my lot, knowing I am justified and have done the best that could be done; give my love to the children and all my friends, Mr. Brewer, and all who inquire after me; and as for treason, I know that I have not committed any, and they cannot prove an appearance of <sup>17</sup> anything of the kind, so you need not have any fears that any harm <sup>18</sup> can happen to us on that score <sup>19</sup>. May God bless you all. Amen.

JOSEPH SMITH.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>22</sup>9:40 a.m. Mr. Wood and Mr. Reid called; they said another consultation of the officers had taken place, and the former orders of the Governor for marching to Nauvoo with the whole army were countermanded.

<sup>23</sup>Dr. Southwick was in the meeting, seeing what was going on; he afterwards told Stephen Markham that the purport of the meeting was to take into consideration the best way to stop Joseph Smith's career, as his views on Government were widely circulated and took like wildfire; they said if

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>8:30. John S. Fullmer returned to jail.

<sup>12.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:39 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>13.</sup> *Source*: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 89-90 (WR). Original letter in CCLA (WR, JS) (*PWJS*, 629-30). P.S. in JS's hand. Cf. photograph (JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 93-94), and photocopy (JScSup, fd 6, 7-8) of original, both of which exclude the cover page. See below near end of chapter for second P.S.

<sup>14.</sup> Book F-1, 175 (pencil): "<his>" (US)

<sup>15.</sup> DHC 6:605: "extermination"

<sup>16.</sup> Book F-1, 175 (pencil): adds "but I anticipate no such extreme"

<sup>17.</sup> DHC 6:605: omits "an appearance of"

<sup>18.</sup> DHC 6:605: "anything"

<sup>19.</sup> DHC 6:605: replaces "score" with "account"

<sup>20.</sup> DHC 6:605: omits name

<sup>21.</sup> Source: Probably from JSF [1856]. WRj 10:39 records that "John S. Fulmer went home about 8 oclock."

<sup>22.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:39 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>23.</sup> Source: Based on SM [1856], 4 (transcription in vol. 8,VI.26).

he did not get into the Presidential chair this election, he would be sure <sup>24</sup>the next time; and if Illinois and Missouri would join together and kill him, they would not be brought to justice for it. There were delegates in said meeting from every State in the Union, except three; Governor Ford and Captain Smith were also in the meeting.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>26</sup>Captain Dunn and his company were ordered to accompany the Governor to Nauvoo. The Carthage Greys, who had but two days before been under arrest for insulting the commanding General, and whose conduct had been more hostile to the prisoners than that of any other company were selected by Governor Ford to guard the prisoners at the jail; and the<sup>27</sup> other troops composed of the mob whom the Governor had found at Carthage, and had mustered into the service of the State, and who had been promised "full satisfaction," and that they should be marched to Nauvoo, were disbanded and discharged in Carthage; yet Governor Ford suffered two or three hundred armed men to remain encamped about eight miles off on<sup>28</sup> the Warsaw road, apparently under the control of Col. Levi Williams, a notoriously sworn enemy to Joseph, and who had on many occasions threatened the destruction of Nauvoo, and the death of Joseph. Moreover it was the duty of the Governor to dismiss the troops into the hands of their several officers in order to be marched home, and there disbanded, and not to have disbanded them at a distance from home, and at a time and place when they were predisposed to acts of lawless violence, rapine and murder.

<sup>29</sup>Cyrus H. Wheelock, states that previous to leaving Carthage, he said to the Governor, "Sir, you must be aware by this time that the prisoners have no fears in relation to any lawful demands made against them, but you have heard sufficient to justify you in the belief that their enemies would destroy them if they had them in their power; and now, sir, I am about to leave for Nauvoo, and I fear for those men; they are safe as regards the law, but they are not safe from the hands of traitors, and midnight assassins, who thirst for their blood, and have determined to spill it; and under these circumstances, I leave with a heavy heart."

Ford replied, "I was never in such a dilemma in my life; but your friends shall be protected, and have a fair trial by the law; in this *pledge* I am not alone; I have obtained the *pledge* of the whole of the army to sustain me."

After receiving these assurances, Wheelock prepared to visit the prison; the morning being a little rainy, favored his wearing an overcoat, in the side pocket of which he was enabled to carry a six shooter; and he passed the guard unmolested. During his visit in the prison he slipped the revolver into Joseph's pocket. Joseph examined it, and asked Wheelock if he had not better retain it for his own protection.

This was a providential circumstance, as most other persons had been very rigidly searched. Joseph then handed the single barrel pistol, which had been given him by John S. Fullmer<sup>30</sup> to his brother Hyrum and said, "You may have use for this." Brother Hyrum observed, "I hate to use such things, or to see them used." "So do I," said Joseph, "but we may have to, to defend ourselves"; upon this Hyrum took the pistol.

<sup>24.</sup> DHC 6:606: adds "to"

<sup>25.</sup> Book F-1, 176: adds "[Markham]"

<sup>26.</sup> Source: H.T. Reid's statement in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 563, with elaboration.

<sup>27.</sup> DHC 6:606: omits "the"

<sup>28.</sup> Book F-1, 176 (pencil): "<on>" (US)

<sup>29.</sup> Source: Following eighteen paragraphs from CW, 11-19, with editing (transcription in vol. 8, VI.31).

<sup>30.</sup> Cf. JSF [1854], 3 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.30).

Wheelock was intrusted with a verbal request to the Commanders of the Legion to avoid all military display, or any other movement calculated to produce excitement during the Governor's visit. He was especially charged to use all the influence he possessed to have the brethren and friends of Joseph remain perfectly calm and quiet, inasmuch as they respected the feelings and well-being of their<sup>31</sup> Prophet and Patriarch.

Said Joseph, "Our lives have already become jeopardized by revealing the wicked and bloodthirsty purposes of our enemies; and for the future we must cease to do so; all we have said about them is truth, but it is not always wise to relate all the truth. Even Jesus, the Son of God, had to refrain from doing so, and <sup>32</sup>to restrain his feelings many times for the safety of himself and <sup>33</sup>followers, and had to conceal the righteous purposes of his heart in relation to many things pertaining to his father's kingdom. When quite<sup>34</sup> a boy he had all the intelligence necessary to enable him to rule and govern the kingdom of the Jews, and could reason with the wisest and most profound doctors of law and divinity, and make their theories and practice to appear like folly compared with the wisdom he possessed; but he was a boy only, and lacked physical strength even to defend his own person, and was subject to cold, to hunger, and to death. So it is with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; we have the revelation of Jesus, and the knowledge within us is sufficient to organize a righteous government upon the earth, and to give universal peace to all mankind, if they would receive it; but we lack the physical strength, as did our Savior when a child, to defend our principles, and we have of necessity to be afflicted, persecuted, and smitten, and to bear it patiently until *Jacob is of age*; then he will take care of himself."

Wheelock took a list of witnesses' names that were wanted for the expected trial on Saturday. When the list was read over a number of names were stricken out among whom were Alpheus Cutler and Reynolds Cahoon<sup>35</sup>, it being deemed by brother Hyrum<sup>36</sup> unnecessary for them to attend. Bro[ther]. Joseph asked the reason why they should not come. Hyrum answered, "They may be very good men, but they don't know enough to answer a question properly." Bro[ther]. Joseph remarked, "That is sufficient reason."

The prisoners also sent many verbal messages to their families; they were so numerous that Dr. Richards proposed writing them all down, fearing Wheelock might forget; but brother Hyrum fastened his eyes upon him, and with a look of penetration said, "Brother Wheelock will remember all that we tell him, and he will never forget the occurrences of this day."

Joseph related the following dream which he had last night:—

I was back in Kirtland, Ohio, and thought I would take a walk out by myself, and view my old farm, which I found grown up with weeds and brambles, and altogether bearing evidence of neglect and want of culture. I went into the barn, which I found without floor or doors, with the weather-boarding off, and was altogether in keeping with the farm.

While I viewed the desolation around me, and was contemplating how it might be recovered from the curse upon it, there came rushing into the barn a company of furious men, who commenced to pick a quarrel with me.

<sup>31.</sup> DHC 6:608: replaces "their" with "the"

<sup>32.</sup> DHC 6:608: adds "had"

<sup>33.</sup> DHC 6:608: adds "His"

<sup>34.</sup> DHC 6:608: replaces "quite" with "still"

<sup>35.</sup> Book F-1, 177 (different ink): "Reynolds Cahoon <others>" (US)

<sup>36.</sup> Book F-1, 177: "<by bro Hyrum>" (LH)

The leader of the party ordered me to leave the barn and the<sup>37</sup> farm, stating it was none of mine, and that I must give up all hope of ever possessing it.

I told him the farm was given me by the Church, and although I had not had any use of it for some time back, still I had not sold it, and according to righteous principles it belonged to me or the Church.

He then grew furious, and began to rail upon me and threaten me, and said it never did belong to me nor  $^{38}$ the Church.

I then told him that I did not think it worth contending about; that I had no desire to live upon it in its present state, and if he thought he had a better right I would not quarrel with him about it, but leave; but my assurance that I would not trouble him at present did not seem to satisfy him, as he seemed determined to quarrel with me, and threatened me with the destruction of my body.

While he was thus engaged, pouring out his bitter words upon me, a rabble rushed in and nearly filled the barn, drew out their knives, and began to quarrel among themselves for the premises; and for a moment forgot me, at which time I took the opportunity to walk out of the barn about up to my ankles in mud.

When I was a little distance from the barn I heard them screeching and screaming in a very distressed manner, as it appeared they had engaged in a general fight with their knives. While they were thus engaged the dream or vision ended.

Both Joseph and Hyrum bore a faithful testimony to the Latter-day work, and the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, and prophesied of the final<sup>39</sup> triumph of the gospel over all the earth, exhorting the brethren present to faithfulness and persevering diligence in proclaiming the gospel, building up the Temple, and performing all the duties connected with our holy religion.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>41</sup>Joseph dictated the following postscript to Emma:—

<sup>42</sup>P.S.—20 min[utes]. to 10. I just learn that the Governor is about to disband his troops, all but a guard to protect us, and the peace,—and come himself to Nauvoo and deliver a speech to the people. This is right, as I suppose.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>And afterwards wrote a few lines with his own hand, which were not copied.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>The letter was sent by Joel S. Miles<sup>45</sup>, and Cyrus H. Wheelock.

<sup>37.</sup> Book F-1, 177 (pencil):"<the>" (US)

<sup>38.</sup> DHC 6:610: adds "to"

<sup>39.</sup> DHC 6:610: omits "final"

<sup>40.</sup> Book F-1, 178: adds "[Wheelock]"

<sup>41.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:39 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13).

<sup>42.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 90 (WR). See above in this chap. for body of letter.

<sup>43.</sup> Source: Based on CW, 15, which reads: "Bro. Willard Richards, by dictation of bro. Joseph wrote a letter to Emma Smith ... the letter concluded with these words, 'this is all right' after the letter had been read to Bro. Joseph he ordered the Dr. to added 'as we suppose.' To the above letter, bro. Joseph added a postscript in his own hand" (see transcription in vol. 8, VI.31). Comparison of WR's copy of the letter (JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 89-90) and the original in CCLA (JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 93-94; JScSup, fd 6, 7-8; PWJS, 629-30) shows that they are nearly identical. With access only to WR's copy, the compilers were unaware that JS's handwriting appears in the first P.S. and that nothing was written after this second P.S. Because CW implied that JS's P.S. came after the words he remembered, the compilers incorrectly assumed their copy was incomplete.

<sup>44.</sup> Source: This statement is based on WR j 10:39 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13). Cover page of the original in CCLA reads: "per Mr Joel S. Miles" (PWJS, 629-30).

<sup>45.</sup> DHC 6:611: "Mills"

John P. Greene (Nauvoo City Marshal) told Governor Ford that if he went to Nauvoo, leaving only the Carthage Greys to guard the jail, that there was a conspiracy on foot to take the lives of Joseph and Hyrum Smith during his absence. To which the Governor replied, "Marshal Greene, you are too enthusiastic."

# 34.

# JOSEPH SMITH MURDERED 27 June 1844

### [DN 7 (18 November 1857): 289-90 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>[Thursday, June 27 (cont.)] 10:30. Governor Ford went to Nauvoo some time this forenoon, escorted by a portion of his troops, the<sup>2</sup> most friendly to the prisoners, and leaving the known enemies of the prophet, *ostensibly* to guard the jail, having previously disbanded the remainder.

<sup>3</sup>Joseph sent a request to the Governor by Dan Jones for a pass for his private secretary, Dr. Willard Richards.

<sup>4</sup>11 a.m. John S. Fullmer left the jail for Nauvoo, with a verbal charge to assist Wheelock in gathering and forwarding witnesses for the promised trial.

<sup>5</sup>James W.<sup>6</sup> Woods, Esq., Joseph's principal lawyer, left Carthage for Nauvoo.

<sup>7</sup>11:20 [a.m.]<sup>8</sup> Dan Jones returned with the following pass for Dr. Richards:—

<sup>9</sup>Permit Doctor Richards, the private secretary of Joseph Smith, to be with him, if he desires it, and to pass and repass the guard.

THOMAS FORD, Commander-in-Chief.

June 27th, 1844.

<sup>10</sup>Jones said he could not get one for himself.

<sup>1.</sup> *Source*: This summary paragraph probably composed by compilers in RDft 9c:56 (JG), most of which was added interlinearly, possibly between 2 June-1 Aug. 1856 (see RDft Chronology). First sentence based on WRj 10:39 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13).

<sup>2.</sup> DHC 6:612: omits "the"

<sup>3.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:39 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>4.</sup> Source: Based on JSF [1854], 4 (transcription in vol. 8,VI.30), and CW, 14 (transcription in vol. 8,VI.31). Cf. DHC 6:609 (chap. 33).

<sup>5.</sup> Source: Based on J. W. Woods statement in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 564.

<sup>6.</sup> Book F-1, 178 (pencil): "M. <W>" (pos. LH)

<sup>7.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:39 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>8.</sup> DHC 6:612: adds "a.m."

<sup>9.</sup> Source: WRc (evidently not included in SC). Apparently in Thomas Ford's handwriting on slip of paper measuring 19 cm. x 8 cm.

<sup>10.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:39 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>11</sup>Dan Jones met A[lmon]. W. Babbitt in the street, and informed him that Joseph wanted to see him.

<sup>12</sup>11:30. A. W. Babbitt arrived at the jail, and read a letter from Oliver Cowdery.

<sup>13</sup>Joseph, Hyrum, and Dr. Richards tried to get Jones past the guard, but they persisted in refusing to admit him.

 $^{14}12\frac{1}{2}$  noon. Joseph wrote for Lawyer Browning of Quincy to come up on Saturday as his attorney, as follows:—

<sup>16</sup>Carthage Jail, June 27th, 1844.

Lawyer Browning:-

Sir:—Myself and brother Hyrum are in jail on charge of Treason,—to come up for examination on Saturday morning, 29th inst., and we request your professional services at that time, on our defense, without fail.

Most respectfully, your servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

P.S.—There is no cause<sup>17</sup> of action, for we have not been guilty of any crime; neither is there any just cause of suspicion against us, but certain circumstances make your attendance very necessary<sup>18</sup>.

J.S.

<sup>19</sup>A[lmon]. W. Babbitt took the letter, and left the jail. He handed it to Jones, with directions to take it to Quincy forthwith. The guard being aware of the letter, told the mob that "old Joe" had sent orders to raise the Nauvoo Legion to come and rescue him. The mob gathered around Jones, and demanded the letter; some of them wanted to take it from him<sup>20</sup> by force, and said that Jones should not get out of Carthage alive, as a dozen men had started off with their rifles to waylay him in the woods. Having previously ordered his horse, Jones took advantage of their disagreements<sup>21</sup>, and started off at full speed. He by mistake took the Warsaw road, and so avoided the men who were lying in wait for him. When he emerged on to<sup>22</sup> the prairie, he saw the Governor and his posse, whereupon he left the Warsaw road for the Nauvoo road.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>24</sup>Dr. Southwick called at the jail. Joseph gave him a note to Governor Ford or Gen[eral]. Deming, requesting them to furnish him with a pass.

14 p.m.—Joseph, Hyrum, and Willard dined in their room. Taylor and Markham dined below.

<sup>11.</sup> Source: Based on DJ, 13 (BYU Studies 24:103; transcription in vol. 8, VI.33).

<sup>12.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:39 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13).

<sup>13.</sup> Source: Based on DJ, 13 (BYU Studies 24:103; transcription in vol. 8, VI.33).

<sup>14.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:39 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>15.</sup> DHC 6:613:"12:20"

<sup>16.</sup> Source: MS copy in JSLS, Bx 2, fd 8, 91-92 (WR) (PWJS, 634-35).

<sup>17.</sup> MS letter, 1:"ground <cause>"

<sup>18.</sup> MS letter, 1: "when facts are shown <but certain circumstances ... necessary>"

<sup>19.</sup> Source: Based on DJ, 13 (BYU Studies 24:103; transcription in vol. 8,VI.33), and WRj 10:39 for the detail about Babbitt taking the letter (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13).

<sup>20.</sup> Book F-1, 179: "<from him>" (LH)

<sup>21.</sup> DHC 6:613: "disagreement"

<sup>22.</sup> DHC 6:613: omits "to"

<sup>23.</sup> Book F-1, 179: adds "[Jones]"

<sup>24.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from WRj 10:39 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>25</sup>1½ p.m. Dr. Richards was taken sick, when Joseph said, "Bro[ther]. Markham, as you have a pass from the Governor to go in and out of the jail, go and get the Doctor a pipe and some tobacco<sup>26</sup> to settle his stomach," and Markham went out for them<sup>27</sup>; when he had got the pipe and tobacco<sup>28</sup>, and was returning to jail, a man by the name of Stewart called out, "Old man, you have got to leave the<sup>29</sup> town in five minutes." Markham replied, "I shall not do it." A company of Carthage Greys gathered round him, put him on his horse, and forced him out of the town at the point of the bayonet.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>31</sup>3½ p.m. The guard began to be more severe in their operations, threatening among themselves, and telling what they would do when the excitement was over.

Elder Taylor sung<sup>32</sup> the following:—

<sup>33</sup>A poor wayfaring man of grief, Hath often cross'd me on my way; Who sued so humbly for relief, That I could never answer, *Nay*.

I had not pow'r to ask his name, Whither he went or whence he came; Yet, there was something in his eye, That won my love, I knew not why.

Once, when my scanty meal was spread, He enter'd: not a word he spake! Just perishing for want of bread; I gave him all; he blessed it, brake,

And ate, but gave me part again; Mine was an angel's portion then, For while I fed with eager haste, The crust was manna to my taste.

I spied him where a fountain burst Clear from the rock: his strength was gone, The heedless water mock'd his thirst, He heard it, saw it hurrying on:

<sup>25.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:39 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.13), and SM [1856], 5 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.26). Markham's contribution was inserted by TB in RDft 9c:59, both interlinearly and on a slip of paper attached to the page with sealing wax. JMG may have included this passage when he spoke to WW on 14 Aug. 1856, the latter recording: "President Grant ... called in the office [and] Spoke his views concerning some items of Markhams statement concerning Josephs remarks in Jail" (WWj, vol. 4, 14 Aug. 1856; WWj 4:436).

<sup>26.</sup> DHC 6:614: replaces "a pipe and some tobacco" with "something that he needs"

<sup>27.</sup> DHC 6:614: replaces "them" with "medicine"

<sup>28.</sup> DHC 6:614: replaces "pipe and tobacco" with "remedies desired"

<sup>29.</sup> DHC 6:614: omits "the"

<sup>30.</sup> Book F-1, 180: adds "[Markham]"

<sup>31.</sup> Source: This and next paragraph from WRj 10:40 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI. 13).

<sup>32.</sup> DHC 6:614: "sang"

<sup>33.</sup> *Source*: Possibly *CSH* [1840], 254-57, or some other edition between 1840 and 1856 (Flake 1762-1769). Words by James Montgomery (1771-1854). It is doubtful that John Taylor sang all fourteen verses (cf. M. Hicks 1983).

I ran and rais'd the suff'rer up,
Thrice from the stream he drain'd my cup,
Dipp'd, and return'd it running o[v]er;
I drank and never thirsted more.

'Twas night, the floods were out, it blew A winter hurricane aloof; I heard his voice, abroad, and flew, To bid him welcome to my roof.

I warm'd, I cloth'd, I cheer'd my guest, I laid him on my couch to rest; Then made the earth my bed, and seem'd, In Eden's garden, while I dream'd.

Stripp'd, wounded, beaten nigh to death, I found him by the highway side; I roused his pulse, bro[ugh]t back his breath, Reviv'd his spirit, and supplied,

Wine, oil, refreshment, he was heal'd; I had myself a wound conceal'd; But from that hour forgot the smart, And peace bound up my broken heart,

In pris[o]n I saw him next, condemn'd, To meet a traitor's doom at morn: The tide of lying tongues I stemm'd, And honor'd him 'mid shame and scorn. My friendship's utmost zeal to try, He asked, if I for him would die; The flesh was weak, my blood ran chill, But the free spirit cried, "I will."

Then in a moment to my view, The stranger started from disguise; The tokens in his hands I knew, The Savior stood before mine eyes;

He spake—and my poor name he nam'd— 'Of me thou hast not been asham'd, These deeds shall thy memorial be; Fear not, thou didst them unto me.'

<sup>34</sup>When he got through, Joseph requested him to sing it again, which he did.

<sup>34.</sup> Source: Undetermined. However, JTMA, 47-48 (DHC 7:101-2), has Hyrum Smith making the request for John Taylor to repeat the song.

<sup>35</sup>Hyrum read extracts from Josephus.

<sup>36</sup>4 p.m. The guard was again changed; only eight men being stationed at the jail, whilst the main body of the Carthage Greys were in camp about a quarter of a mile distant, on the public square.

<sup>37</sup>4¼. Joseph commenced conversing with the guard about Joseph H. Jackson, William and Wilson Law, and others of his persecutors.

Hyrum and Dr. Richards conversed together until 51/4.

5:20.<sup>38</sup> Jailor Stigall returned to the jail, and said that Stephen Markham had been surrounded by a mob, who had driven him out of Carthage, and he had gone to Nauvoo.

Stigall suggested that they would be safer in the cell. Joseph said, "After supper we will go in." Mr. Stigall went out, and Joseph said to Dr. Richards, "If we go into the cell, will you go in with us?" The doctor answered, "Brother Joseph, you did not ask me to cross the river with you—you did not ask me to come to Carthage—you did not ask me to come to jail with you—and do you think I would forsake you now? But I will tell you what I will do; if you are condemned to be hung for treason, I will be hung in your stead, and you shall go free." Joseph said, "You cannot." The Doctor replied, "I will."

Before the jailor came in, his boy brought in some water, and said the guard wanted some wine. Joseph gave Dr. Richards two <sup>39</sup>dollars to give the guard; but the guard said one was enough, and would take no more.

The guard immediately sent for a bottle of wine, pipes, and two small papers of tobacco; and one of the guard<sup>40</sup> brought them into the jail soon after the jailor went out. Dr. Richards uncorked the bottle and presented a glass to Joseph, who tasted, as also brother Taylor and the Doctor, and the bottle was then given to the guard, who turned to go out. When at the top of the stairs some one below called him two or three times, and he went down.

Immediately there was a little rustling at the outer door of the jail, and a cry of surrender, and also a discharge of three or four firearms followed instantly. The Doctor glanced an eye by the curtain of the window, and saw about a hundred armed men around the door.

## [DN 7 (25 November 1857): 297-99]

<sup>41</sup>It is said that the guard elevated their firelocks, and boisterously threatening the mob discharged their firearms over their heads. The mob encircled the building, and some of them rushed by the guard up the flight of stairs, burst open the door, and began the work of death, while others fired in through the open windows.

<sup>42</sup>In the meantime Joseph, Hyrum, and <sup>43</sup>Taylor had their coats off; Joseph sprung<sup>44</sup> to his coat for his six-shooter, Hyrum for his single barrel, Taylor for Markham's large hickory cane, and Dr. Richards

<sup>35.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:40 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>36.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:40 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13), and H.T. Reid's statement in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 563.

<sup>37.</sup> Source: Following seven paragraphs from WRj 10:40-41 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13).

<sup>38.</sup> DHC 6:616: "5 p.m."

<sup>39.</sup> Book F-1, 182: adds "half"

<sup>40.</sup> DHC 6:616: "guards"

<sup>41.</sup> Source: Based on JSF [1855], 14.

<sup>42.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from WRj 10:41 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>43.</sup> DHC 6:617: adds "Elder"

<sup>44.</sup> DHC 6:617: "sprang"

for Taylor's cane; all sprang against the door; the balls whistled up the stairway, and in an instant one came through the door.

Joseph Smith, John Taylor, and Dr. Richards sprang to the left of the door, and tried to knock aside the guns of the ruffians.

Hyrum was retreating back in front of the door and snapped his pistol, when a ball struck him in the left side of his nose, and he fell on his back on the floor, saying, "I AM A DEAD MAN."

<sup>45</sup>As he fell on the floor, another ball from the outside entered his left side and passed through his body with such force that it completely broke to pieces the watch which<sup>46</sup> he wore in his vest pocket, and at the same instant another ball from the door grazed his breast and entered his head by the throat; subsequently a fourth ball entered his left leg.

<sup>47</sup>A shower of balls were pouring through all parts of the room, many of which lodged in the ceiling just above the head of Hyrum.

<sup>48</sup>Joseph reached round the door casing, and discharged his six shooter into the passage, several<sup>49</sup> barrels missing fire. Continual discharges of musketry came into the room. Elder Taylor continued parrying their<sup>50</sup> guns until they had got them about half their length into the room, when he found that resistance was vain, and he attempted to jump out of the window, where a ball fired from within struck him on his left thigh, hitting the bone, and passing through to within half an inch of the other side. He fell on the window sill, when a ball fired from the outside struck his watch in his vest pocket, and threw him back into the room.

After he fell into the room he was hit by two more balls, one of them injuring his left wrist considerably, and the other entering at the side of the bone, just below the left knee. He rolled under the bed, which was at the right of the window in the south-east corner of the room.

While he lay under the bed he was fired at several times from the stairway; one ball struck him on the left hip, which tore the flesh in a shocking manner, and large quantities of blood were scattered upon the wall and floor.

<sup>51</sup>When Hyrum fell, Joseph exclaimed, "Oh dear! brother Hyrum," and opening the door a few inches he discharged his six shooter in the stairway (as stated before) two or three barrels of which missed fire.

<sup>52</sup>Joseph, seeing there was no safety in the room, and probably<sup>53</sup> thinking that it would save the lives of his brethren in the room, if he could escape<sup>54</sup>, turned calmly from he door, dropped his pistol on the floor, and sprang into the window, when two balls pierced him from the door, and one entered his right breast from without, and he fell outward into the hands of his murderers, exclaiming, "O Lord, my God!"

<sup>45.</sup> Source: Based on WMD, 11, and WR in T&S 5 (1 Aug. 1844): 598 (cf. DHC 6:620), with location of the fourth ball added.

<sup>46.</sup> DHC 6:617: omits "which"

<sup>47.</sup> Source: Based on WMD, 11.

<sup>48.</sup> *Source*: First two sentences based on WRj 10:41 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13). Remainder of this and next two paragraphs from WMD, 12.

<sup>49.</sup> DHC 6:618: replaces "several" with "some"

<sup>50.</sup> DHC 6:618: replaces "their" with "the"

<sup>51.</sup> Source: Based on WR's statement in T&S (1 Aug. 1844): 598.

<sup>52.</sup> Source: First part ("Joseph ... window") from WMD, 13; remainder from WR's statement in T&S (1 Aug. 1844): 599.

<sup>53.</sup> DHC 6:618: replaces "probably" with "no doubt"

<sup>54.</sup> DHC 6:618: replaces "escape" with "get out"

<sup>55</sup>He fell partly on his right shoulder and back, his neck and head reaching the ground a little before his feet, and he rolled instantly on his face.

From this position he was taken by a man who was barefoot and bareheaded, and having on no coat, his pants rolled up above his knees, and his shirt sleeves above his elbows. He set Joseph against the south side of the well curb, which was situated a few feet from the jail, when Col. Levi Williams ordered four men to shoot him; they stood about eight feet from the curb, and fired simultaneously. A slight cringe of the body was all the indication of pain visible when the balls struck him, and he fell on his face.

The ruffian who set him against the well curb now gathered a Bowie knife for the purpose of severing his head from his body. He raised the knife, and was in the attitude of striking, when a light, so sudden and powerful, burst from the heavens upon the bloody scene (passing its vivid chain between Joseph and his<sup>56</sup> murderers) that they were struck with terror. This light, in its appearance and potency, baffles all powers of description. The arm of the ruffian that held the knife fell powerless; the muskets of the four who fired fell to the ground, and they all stood like marble statues, not having the power to move a single limb of their bodies.

The retreat of the mob was as hurried and disorderly as it possibly could have been. Col. Williams hallooed to some who had just commenced their retreat to come back and help to carry off the four men who fired, and who were still paralyzed; they came and carried them away by main strength to the baggage wagons, when they fled towards Warsaw.

<sup>57</sup>Dr. Richards' escape was miraculous, he being a very large man, and in the midst of a shower of balls, yet he stood unscathed, with the exception of a ball which took away<sup>58</sup> the tip end of the lower part of his left ear; which<sup>59</sup> fulfilled literally a prophecy which Joseph made over a year previously, that the time would come that the balls would fly around him like hail, and he should see his friends fall on the right and on the left, but that there should not be a hole in his garment.

The following is copied from the Times and Seasons:—

#### <sup>60</sup>TWO MINUTES IN JAIL.

Possibly the following events occupied near three minutes, but I think only about two, and have penned them for the gratification of many friends.

Carthage, June 27th, 1844.

A shower of musket balls were thrown up the stairway against the door of the prison in the second story, followed by many rapid footsteps.

While Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Mr. Taylor, and myself, who were in the front chamber, closed the door of our room against the entry at the head of the stairs, and placed ourselves against it, there being no lock on the door, and no catch that was usable.

<sup>55.</sup> Following four paragraphs appear in MSHiJS and *DN*, but deleted in DHC 6:619. *Source*: Based on the questionable statement in WMD, 13, 14, 15 (cf. DHC 7:163-64n; see Jessee 1981, 17-18).

<sup>56.</sup> Book F-1, 183: "{\his/}" (LH)

<sup>57.</sup> Source: While a few sources mention WR's miraculous escape and marked ear (cf. WMD, 14; T&S 5 [15 July 1844]: 586; DHC 7:173), none mention JS's prophecy. The prophecy is an insertion in RDft 9b:54a (see Early Draft Pages from Manuscript #9 in vol. 7, II.3).

<sup>58.</sup> DHC 6:619: replaces "took away" with "grazed"

<sup>59.</sup> DHC 6:619: replaces "which" with "His escape"

<sup>60.</sup> Source: RDft 9c:66 directs scribe to copy T&S 5 (1 Aug. 1844): 598-99. Previously published in NN 2 (24 July 1844): [265].

The door is a common panel, and as soon as we heard the feet at the stairs head, a ball was sent through the door, which passed between us, and showed that our enemies were desperadoes, and we must change our position.

Gen[eral]. Joseph Smith, Mr. Taylor, and myself sprang back to the front part of the room, and Gen[eral]. Hyrum Smith retreated two-thirds across the chamber directly in front of and facing the door.

A ball was sent through the door which hit Hyrum on the side of his nose, when he fell backwards extended at length without moving his feet.

From the holes in his vest, (the day was warm, and no one had their coats<sup>61</sup> on but myself,) pantaloons, drawers and shirt, it appears evident that a ball must have been thrown from without, through the window, which entered his back on the right side, and passing through, lodged against his watch, which was in his right vest pocket, completely pulverizing the crystal and face, tearing off the hands and mashing the whole body of the watch; at the same instant the ball from the door entered his nose.

As he struck the floor he exclaimed emphatically, "I'm a dead man." Joseph looked towards him, and responded, "O dear! brother Hyrum!" and opening the door two or three inches with his left hand, discharged one barrel of a six shooter (pistol) at random in the entry, from whence a ball grazed Hyrum's breast, and entering his throat, passed into his head, while other muskets were aimed at him, and some balls hit him.

Joseph continued snapping his revolver, round the casing of the door into the space as before, three barrels of which missed fire, while Mr. Taylor with a walking stick stood by his side and knocked down the bayonets and muskets which were constantly discharging through the doorway, while I stood by him, ready to lend any assistance, with another stick, but could not come within striking distance, without going directly before the muzzle of the guns.

When the revolver failed, we had no more firearms, and expected an immediate rush of the mob, and the doorway full of muskets—half way in the room, and no hope but instant death from within.

Mr. Taylor rushed into the window, which is some fifteen or twenty feet from the ground. When his body was nearly on a balance, a ball from the door within entered his leg, and a ball from without struck his watch, a patent lever, in his vest pocket, near the left breast, and smashed it into "pie," leaving the hands standing at 5 o'clock, 16 minutes, and 26 seconds—the force of which ball threw him back on the floor, and he rolled under the bed which stood by his side, where he lay motionless, the mob from the door continuing to fire upon him, cutting away a piece of flesh from his left hip as large as a man's hand, and were hindered only by my knocking down their muzzles with a stick; while they continued to reach their guns into the room, probably left handed, and aimed their discharge so far around as almost to reach us in the corner of the room to where we retreated and dodged, and then I recommenced the attack with my stick<sup>62</sup>.

Joseph attempted as the last resort, to leap the same window from whence Mr. Taylor fell, when two balls pierced him from the door, and one entered his right breast from without<sup>63</sup>, and he fell outward, exclaiming, "O Lord, my God." As his feet went out of the window my head went in, the balls whistling all around. He fell on his left side a dead man.

At this instant the cry was raised, "He's leaped the window," and the mob on the stairs and in the entry ran out.

<sup>61.</sup> DHC 6:619: "his coat"

<sup>62.</sup> T&S 5:599: adds "again"

<sup>63.</sup> Book F-1, 185 (darker ink): "{\without/}" (LH)

I withdrew from the window, thinking it of no use to leap out on a hundred bayonets, then around Gen[eral]. [Joseph] Smith's body.

Not satisfied with this I again reached my head out of the window and watched some seconds to see if there were any signs of life, regardless of my own, determined to see the end of him I loved; being fully satisfied that he was dead, with a hundred men near the body and more coming round the corner of the jail, and expecting a return to our room I rushed towards the prison door, at the head of the stairs, and through the entry from whence the firing had proceeded, to learn if the doors into the prison were open.

When near the entry, Mr. Taylor called out, "Take me"; I pressed my way till I found all doors unbarred, returning instantly, caught Mr. Taylor under my arm, and rushed by the stairs into the dungeon, or inner prison, stretched him on the floor and covered him with a bed in such a manner, as not likely to be perceived, expecting an immediate return of the mob.

I said to Mr. Taylor, ["]this is a hard case to lay you on the floor; but if your wounds are not fatal, I want you to live to tell the story.["] I expected to be shot the next moment, and stood before the door awaiting the onset.

#### WILLARD RICHARDS.

<sup>64</sup>While Willard Richards and John Taylor were in the cell, a company of the mob again rushed up stairs, but finding only the dead body of Hyrum, they were again descending the stairs, when a loud cry was heard, "The Mormons are coming!" which caused the whole band of murderers to flee precipitately to the woods.

The following communication was written and sent to Nauvoo:—

<sup>65</sup>Carthage Jail, 8 o'clock, 5 min[utes]. p.m.<sup>66</sup> June 27th, 1844.

Joseph and Hyrum are dead. Taylor wounded, not very badly<sup>67</sup>. I am well. Our guard was forced, as we believe, by a band of Missourians from 1 to 200. The job was done in an instant, and the party fled towards Nauvoo instantly. This is as I believe it. The citizens here are afraid of the Mormons attacking them; I<sup>68</sup> promise them No!

W. RICHARDS.

<sup>69</sup>N.B. The citizens promise us protection; alarm guns have been fired.

JOHN TAYLOR.70

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup>Addressed to Governor Ford, Gen. Dunham, Col. Markham, Emma Smith, Nauvoo.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup>This letter was given to William and John Barnes, two mobocrats, who were afraid to go to

<sup>64.</sup> Source: First part probably based on WMD, 14, while the source for the part about a "loud cry" is undetermined.

<sup>65.</sup> Source: Original in WRc, Bx 3, fd 3, 3-4 (WR). Cf. copy in WRc, Bx 3, fd 3, 5-6 (WR).

<sup>66.</sup> MS letter, 1: "<5 minutes PM>"

<sup>67.</sup> MS letter, 1: "fatally <very bad>"

<sup>68.</sup> MS copy, 1:"<I>"

<sup>69.</sup> MS copy, 1: omits "N.B.", moves following sentence to end of the preceding paragraph, and adds "we demand immediate [illegible] from Gov Ford."

<sup>70.</sup> DHC 6:622: moves JT's name to follow WR's name above

<sup>71.</sup> DHC 6:622: adds "The above note was". *Source*: These are the names listed on the outside cover of the preceding letter (WRc, Bx 3, fd 3, 3-4 [WR]).

<sup>72.</sup> *Source*: Possibly based on information supplied by Arza Adams, who wrote about it in his journal (see AAj 1:41-43). Added by TB on slip of paper attached to RDft 9c:67 with sealing wax.

Nauvoo, fearing that the Mormons would kill them and lay everything waste about Carthage; they therefore carried it to Arza Adams, who was sick with the ague and fever, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles north of Carthage; he was afraid to go on the main road, and after two hours persuasion Mr. Benjamin Leyland consented to pilot Adams by "a blind road," and about midnight they started, and arrived in Nauvoo a little after sunrise; they found the news had arrived before them, for about a dozen men were chatting about it at the Mansion, not knowing what to believe until Adams handed in the above<sup>73</sup> official letter.

<sup>73.</sup> Book F-1, 186: "<above>" (LH)

## 35.

## THE BURIAL 27-29 June 1844

## [DN 7 (25 November 1857): 297-99 (cont.)]

<sup>1</sup>[Thursday, 27 June (cont.)] In the meantime the Governor was making to the Saints in Nauvoo, one of the most infamous and insulting speeches that ever fell from the lips of an executive; among other things he said, "a great crime has been done by destroying the *Expositor* press and placing the city under martial law, and a severe atonement must be made, SO PREPARE YOUR MINDS FOR THE EMERGENCY. Another cause of excitement is the fact of your having so many firearms; the public are afraid that you are going to use them against government. I know there is a great prejudice against you on account of your peculiar religion, but you ought to be praying Saints, not military Saints. Depend upon it, a little more misbehavior from the citizens, and the torch which is now<sup>2</sup> already lighted will be applied, <sup>3</sup>the city may be reduced to ashes, and extermination would inevitably follow; and it gave<sup>4</sup> me great pain to think that there was<sup>5</sup> danger of so many innocent women and children being exterminated. If anything of a serious character should befall the lives or property of the persons who are prosecuting your leaders, you will be held responsible."

<sup>6</sup>The Governor was solicited to stay until morning, but he declined and left Nauvoo at about 6½ p.m.; and in passing up Main Street his escort performed the sword exercise, giving all the passes, guards, cuts and thrusts, taking up the entire width of the street, and making as imposing a show as they could, until they passed Lyon's store, near the Masonic Hall; this was apparently done to intimidate the people, as the Governor had remarked in his speech, that they need not expect to set themselves up against such "well disciplined troops."

<sup>7</sup>Soon after Capt[ain]. Singleton and his company left for home.

<sup>1.</sup> Source: RDft 9b:55 shows Ford's speech was constructed piecemeal and is probably a composite and expansion of JSF [1854], 4 (transcription in vol. 8,VI.30); DJ, 14 (BYU Studies 24:104; transcription in vol. 8,VI.33); SM [1856], 6 (transcription in vol. 8,VI.26); and possibly HI, 346-47.

<sup>2.</sup> DHC 6:623: omits "now"

<sup>3.</sup> DHC 6:623: adds "and"

<sup>4.</sup> DHC 6:623: "gives"

<sup>5.</sup> DHC 6:623: "is"

<sup>6.</sup> Source: Undetermined.

<sup>7.</sup> Source: Probably based on J. W. Woods' statement in T&S 5 (1 July 1844): 564.

<sup>8</sup>When the Governor and his party had proceeded about three miles from Nauvoo<sup>9</sup>, they met two messengers (George D. Grant and David Bettisworth) hastening with the sad news to Nauvoo; the Governor took them back to Grant's house, 1½ miles east of Carthage<sup>10</sup>, with him, <sup>11</sup>in order to prevent their carrying the news until he and the authorities had removed the county records and public documents, and until most of the inhabitants had left Carthage. The Governor then proceeded towards Carthage, <sup>12</sup>when Grant took another horse and rode into Nauvoo with the news that night.

<sup>13</sup>12 o'clock at night, 27th June, Carthage, Hamilton's Tavern.

To Mrs. Emma Smith, and Maj[or]. Gen[eral]. Dunham, &c.:—

The Governor has just arrived; says all things shall be inquired into, and all right measures taken.

I say to all the citizens of Nauvoo, my brethren, be still; and know that *God reigns. Don't rush out of the city*—don't rush to Carthage; stay at home, and be prepared for an attack from Missouri mobbers. The Governor will render every assistance possible—has sent out orders for troops. Joseph and Hyrum are dead, **but not by the Carthage people—the guards were true as I believe**. We will prepare to move the bodies as soon as possible.

The people of the county are greatly excited, and fear the Mormons will come out and take vengeance. I have pledged my word the Mormons will stay at home as soon as they can be informed, and no violence will be on their part, and say to my brethren in Nauvoo, in the name of the Lord—be still—be patient; only let such friends as choose come here to see the bodies. Mr. Taylor's wounds are dressed, and not serious. I am sound.

WILLARD RICHARDS, JOHN TAYLOR, SAMUEL H. SMITH.

<sup>14</sup>Defend yourselves until protection can be furnished necessary. June 27th, 1844.
THOMAS FORD,
Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

Mr. Orson Spencer—

Dear Sir:—Please deliberate on this matter; prudence may obviate material destruction. I was at my residence when this horrible crime was committed. It will be condemned by three-fourths of the citizens of the county—be quiet, or you will be attacked from Missouri.

M. R. DEMING.

<sup>15</sup>It was near midnight before Dr. Richards could obtain any help or refreshment for John Taylor, who was badly wounded, nearly all the inhabitants of Carthage having fled in terror.

<sup>8.</sup> Source: Based on SM [1856], 6 (transcription in vol. 8, VI.26), and possibly HI, 347-48.

<sup>9.</sup> Book F-1, 186 (pencil): "<from Nauvoo>" (RLC)

<sup>10.</sup> Book F-1, 186 (pencil): "to Carthage <to Grant's ... Carthage>" (LH)

<sup>11.</sup> Book F-1, 186 (pencil): adds "and kept them in custody" (pro. LH)

<sup>12.</sup> Remainder of paragraph added at eoln ("when") and interlinearly ("Grant ... night") in Book F-1, 186.

<sup>13.</sup> Source: RDft 9c:70 directs scribe to copy the following three letters from "Awful assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," *T&S* 5 (1 July 1844): 560-61. Cf. "Extra," *NN* 2 (30 June 1844): [247]. Deleted material supplied here in bold type.

<sup>14.</sup> Source: See also MS copy in NLc, fd 12, 21-22.

<sup>15.</sup> Source: Possibly based on JTMA, 58 (DHC 7:111), with the time adjusted from 2 a.m. to "nearly midnight".

<sup>16</sup>Friday, 28.—1 a.m. The Governor said the matter should be investigated, and that there was a great responsibility resting upon him. He also said he would send a messenger with an express for Dr. Richards, and wrote an order for the citizens of Nauvoo to defend themselves.

He then went to the public square, and advised all who were present to disperse, as he expected the Mormons would be so exasperated that they would come and burn the town, whereupon the citizens of Carthage fled in all directions, and the Governor and his posse fled towards Quincy, and did not consider themselves safe until they had reached Augusta, 18 miles distant from Carthage.

At daybreak Dr. Richards eat breakfast. <sup>17</sup> Capt[ain]. Singleton, of Brown County, arrived from Nauvoo with his troops.

<sup>18</sup>About 8 a.m. Dr. Richards started for Nauvoo with the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum on two wagons, accompanied by their brother Samuel H. Smith, Mr. Hamilton, and a guard of eight soldiers who had been detached for that purpose by Gen[eral]. Deming. The bodies were covered with bushes to keep them from the hot sun. They were met by a great assemblage of citizens of Nauvoo on Mullholland<sup>19</sup> Street, about a mile east of the Temple, about 3 p.m., under direction of the City Marshal.

<sup>20</sup>The City Council, the Lieutenant-General's Staff, Major-General Jonathan Dunham and staff, the acting Brigadier-General Hosea Stout and staff, commanders and officers of the Legion, and several thousands of the citizens were there, amid the most solemn lamentations and wailings that ever ascended into the ears of the Lord of Hosts, to be avenged of their enemies.

When the procession arrived, the bodies were both taken into the Nauvoo Mansion; the scene there cannot be described.

About 8 or 10,000 persons were addressed by Dr. Willard Richards, W[illiam]. W. Phelps, Esquires Woods and Reid of Iowa, and Col. Stephen Markham; Dr. Richards admonished the people to keep the peace, stating that he had pledged his honor and his life for their good conduct, when the people with one united voice resolved to trust to the law for a remedy of such a<sup>21</sup> high-handed assassination, and when that failed, to call upon God to avenge them of their wrongs.

O! Americans, weep, for the glory of freedom has departed.

<sup>22</sup>When the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum arrived at the Mansion, the doors were closed immediately; the people were told to go quietly home, and the bodies would be exhibited<sup>23</sup> the next morning at 8 a.m.<sup>24</sup>

Dimick B. Huntington, with the assistance of W[illia]m. Marks and William D. Huntington, washed the bodies from head to foot; Joseph was shot in the right breast, also under the heart, in the lower part of his bowels on<sup>25</sup> the right side, and on the big wrinkle on the back part of the right hip.

<sup>16.</sup> Source: Following three paragraphs from WRj 10:43 (transcribed in vol. 8, VI.13).

<sup>17.</sup> DHC 6:625: omits first sentence

<sup>18.</sup> Source: Based on WRj 10:43 (transcribed in vol. 8,VI.13), and "Awful assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," *T&S* 5 (1 July 1844): 561. Cf. "Extra," *NN* 2 (30 June 1844): [247]. Source for detail about bodies being covered with bushes undetermined.

<sup>19.</sup> DHC 6:626: "Mulholland"

<sup>20.</sup> *Source*: Following four paragraphs (except part about WR admonishing saints) from "Awful assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," *T&S* 5 (1 July 1844): 561. Cf. "Extra," *NN* 2 (30 June 1844): [247].

<sup>21.</sup> Book F-1, 188: "\a/" (US)

<sup>22.</sup> Source: Following thirteen paragraphs from DBH, 1-3 (RDft 9c:75-[75c]) (JG), with editing.

<sup>23.</sup> DHC 6:626: replaces "exhibited" with "viewed"

<sup>24.</sup> DHC 6:626: replaces "a.m." with "o'clock"

<sup>25.</sup> DHC 6:627: replaces "on" with "and"

One ball had come out at the right shoulder-blade: he put<sup>26</sup> cotton soaked in camphor <sup>27</sup>into each wound, and laid<sup>28</sup> the bodies out with fine plain drawers and shirts, white neckerchiefs<sup>29</sup>, white cotton stockings and white shrouds. (Gilbert Goldsmith was doorkeeper at the time.)

After this was done, Emma (who was<sup>30</sup> at the time pregnant) <sup>31</sup>was then permitted to view<sup>32</sup> the bodies. On first seeing the corpse of her husband she screamed and fell<sup>33</sup>, but was <sup>34</sup>supported by Dimick B. Huntington. She then fell upon his<sup>35</sup> face and kissed him, calling him by name, and begged of<sup>36</sup> him to speak to her once: the scene was too affecting almost to be borne<sup>37</sup>.

Mary (Hyrum's<sup>38</sup> wife) was also admitted, and<sup>39</sup> manifested calmness and composure throughout the trying scene. <sup>40</sup>**The children of the martyred Prophet and Patriarch were then admitted to see the bodies, when the scene beggared description, being perfectly heartrending.** Relatives and particular friends were also permitted to visit them<sup>41</sup> during the evening.

[Saturday 29.] At seven next morning<sup>42</sup> (29th)<sup>43</sup> the bodies were put into the coffins which were covered with black velvet, fastened with brass nails. Over the face of each corpse a lid hung with brass hinges, under which was a square of glass to protect the face, and the coffin was lined with white cambric. The coffins were then each put into a rough pine box.

At 8 a.m. The room was thrown open for the Saints to view the bodies of their martyred Prophet and Patriarch; and it is estimated that over 10,000 persons visited the remains that day, as there was a perfect living stream of people entering in at the west door of the Mansion and out at the north door, from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., at which hour a request was made that the Mansion should be cleared, so that the families could take their farewell look at the remains.

The coffins were then taken out of the boxes into the little bedroom in the northeast corner of the Mansion, and there concealed and the doors locked. Bags of sand were then placed in each end of the boxes, which were then nailed up, and a mock funeral took place, the boxes being put into a hearse and driven to the graveyard by William D. Huntington, and there deposited in a grave with the usual ceremonies.

This was done to prevent the enemies of the martyred Prophet and Patriarch getting possession of the bodies, as they had<sup>44</sup> threatened they would do. As the hearse passed the meeting ground, accompanied by a few men, W[illiam]. W. Phelps was preaching the funeral sermon.

```
26. DHC 6:627: omits "he put"
```

<sup>27.</sup> DHC 6:627: adds "was put"

<sup>28.</sup> DHC 6:627: moves "laid" to follow "bodies"

<sup>29.</sup> Book F-1, 188 (pencil): "<white neckerchiefs>" (pos. RLC)

<sup>30.</sup> DHC 6:627: moves "was" to follow "time"

<sup>31.</sup> DHC 6:627: adds "also Mary (Hyrum's wife) with the children of the martyred Prophet and Patriarch"

<sup>32.</sup> DHC 6:627: "were admitted to see"

<sup>33.</sup> DHC 6:627: adds "back"

<sup>34.</sup> DHC 6:627: adds "caught and"

<sup>35.</sup> DHC 6:627: replaces "upon his" with "forward to the Prophet's"

<sup>36.</sup> DHC 6:627: omits "of"

<sup>37.</sup> DHC 6:627: rewrites this last sentence to read "which was affecting in the extreme" and moves it below to follow "scene"

<sup>38.</sup> DHC 6:627: replaces "Hyrum's" with "the Patriarch's"

<sup>39.</sup> DHC 6:627: omits "was also admitted, and"

<sup>40.</sup> DHC 6:627: omits next sentence

<sup>41.</sup> DHC 6:627: replaces "them" with "the remains"

<sup>42.</sup> DHC 6:627: replaces "next morning" with "a.m."

<sup>43.</sup> DHC 6:627: omits "(29th)" and inserts date at beginning

<sup>44.</sup> DHC 6:628: omits "had"

About midnight the coffins containing the bodies were taken from the Mansion by Dimick B. Huntington, Edward Hunter, William D. Huntington, William Marks, Jonathan H. Holmes, Gilbert Goldsmith, Alpheus Cutler, Lorenzo D. Wasson, and Philip B. Lewis, preceded by James Emmett as guard, with his musket.

They went through the garden, round by the pump, and were conveyed to the Nauvoo House, which was then built to the first joists of the basement, and buried in the basement story.

After the bodies were interred, and the ground smoothed off as it was before, and chips of wood and stone and other rubbish thrown over, so as to make it appear like the rest of the ground around the graves, a most terrific shower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning occurred and obliterated all traces of the fact that the earth had been newly dug.

The bodies remained in the cellar of the Nauvoo House, where they were buried, until the fall, when they were removed by Dimick B. Huntington, William D. Huntington, Jonathan H. Holmes and Gilbert Goldsmith, at Emma's request, to near the Mansion and buried side by side, and the Bee House then moved and placed over their graves.

The deceased children of Joseph were afterwards removed and interred in the same place. It was found at this time that two of Hyrum's teeth had fallen into the inside of his mouth, supposed to have been done by a ball during<sup>45</sup> the martyrdom, but which was not discovered at the time he was laid out, in consequence of his jaws being tied up.

## <sup>46</sup>MARTYRDOM OF JOSEPH SMITH, THE PROPHET, AND HIS BROTHER HYRUM.

<sup>47</sup> (From the Doctrine and Covenants).

To seal the testimony of this book and the Book of Mormon, we announce the Martyrdom of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and Hyrum Smith the Patriarch. They were shot in Carthage jail, on the 27th of June, 1844, about 5 o'clock p.m., by an armed mob, painted black—of from 150 to 200 persons. Hyrum was shot first and fell calmly, exclaiming, "I am a dead man!" Joseph leaped from the window and was shot dead in the attempt, exclaiming, "O Lord, my God!" They were both shot after they were dead in a brutal manner, and both received four balls.

John Taylor and Willard Richards, two of the Twelve, were the only persons in the room at the time; the former was wounded in a savage manner with four balls, but has since recovered; the latter through the providence of God, escaped, "without even a hole in his robe."

Joseph Smith, the Prophet and Seer of the Lord, has done more (save Jesus only) for the salvation of men in this world, than any other man that ever lived in it. In the short space of twenty years he has brought forth the Book of Mormon, which he translated by the gift and power of God, and has been the means of publishing it on two continents; has sent the fullness of the everlasting Gospel which it contained to the four quarters of the

<sup>45.</sup> DHC 6:629: replaces "during" with "at the time of"

<sup>46.</sup> DHC 6:629-31 concludes vol. 6 by inserting the following account of the martyrdom from D&C 135, which did not appear in MSHiJS or *DN*. BHR prefaced this account with the following bracketed statement: "[It is thought proper that this volume, which brings the HISTORY OF THE CHURCH to the close of its first Period—the administration of its First President, and, by way of pre-eminence *the* Prophet of the New Dispensation of the Gospel, should close with the official statement of the Martyrdom of the Prophet and the Patriarch. A statement so true, and conservative, and excellent that now for a long time it has been published in the 'Doctrine and Covenants.']"

<sup>47.</sup> Source: D&C 135, which first appeared in D&C [1844], Sec. 111.

earth; has brought forth the revelations and commandments which compose this Book of Doctrine and Covenants, and many other wise documents and instructions for the benefit of the children of men; gathered many thousands of the Latter-day Saints, founded a great city; and left a fame and name that cannot be slain. He lived great, and he died great in the eyes of God and his people, and like most of the Lord's anointed in ancient times, has sealed his mission and his works with his own blood—and so has his brother Hyrum. In life they were not divided, and in death they were not separated!

When Joseph went to Carthage to deliver himself up to the pretended requirements of the law, two or three days previous to his assassination he said:

"I am going like a lamb to the slaughter; but I am calm as a summer's morning; I have a conscience void of offense towards God and towards all men. I shall die innocent, and it shall yet be said of me—he was murdered in cold blood."

The same morning after Hyrum had made ready to go—shall it be said to the slaughter? Yes, for so it was,—he read the following paragraph near the close of the fifth chapter of Ether, in the Book of Mormon, and turned down the leaf upon it:

"And it came to pass that I prayed unto the Lord that He would give unto the Gentiles grace that they might have charity. And it came to pass that the Lord said unto me, if they have not charity, it mattereth not unto you, thou hast been faithful; wherefore thy garments are clean. And because thou hast seen thy weakness thou shall be made strong, even unto the sitting down in the place which I have prepared in the mansions of my Father. And now I ... bid farewell unto the Gentiles; yea, and also unto my brethren whom I love, until we shall meet before the judgment-seat of Christ where all men shall know that my garments are not spotted with your blood."

The testators are now dead, and their testament is in force.

Hyrum Smith was forty-four years old, February, 1844, and Joseph Smith was thirty-eight in December, 1843: and henceforward their names will be classed among the martyrs of religion; and the reader in every nation will be reminded that the Book of Mormon and this Book of Doctrine and Covenants of the Church, cost the beat blood of the nineteenth century to bring them forth for the salvation of a ruined world; and that if the fire can scathe a *green tree* for the glory of God, how easy it will burn up the "dry trees" to purify the vineyard of corruption.

They lived for glory, they died for glory; and glory is their eternal reward. From age to age shall their names go down to posterity as gems for the sanctified.

They were innocent of any crime, as they had often been proved before, and were only confined in the jail by the conspiracy of traitors and wicked men; and their innocent blood on the floor of Carthage jail, is a broad seal affixed to "Mormonism" that cannot be rejected by any court on earth; and their innocent blood on the escutcheon of the State of Illinois with the broken faith of the State, as pledged by the Governor, is a witness to the truth of the everlasting gospel, that all the world cannot impeach; and their innocent blood on the banner of liberty, and on the magna charta of the United States is an ambassador for the religion of Jesus Christ that will touch the hearts of honest men among all nations; and their innocent blood with the innocent blood of all the martyrs under the altar that John saw, will cry unto the Lord of Hosts, till He avenges that blood on the earth. Amen.